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PREFACE.

THIRTEEN years ago, when I started the *Indian Antiquary*, it was with no very sanguine hopes that I should be able to conduct it beyond a few years, and in those first years the subscriptions did not meet the expenses. Thanks, however, to the kind assistance of the Secretary of State for India—in meeting, to a large extent, the cost of producing the facsimiles of Inscriptions for some years,—it was found possible to continue it; and of late years, the number of subscribers has increased, so as to admit of the issue of nine extra parts at various dates.

In closing this thirteenth Annual volume, and with it the First Series of the *Indian Antiquary*, it is my pleasant duty to thank the many subscribers who have enabled me to carry it on.

Whatever may be its merits or value, they are due to the many contributors—Native and European, in India and in Europe, who have so heartily and for so many years supplied its contents,—to whom I have never appealed in vain for papers, and to all of whom, in parting, I tender most grateful thanks. My own share in the work has been secondary: the few spare hours available for it were insufficient, even with better equipment than I could bring to the task, to permit of properly editing papers on so wide a range of subjects.

If the *Indian Antiquary* has been the means of creating a wider interest in antiquarian research, of eliciting and publishing results that otherwise might not have seen the light, or of supplying materials to scholars, especially in connection with Inscriptions, it has largely served its purpose; and the frequent references to it, in English and foreign publications, may perhaps be accepted as some indication that it has been doing this.

My personal connexion with it now ceases, and it is a pleasure to be able to place it in the hands of the two new editors, who are so competent to carry it on upon the old lines, and to open up new subjects for investigation in its pages.

JAS. BURGESS.

Edinburgh, 31*st Dec.* 1884.

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THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY,

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THE HYMNS OF THE NÂṄGÎPANTH.

BY CAPT. R. C. TEMPLE, B.S.C., F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S., &c.
FROM THE PAPERS OF J. W. PARRY, A.M.I.C.E.

About Jhajar and the Nârnaul District of the Paṭiâlâ State there exists a curious sect of Hindûs called the Nâṅgîpanth, founded by one Dedrâj, a Brâhmaṇ, about 50 years ago. In the May, 1883, No. of the *Proc. A. S. Beng.*, Mr. Parry had a short paper giving an outline history of this sect, and I will not therefore give more here than is necessary for my immediate purpose. Mr. Parry also kindly handed over to me the few hymns he had collected from these people, to make what I could of them, and hence this paper.

Dedrâj, the son of Pûran, a Brâhmaṇ of Dharsû in the Nârnaul District, was born in Saṁ. 1828 or A.D. 1771. About 1784 he went to Âgrâ, then in the possession of Mâdhavjî Râo Sindhiâ, and took service in the house of Dîwân Dharmadâs. While there he formed an intimacy with one Nâṅgî, a Baniyâṇî of loose character. With her he returned to his native country about 1813 A.D., but got into trouble and was imprisoned by Najâbat 'Ali Khâṅ, the Nawâb of Jhajar, in whose possession Nârnaul then was. He at last settled in Churinâ, in the Khetrî District of the Jhajar State, about 1836, which became the headquarters of the sect he had now started. Here Nâṅgî died, but Dedrâj obtained another Nâṅgî, a Brahmaṇî of Laṛâîṅ, Jhajar, who became a great proficient in the system of Dedrâj, and after *her* the sect is called the Nâṅgîpanth. Dedrâj died at Churinâ in Saṁ. 1909, A.D. 1852, aged 81. The present head of the sect is one Râmchandra, the son of Gangârâm, an early follower of Dedrâj. He lives at Bhiwânî in the Gurgaoṅ District.

The doctrines of Dedrâj have spread themselves to a limited extent, apparently over Jhajar and Nârnaul and Gurgaoṅ. The sect professes monotheism and has no caste and no concealment of women. Mr. Parry gives an account of their worship, which appears to consist of working themselves into a state of ecstasy by singing their hymns and dancing. He notices one point probably worth further enquiry. "Many of the hymns have very pretty airs, *e.g.*, '*Jhagṛâ bhârî ho, daiyâ*' (No. II), and several of the women have clear soprano voices, which if properly trained would have a good compass."

The hymns given below sufficiently show the tenets and ideas of this sect. There are certain clear and obvious moralities inculcated with a rough vigour, which no doubt deeply impressed the simple people to whom they were addressed, and the rest is a confused reference to stories of saints of the neighbourhood, whether Hindû or Musalmân, and to universally known tales from the *Mahâbhârata*, *Râmâyaṇa*, etc. There is the same worship, or rather mention, of their universal god by the familiar Hindû names of Râm, Hari,

Gaṇêśa, etc., that one finds in the *Âdi Granth* and the writings and speeches of the Indian reformers generally. Dedrâj was evidently a rude teacher of the ordinary Indian type, couching his doctrines in rough and ready verses, easily picked up and retained by his followers, and full of those mysterious and ambiguous references so dear to the Indian peasant.

The language is drawn from all sources, from the current colloquial to archaic terms from old books. It contains some notable forms, especially of the pronouns.

No. I.—TEXT.

1.

Maiṅ Terá húṅ! Mujhe na dil se bhúl!
Dál ḍál aur pát pát meṅ Tú hí rangílá phúl!
Jo to kú káṇṭá bove, Bande, tú bo wá ko phúl.
Tujh ko terá phúl milegá: wáhe mile narsúl. Bárí.

2.

Makká ḍhoṇḍá, Madíná ḍhoṇḍá, kahíṅ na páyá Rasúl.
Siáhí gaí, safedí áí; kar chalne ká, Bande, súl.
Sháh Hussain, Fáqír Sáíṅ ká, ḍhoṇḍ liyá ṭaṭmúl. Bárí.

3.

Kyá tan mánjtá, Jogí? ik din máṭí meṅ mil jáná.
Máṭí kahe kumhár se, "kyúṅ raundhat hai mohe?
Ik din aisá hoegá, maiṅ raundhúṅgí tohe!"
Gaṭhṛí bandhí dhúl kí; rahe pawan se phúl:
Jholá lagá prem ká; ant dhúl kí dhúl. Bárí.

4.

Chauṅsí pahiní, paiṅsí pahiní, pahiná malmal khásá:
Ik din aisá hoegá, ant dhúl meṅ básá.
Kafan hamárí gudṛí; gor hamárá gáṅw:
Lahid hamárá leṭná; khák hamárá nám. Bárí.

Translation.

1. I am thine! Forget me not in thine heart!
In every branch and in every leaf thou art the glorious flower!
If any one sow thee a thorn, thou servant (of God), sow thou him a flower.
Thou shalt obtain thy flower, he shall obtain his thorn (reed). *da capo.*

2. Searching Makkâ, searching Madînâ, nowhere is a Prophet found.
The blackness (of youth) hath gone, the whiteness (of age) hath come; thou must prepare to go, thou servant (of God).
Shâh Husain, the saint of God, hath searched out his secrets. *da capo.*

3. Why dost scrub thy body (with ashes), O Jogî? One day thou must be mixed with the clay.
The clay saith unto the potter, "Why dost thou knead me? One day it will so happen, that I will knead thee!"
The bundle (of the body) is bound with dust; it remains on, swollen with air.
The hot-blast of love is on it, and the end of dust is dust. *da capo.*

4. Put on fine garments; put on coarse clothes; Put on a coat of velvet:
One day it will be so that in the end thou dwell in the dust.
The shroud is our garment; the sepulchre our home:
The grave our bed: and dust our name. *da capo.*

NOTES.

Sháh Husain, alias *Lál Husain,* or *Siyáh Husain,* is the name of a celebrated saint, of Kasûr and Lâhor, who is said to have raised a boy to life! He is the author of several popular apothegms.

Rahe pawan se phúl: *phulná,* to swell out, to be inflated, puffed out.

Jholá lagá prem ká; here we have one of those ambiguous expressions that Indian religious writers are so fond of. *Jholá* has a variety of meanings as quoted by Fallon, *New Hind. Dict., s. v.* (1), a curve in a rope; (2), beckoning; (3) a, wallet; (4), a cold wind; (5), palsy; (6), a hot wind; (7), loose, slack. The 6th meaning, is, I think, the obvious one in this context. The 7th meaning is, however, the one which appears to be accepted by these sectarians who render it, "when (the knot) of love is loosened." The *grammar* of this rendering is however, faulty.

No. II.—TEXT.

Śrí Ganes Sáíṅ daṇḍvatname.

Ṭek.

Jhagṛá bhárí ho, Daiyá;
Samjhe koí sant suján.

1.

Wohí pitá, wohí putr; áh re! wohí purakh wohí nárí!
Bájígar ik bájí maṇḍí; bharam pháṅs gal ḍárí.

Ṭek.

Lobh moh ba-zor mudám hai; bází kaṭhin karárí:

Kâm krodh kî baje pakhâwaj; nâche ManshâNârî.
Kâlâ-munh, durmat dârî, kain nârî de mârî.
Bârî.

2.

Tîn Lok men sâre phir gaî; dhâpî na lâj mârî.
Kâm, krodh, albattâ aur trishnâ; auh ghar andhâ bhârî.

Ṭek.

Jaghrâ bhârî ho, Daiyâ;
Samjhe koî sant sujân. Bârî.

3.

Mâyâ, mamtâ sab ko khâ gaî; de de, re, pichkârî.
Jâ ko sat gur tâlib mil gayâ, gyân bhâl tan mârî.

Ṭek.

Jhagrâ bhârî ho, Daiyâ;
Samjhe koî sant sujân. Bârî.

4.

Âṭh pahar ghaltân bhajan men kalap kalapnâ wârî;
Âṭh pahar palak na bisrî, utpat jâ par dârî.

Ṭek.

Bhairon sant hûâ matwâlâ; chaṛh gaî surat utârî. Barî.

TRANSLATION.

The Hymu of salutation to Śrî Gaṇêśa Sâîn.

Chorus.

The strife is very great, mother;
Only the wise saint knoweth it.

1. As the father, so, the son; Ah me! as the man, so the woman!
The conjuror hath commenced his game, and placed the noose of doubt round the neck (of man).

Chorus.

Greed and love are ever in force; the game is hard and difficult.
The drums (of success) of lust and wrath are sounded; the Goddess of Greed dances (to them).
Disgrace and wickedness have destroyed many men. *da capo.*

2. (The game) hath gone through all the Three Worlds, neither satisfied nor ashamed.
Lust and wrath and very avarice; that house is very benighted (where these are).

Chorus.

The strife is very great, mother;
Only the wise saint knoweth it. *da capo.*

3. Wealth and love have destroyed all; have ground (all) down, alas!
Who hath met a true teacher and enquirer, the arrow of knowledge (unto salvation) hath pierced his body.

Chorus.

The strife is very great, mother;
Only the wise saint knoweth it. *da capo.*

4. Busied with praise all the day, he hath sacrificed his bad passions and desires.
He resteth not a moment all the day, on whom hath come ecstasy.

Chorus.

Bhairon, the saint, is in ecstasy; his thoughts rise and fall. *da capo.*

NOTES.

Name=*namashkâr*: salutation.

Manshâ, may be for *manush* or *manushâ*, a man, in which case the passage must be rendered "men and women dance." I have taken it to be Manasâ Dêvî, now the goddess of thieves. In the next verse *nârî* appears to be used for mankind, like *âdmî*, but I have never seen it so used elsewhere. *Nârî* or *nâr* is always the female human being as opposed to *nar*, the male. The whole passage is very obscure and difficult. The local *munshis* translate "man (*nârî*), does as his will (*manshâ*) guides him," but the words and context do not warrant this rendering.

De de pichkarî, having given a squeeze. It may also be *puchkarî*, having coaxed.

Warî, the verb *wârnâ*, describes the action of whirling a thing over the head by way of sacrifice.

Bhairon, *i.e.* Bhairava, a form of Śiva, is a very popular object of worship in the Panjâb and always as a 'holy' character.

No. III.—TEXT.

1.

Râm nâm hirdê nahîn rakhtâ, kûṛâ kâm karandâ:
Dinân châr jag jîwan tohe; kyûn chhoṛê râh chandâ?
Kab tak mân mâr rah murakh? Kyûnkar, Bhayyâ, gandâ?

Ṭek.

Dekho, jârî hai râh phandâ!
Bhâî, samjhe na jag andhâ! Bârî.

2.

Dhan joban terâ yûn chhip jâegâ, jyûn bâdal chandâ.
Âpe ulaṭ, âp nahîn darsâ, mûrakh hai woh jindâ.
Janam maran sadâ nit barte, haraṭh mâl phirandâ.

Ṭek.

Dekho, járî hai ráh phandá!
Bhâî, samjhe na jag andhá! Bárî.

TRANSLATION.

1. Thou keepest not the name of God in thy heart, doing shameful things.
Life to thee in this world is but for a few days; why dost leave the bright way?
How long, destroying thy honour, wilt remain a fool? Why, Brother, be evil?

Chorus.

Behold, the snare is spread in the way!
Brother, the blind world understandeth it not! *da capo.*

2. Thus will thy wealth and youth be hidden, as the moon in the clouds.
Who is perverse seeth not himself and liveth a fool.
Birth and death succeed each other for ever and aye, as the well-rope turns the wheel.

Chorus.

Behold, the snare is spread in the way!
Brother, the blind world understandeth it not! *da capo.*

NOTES.

Janam maran:—allusion here to the universal Indian doctrine of the transmigration of souls. *Harath mál*: the simile here is drawn from the Persian wheel.

No. IV.—TEXT.

Jal jaisá nirmal ho chaltá zamín barábar rahná.
Jhúṭh kapaṭ se raho nirálá. Rám nám ik japná. Bárî.
Aglá áve agan sarúpî jal rúp ho milná.
Is duniyá meṅ din chár baserá; Oṅgkár ik japná.

Ṭek.

Aise aise járiyá járîyo, re Santo, phir janam nahîṅ ḍarná! Bárî.

2.

Gagan manḍal se dhâî dubáo, Dhartî meṅ jamáná.
Makhan makhan to sádhú le gayá, khaṭṭî chhách jagat bharwáná. Bárî.
Dekhe na pardekhe kahná; ant dekhe se ḍarná.
Kahe Machhandarnáth, "Sun, jatî Gorakh, yúṅ Amrápur ṭarná!"

Ṭek.

Aise aise járiyá járîyo, re Santo, phir janam nahîṅ ḍarná! Bárî.

TRANSLATION.

1. Live humbly (level with the ground) as pure water running on the earth.
Live free from falsehood and guile; repeat thou the name of God. *da capo.*
If any come before thee as flames (of fire) meet him as water.
In this world thou art a dweller for but a few days; repeat then Oṁ.

Chorus.

So do your deeds, O saints, that there be no fear of a future birth. *da capo.*

2. Churn your milk in the starry firmament, it will curdle on earth.
The saints take the butter, the world is deceived with the sour curds. *da capo.*
Call the unseen the unseen; fear to see the end.
Saith Machhandarnâth, "Hear, holy Gorakhnâth, thus is Heaven reached."

Chorus.

So do your deeds, O saints, that there be no fear of a future birth. *da capo.*

NOTES.

Járiyá járîyo; simile drawn apparently again from "a game." *Járî* being a word for "gambling." The verb *járná*, to gamble, is however new. The words appear to mean literally: "So make your game."

Gagan manḍal, etc. The meaning seems to be here—"fix your thoughts on heaven and obtain the reward on earth; the saints get the good things of life and the worldly have to put up with the bad."

Machhandarnáth, the traditionary preceptor of the great Gorakhnâth.

Amrápur for Amarapura (Amarâvatî), the dwelling-place of Indra.

No. V.—TEXT.

Ṭek.

Kyá gáo? Ghar dúr, diwáná! Sâîṅ ká ghar sikaṛ hai jaisî lambî khajúr!

1.

Charhúṅ to chhákúṅ prem ras, paṛúṅ to chakná-chúr.
Aṭháráh lákh pákhariá charhtá, uṛtî gagan dhúr.

Chorus.

Kyá gáo? Ghar dúr, diwáná! Sâîṅ ká ghar sikaṛ hai jaisî lambî khajúr. Bárî.

2.

Multânî to gaî mulk se chhoṛî hansâ ḥûr.
Shekh Farîd kûâṅ bîch laṭke ho rahâ chaknâ-chûr.

Chorus.

Kyâ gâo ? Ghar dûr, dîwânâ ! Sâîṅ kâ ghar sikaṛ hai jaisî lambî khajûr. Bârî.

3.

Zât kuzât sharm ko pahunche, dharnî dhare Mansûr !
Das Kabîrâ wahîṅ pahunche, jalwâ barse nûr.

Chorus.

Kyâ gâo ? Ghar dûr, dîwânâ ! Sâîṅ kâ ghar sikaṛ hai jaisî lambî khajûr. Bârî.

Translation.

Why dost thou sing ? Thy home is far, thou fool ! God's house is on high, as a lofty palm !

1. If I climb I taste the nectar of love : if I fall I break in pieces.
The feet of eighteen *lâkhs* of horses advance : their dust rises in the sky.

Chorus.

Why dost thou sing ? Thy home is far, thou fool ! God's house is on high, as a lofty palm ! *da capo.*

2. The Multânî left his country, leaving his beautiful wife.
Shekh Farîd hanging in the well was tortured (with his austerities).

Chorus.

Why dost thou sing ? Thy home is far, thou fool ! God's house is on high, as a lofty palm ! *da capo.*

3. The high and low reach unto shame, Mansûr would bear up the earth !
Kabîr Dâs reached thither, where light and glory are shed.

Chorus.

Why dost thou sing ? Thy home is far, thou fool ! God's house is on high, as a lofty palm ! *da capo.*

Notes.

Chaknâ-chûṛ; lit. fine dust. The two senses of this expression are well brought out in this song ; (1), broken or dashed to atoms; (2), in torture or great pain, and hence figuratively absorbed, very busy.

Aṭhârâh lâkh, etc. The allusion here appears to be to the well-known Râjpût legend of Âlhâ and Udan of Kanauj. The story of these heroes is to be found detailed in a recent work in Hindî, entitled *Âlkkhand*, printed in Devanâgarî at the Dilkushâ Press, Fateḥgaṛh, 1883, a book, by the way, which is replete with curious old legends.

Multânî. The person meant here is seemingly Shekh Yûsaf Qoreshî, ruler of Multân, 1443-5 A.D. He was deposed by his father-in-law, Râi Sahrâ Langâ, *alias* Kutbu'd-dîn Mahmûd Langâ, and sent under an escort to Dehlî. He was a man of learning and high character.

Shekh Farîd, etc. ; this alludes to the well-known story of the Shekh's performing his penances, etc., hanging over the mouth of a well.

Mansûr : Mansûr Ḥallâj, *alias* Shekh Ḥusain Ḥallâj Baizî, the celebrated Sûfî, was put to death by the Khalîfa Al-Muqtadir b'illah (18th Abbaside of Baghdâd, *ante*, vol. XII, p. 260), about 920 A.D., for proclaiming '*Anu'l-haqq*,' 'I am the truth,' but which can also be translated, 'I am God.'

No. VI. Text.

1.

Chhatrî dharm paij ko bândhâ sukarit sanjan sârâ :
Hamârâ nirp bekarit kar, ḍârâ dharm : dharm sat hârâ.
Dîn-diyâl ! Dîn kâ Bandhû ! Koî nahîṅ hitû hamârâ !
Dusâsen mahârâ chîr gaho hai ; mahâ ne sarnâ thârâ !

Ṭêk.

Kisî na sabhâ meṅ dharm bichârâ. Bârî.

2.

Gautam Rikh kî nâr Ahillâ kartab augan sârâ :
Râj parsast Baikunṭh sidhârî : Nigam kaheṅ jas sârâ.

Ṭek.

Kisî na sabhâ meṅ dharm bichârâ. Bârî.

3.

Arjun, Bhîm, Yudishthar Râjâ, in kâ kuchh nahîṅ chârâ.
Dharm het sab, shastar ḍâre : bisar gîâ bal sârâ.
Bhîsham pitâ aur Dronâ Châraj, sun sun maun sârhâ.
Hoe nilaj, lâj nahîṅ, jin ke koî nahîṅ aṭkanhârâ.

Ṭek.

Kisî na sabhâ meṅ dharm bichârâ. Bârî.

4.

Das ghaz pâṭ ka phâṛ na pâyâ, Dusâsen pach hârâ :
Sûr, Shâm, Har hoe haiṅ sahâî, mâdushṭ ko mârâ.

Ṭek.

Kisî na sabhâ meṅ dharm bichârâ. bârî.

TRANSLATION.

1. The Chhatrî performed a solemn vow of virtue, abstinence and all.

My monarch doing-evil, threw away righteousness: destroyed righteousness and honour.

O Protector of the poor! O Brother of the friendless! I have no friend!

Duśśâsana hath seized my garment: my refuge is in thee?

Chorus.

None in the assembly thought on righteousness. *da capo.*

2. Ahalyâ, the wife of Gautama Ṛishi, did very great wrong:

The king left his happy Heaven: the Scriptures tell the whole story.

Chorus.

None in the assembly thought on righteousness. *da capo.*

3. Arjuna, Bhîma and king Yudhishṭhira, to them was no good fortune (in the gambling match).

They laid aside their arms for honour: their power was all lost.

Father Bhîshma and Droṇa Âchârya heard it and kept silence.

They are without honour, no honour remains to those whom there is none to check.

Chorus.

None in the assembly thought on righteousness. *da capo.*

4. The ten yards robe would not tear, Duśśâsana failed.

Sûra, Syâma, and Hari gave help and slew the most wicked one.

Chorus.

None in the assembly thought on righteousness. *da capo.*

NOTES.

This very obscure hymn refers in a confused kind of way to part of the story of Draupadî as related in the *Mahâbhârata*, excepting verse 2, which carries us to the *Râmâyaṇa* and the story of Ahalyâ and her husband Gautama Ṛishi.

The first verse appears to be a sort of prayer from Draupadî to Kṛishṇa to help her against Duśśâsana, who, after Yudhishṭhira had lost her along with himself and all his family, dragged her by the hair into the assembly, and began disrobing her, saying she was now a slave, and could not object.

The second verse refers to the story of Ahalyâ, wife of Gautama Ṛishi, who was seduced by Indra, for which he was driven out of heaven, while she was cursed to be invisible for 1000 years till Râma released her. See Growse's *Râmâyaṇa of Tulsî Dâs*, pp. 16 and 284. Observe the form *kartab* in this verse. *Nigam*, properly the *Vêdas*, here means the *Râmâyaṇa*.

The third verse continues the story of Draupadî, but is very difficult and obscure. In the first line *chârâ* seems to be *châlâ*, often used for 'bad fortune,' but here evidently the reverse. In the third line of this verse *sârhâ* is for *sâdhâ*: *maun sâdhnâ* is to preserve silence. *Lâj* means both 'shame' and its opposite 'honour,' according to context; in this verse, I think, it has the latter meaning. I think the verse means that Yudishṭhira (and so his brethren Arjuna and Bhîma) had no luck in the gambling match so fatal to him; and that the old guardian Bhîshma and the teacher, Droṇa, of both parties looked on, and would help neither. If this be the meaning the final line and the meaning of *lâj* become intelligible.

The fourth verse has the same reference as the first, Sûra and Syâma mean Kṛishṇa and his father. In the *Mahâbhârata* legend Kṛishṇa, being present at the scene when Duśśâsana so ill-treated Draupadî, had pity on her and restored her garments as fast as they were torn off. *Mâdushṭ* is for *mahâdushṭ*, the very wicked one, *i.e.* Duśśâsana.

GRANT OF THE BÂṆA KING VIKRAMÂDITYA II.

BY THE REV. T. FOULKES, CHAPLAIN OF S. JOHN'S, BANGALORE.

In an interesting group of copper-plate inscriptions which were sent to me for examination in connection with the *Manual of the District of Salem*, there are two land-grants of the kings of the Mahâbali or Bâṇa dynasty. One of these grants is the subject of the present paper.

It consists of three copper-plates of an inscription which had originally four plates, together with the third plate of another similar

inscription. They are $8\frac{1}{8}$ to $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, being slightly narrower at the ends than in the middle, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide, and $\frac{1}{16}$ inch thick. Their edges are slightly raised. They are strung on a seal-ring of copper wire $\frac{3}{8}$ inch thick, and $4\frac{5}{8}$ inches in outside diameter. This ring has been cut in the middle for the removal of the plates.

The seal upon this ring is $1\frac{7}{8}$ inches in diameter. It projects $1\frac{3}{8}$ inches above the ring, upon which it is firmly soldered. It bears upon the centre of its face a recumbent bull facing the proper right, reclining on a flat ornamented pedestal, and supported by a lamp on each side. A small umbrella is raised above the bull with a fly-whisk on its right and left sides, between it and the lamps.

The inscription occupies the inside of the first plate, and both sides of each of the other plates, including the odd plate of the second grant. Each side has from nine to eleven lines of writing. The lines are not straight; nor is the engraving otherwise neatly executed.

The character is an antique form of the Tamiḻ-Grantha. The deed is composed in Sanskṛit metre, with the exception of the concluding unfinished portions, which are in Sanskṛit prose.

It is a grant of land to certain learned Brâl · aṇs of Udayêndumaṅgala by Vikramâditya II, of the Bâṇa dynasty: but the description of the matter of the donation is not found here, the inscription breaking off where it was on the point of being described.

It begins with two benedictory verses; the first of them in the name of Śiva; and the second in the name of Vishṇu in the form of Nârâyaṇa. The genealogy of the donor of the grant then follows in verses 3 to 14; and a laudatory description of him occupies the 15th verse and the earlier part of the prose portion. It concludes with the effective part of the grant, in the remaining fragmentary portion.

The odd plate which is strung on the ring with the three plates of the above inscription, is of the same size and description as those three in all respects. It commences with words which are also found near the end of the second line of the third plate of the foregoing inscription. It is thus shown to be the third plate of another similar inscription; the introductory portions of which were copied from the same precedent; and, not improbably, the missing last plate of the above grant has been interchanged with this odd plate by mistake.

This inscription is of peculiar antiquarian importance, inasmuch as it helps to place an ancient dynasty of kings, bearing a very famous and illustrious name, but hitherto very little heard of, in their proper position, both local and chronological, amongst the old rulers of the Southern Dakhaṇ. It is also additionally interesting as being the oldest inscription in the Tamiḻ-Grantha character which has hitherto been discovered.

Transliteration.

Plate I.

[1] Svasti Śrî || Yattatva[ttva]prakaṭîkṛitâvatitarâṁ vedopi nâḷaṁ yataḥ
[2] Sti[Sthi]tyutpattilayâssamastajagatâṁ yanmanvate yo-
[3] ginaḥ [|] Sâtshana[kshânna]mrasurendrabṛindamakuṭavyâlînaratnâva-
[4] lî Śoṇâ[ṁ]śuvrajarañjitâṅghriyugaḷo bhûtyai Śi-
[5] vasso stu vaḥ [||] Kshîrodammathituṁ manobhiratulaṁ
[6] devâsurairmmandaraṁ Hitvâkshipta ivâñjanâdririva ya-
[7] statrâdhikaṁ râjate . [|] Yo bhogi[gî]ndranivishṭamurttirani-
[8] śaṁ bhûyomṛitasyâptaye Rakshevaḥ[dvaḥ] surabṛindavanditapata[da]dva-
[9] ndvaḥ ssa[sa] Nârâyaṇaḥ [||] Yaḥ prâdâdasurâdhipo makhavare datvâ-
[10] rggha[rgghya]mmâ[mâ]dyâya gâṁ Sadvîpâṁ sacharâcharâmma[ma]dhimudâ de-

Plate II a.

[1] vâya daityadvishe [|] Sobhûd Vâmanarûpiṇe Baliriti khyâ-
[2] taḥ suropadrava Vyâpa[pâ]raikarataḥ Śivâṁghrikamaladvadvâ[ndvâ]rchcha-
[3] naikavrataḥ [||] Tasmâdabhût guṇanidhirbalavâṁstajo[stanûjo] Yatrâdhya-
[4] vadva[rta]tamahânamalaḥ prasâdaḥ [|] Śambhoś Śaśâṁkaśaka[la]-
[5] dyutirâjimauler bBâṇaḥ kṛipâṇanihatâriba-

[6] la[ḥ]surâriḥ [||] Tasyânvavâye mahati prasûtaḥ Kshi[Kshî]rârṇṇa-
[7] ve śîtamarîchivadyaḥ [|] Bâṇâdhirâjo yuti[dhi] śâta-
[8] khaḍga Khaṇḍîkṛitârâtirakhaṇḍatejâḥ [||] Bâṇâdhirâjapramukhe-
[9] shvatîteshv Anekaśo Bâṇanṛipeshvantyaḥ[shvathântyaḥ] [|] Aja[jâ]yatâsmi-
[10] Ja[ñJa]yaNandivarmmâ Sâkshâja[jja]yaśrîvasatiśri[śri]yaśchaḥ[ścha] [||] Sa rat-
sha[ksha]-

Plate II b.

[1] ti sma kshitimekavîra Ândhrât pathaḥ paśchimato balîyâ-
[2] n [|] Vadhûmivânanyasamâṁ kulotthâ[ṁ] Râjanyachûḍâmaṇi-
[3] rañjitâṁghriḥ [||] Tasmâdajanishṭa suto Vijayâti[di]tyontarasta[stha]ripu-
[4] varggaḥ [|] Raṇabhuvi yasya na tishṭhanty Arayapayâgrate
[5] bhiyâkrântâḥ [||] Tasmâsa[tsa]mastariputatsha[ksha]ṇadatsha[ksha]-
[6] bâhur Akshi[kshî]ṇapuṇyayaśasâm prabhavastanû-
[7] jaḥ [|] Âsîd Anaṁga iva yo vanitâjanânâṁ ŚrîMa-
[8] lladeva iti yo Jagadekamallaḥ [||] Tenâśeshanirastavairini-
[9] karo devyâṁ Hareṇâtula[ḥ] Pârvvatyâm[tyâ]mudapâti[di] Shaṇmukha iva śrî-
[10] mânsuto yassudhî[ḥ] [|] Yatki[kî]rttirvi[irvi]śadâṁvi[dâdi]gantakariṇâ[ṁ] karṇṇe-

Plate III a.

[1] shu saśchâ[chchâ]marîBhûtâ bhûpativandyapâdayugala Śrî[śŚrî]Bâṇavidyâ-
[2] dharaḥ [||] Tasyâtmajobhavadapâstasamastaśatrur vVidyâchatushṭaya-
[3] nivishṭamatirvvinîtaḥ [|] Durvvâravîryyayaśasâm prabhavastarasî[svî] Yaḥ
[4] pâpadu[ḥ]kharahita[ḥ] PrabhuMerudevaḥ [||] Abhavadanupa-
[5] maśrîrânatârâtivargga[ḥ] Prathitapṛithulakîrttisû[s sû]nu-
[6] rasmâtvi[dvi]nîtaḥ [|] Kshitipatikulamukhya[ḥ] Pârvvatîśâ[ṁ]-
[7] ghripatma[dma] Dvayanihitamatiryyo Vikramâti[di]tyanâ-
[8] mâ [||] Tasyâpi Vijayâdityanâmadheyobhavatsutaḥ [|] Yatvi[dvi]kra-
[9] meṇa vitrastâḥ palâyanterayo yudhiḥ[dhi] [||] Pukaḷavippava-
[10] gaṇḍa iti prathitam Ripudussahaa[ma]sya cha nâma paraṁ [|]

Plate III b.

[1] Abhavatdyu[vadyu]dhi yatkaravâḷataḷam Dvi[ḷadaḷadDvi]pavârimuchosrajalam
[2] vavṛishu[ḥ] [|] Anugada[ta]nayamârggo Bâṇavaṁśaikadîpaḥ Praṇata-
[3] ripusamâjaḥ Kṛishṇarâjapriyo yaḥ [|] Ajani Vijaibâ[Vijayabâ]husû[ssû]-
[4] nurasyâdhikaśrîr Apagataduritetir vVikramâti[di]tyanâmâ [||]
[5] Sa hyaśeshanṛipatimakuṭakoṭiranna[tna]dyutirañjitapa-
[6] dareṇuḥ Nânâvidhabhûriparanṛipapatsha[ksha]doḥkhaṇḍa-
[7] vijayalabdhavipulayaśobhipûrṇṇabâhumaṇḍa-
[8] laḥ Vividhavichitraranna[tna]vilînavalayasvakaratalagṛihîtachâruhe-
[9] makumbhanisravatdvâ[vadvâ]ridhârâpûrvvakam Aki[khi]lavedavedâṁgatarkka-
[10] tatva[ttva]saṁvitsvakarmmaniratebhyaḥ svamanonihitâthaḥ[tântaḥ]saṁvitpradâna-
[11] śîlebhyaḥ dvijavarebhyaḥ Udayendumaṁka[ga]lanivâsibhyaḥ Evaṁbhûta

Odd Plate a.

[1] dyâchatushṭayanivishṭamatirvvinîtaḥ [|] Durvvâravîryyayaśa-
[2] sâm prabhavastarasî[svî] Yaḥ pâpadu[ḥ]kharahita[ḥ]PrabhuMerudevaḥ [||]
[3] Abhavadanupamaśrîrânatârâtivargga Prathitapṛithulakîrtti-
[4] sû[ssû]nurasmâtvi[dvi]nîtaḥ [|] Kshitipatikulamukhya[ḥ] Pârvva-
[5] tîśâṁghripatma[dma] Dvayanihitamatiryyo Vikramâti[di]-
[6] tyanâmâḥ[mâ] [||] Tasyâpi Vijayâdityanâmadheyo-
[7] bhavatsutaḥ [|] Yatvi[dvi]krameṇa vitrastâḥ Palâyanterayo
[8] yudhi [||] Pukaḷappavaragaṇḍa iti prathitam Ripudussahamasya
[9] cha nâma param [|] Abhavatdyayu[vadyu]dhi yatkaravâḷadaḷadvi[ddvi]pavâri-

Old Plate b.

[1] muchosrajalamvavṛishuḥ [||] Anugada[ta]nayamârggo Bâṇavaṁ-
[2] śaikadîpaḥ Praṇataripusamâjaḥ Kṛishṇarâjapriyo yaḥ [|] Ajani
[3] Vijai[jaya]bâhusû[ssû]nurasyâdhikaśrîr Apagataduritetir vVikramâ-
[4] ti[di]tyanâmâ [||] Sa hyaane[hyane]kasamaravijayasaṁ-
[5] labdhavijayalakya[kshmya]dhishṭhitaviśâlabhujântaro
[6] Bâṇakulâmalâmala[kulâmala]vyomâvabhâsanabhâskara a-
[7] vanatânekaparanṛipatimakuṭataṭaghatitamâṇikyamaṇi-
[8] mayûkharañjitâ[ṁ]ghrikamalasvakaratalagṛihîtachâruchâmî-
[9] karorukaragaḷadvâridhârâpûrvvaka[ṁ] viprebhyo veda-

Translation.

1.—HEALTH AND WEALTH ! May that Śiva be to you for prosperity, whose nature even the *Vêda* cannot fully reveal; from whom proceed the stability, the origin and the destruction of all worlds; upon whom the pious fix their meditations; whose two feet are tinged with the multitudinous red rays of the rows of precious stones upon the diadems of the hosts of Sura chiefs who bow down before him.

2. May that Nârâyaṇa save you whose two feet are worshipped by the Sura hosts; who shines more brightly, as Mount A n j a n a set up by the Dêvas and Asuras when, forsaking Mount M a n d a r a, they were minded to churn the milk-sea; who is that form which always reclines upon the prince of serpents to procure anew the immortalizing nectar.

3. He who was lord of the Asuras; who offered the oblation of welcome to the first existent god, the enemy of the Daityas, in the guise of Vâmana, while performing his sacrifice, and cheerfully gave him the earth with its islands and all things moving and immovable; whose chief delight was to cause trouble to the Suras, and whose constant occupation was the worship of the two lotus feet of Śiva; bore the name of B a l i.

4. From him sprung his son B â ṇ a, the abode of virtue, and mighty in strength; who possessed the great pure favour of Śambhu; on whose head are the rays of the lustre of the crescent moon; with whose sword the armies of his enemies were slain; the foe of the Suras.

5. In his extended line B â ṇ a-a ḍ h i r â j a was born, as the cool-rayed moon in the milk-sea; who hewed his enemies in battle with his keen-edged sword; of undiminished glory.

6. When B â ṇ a-a d h i r â j a and many other kings of the race of B â ṇ a, had passed away, then at length J a y a n a n d i v a r m â was born in that line, the chief abode of victory and wealth.

7. That unrivalled hero, mighty in strength, ruled the earth to the west of the Â n d h r a country, cherishing it as a peerless bride of high birth : his feet were tinged by the head-jewels of kings.

8. From him was born a son named V i j a y â d i t y a; the congregation of whose enemies was subject to him; and even on the field of battle his foes could not stand before him, but fled away seized with terror.

9. From him a son was born Ś r î M a l l a d ê v a; who was called *Jagadekamalla*; whose arm was expert in cutting up the whole of his enemies; the source of undiminished merit and fame; who was as A n a n g a to womankind.

10. By him was born of his queen a son Ś r î B â ṇ a V i d y â d h a r a, incomparable and illustrious, as Shanmukha was born of Pârvatî by Hara ; he repelled the whole multitude of his enemies; he was very learned; and his pure fame was as a whisk to the ears of the elephants of the points of the compass; and his feet were worthy to be worshipped by kings.

11. His son was P r a b h u M ê r u d ê v a; who expelled all his enemies; whose mind was intent on the four branches of knowledge; unassuming; a fountain of irresistible valour and glory; courageous; and free from the sorrow caused by sin.

12. From him a son was born named V i k r a m â d i t y a; of unequalled wealth; before whom a multitude of enemies bowed down; whose great fame was spread abroad; humble; a chief amongst the families of kings; whose heart was fixed on the two lotus-feet of the lord of Pârvatî.

13. Of him a son was born, named V i j a y â d i t y a; whose enemies fled from him in battle, terrified at his overpowering strength;

14. Whose second name was Pukaḷavippavagaṇḍa, unbearable to his enemies; the cloud-like elephants cleft asunder by his sword in battle rained forth their blood like water.

15. Of him a son was born named Vikramâditya Vijayabâhu; who followed the path of righteousness, and was a chief lamp of the Bâṇa dynasty; before whom a crowd of enemies humbly bowed down; the dear friend of Kṛishṇa Râja; he had great riches; and the distress of sin fled away from him;

16. The dust of whose feet was tinged by the lustre of the precious stones in the crest of the diadems of all kings; whose arm was covered with great glory acquired by cutting off the arms of the troops of many hostile kings of all classes.

17. When he had first of all poured water out of a beautiful golden water-pot held in the palm of his hand, on which was a bracelet set with many kinds of wonderful precious stones; to the distinguished Brâhmaṇs who dwell at Udayêndu-maṅgala, whose special duty is the study of the whole of the *Vêdas* and *Vedâṅgas* and the sciences of logic and religious philosophy; who are expert in communicating the knowledge stored up in their own minds, thus . . . . [*The remainder of the grant is wanting.*]

The odd plate begins with part of verse 11 above, "whose mind was intent, &c.," and proceeds in the same words down to verse 16; the second name of Vijayâditya II, however, in the 14th verse, being Pukaḷappavaragaṇḍa here, instead of Pukaḷavippavagaṇḍa. The 16th and 17th verses of this plate are as follows:—

16. On whose broad breast Vijaya-Lakshmî dwells, won thither by victories obtained in many battles; the sun which makes manifest the clear sky of the Bâṇa race; whose lotus feet are tinged by the rays of the rubies set in the margins of the coronets of many prostrate hostile kings.

17. When he had first of all made the water oblation poured out of a beautiful large golden water-pot held in the palm of his hand; to certain Brâhmaṇs, Veda . . . . . [*The remainder of the grant is wanting.*]

Remarks.

The mighty Bali, to whose race the line of kings commemorated in the present inscription claims to belong, has left a well-marked impression upon both the mythological and the legendary history of the whole of ancient India, ascending up to the earliest periods of the incarnations of Vishṇu. The *Purâṇas* mention two ancient kings of this name; namely, Bali, the son of Virôchana,[1] the redoubtable king of the Daityas, and Bali, the son of Sutapas,[2] of the lunar race, the father of Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Suhma, and Puṇḍra. The sixth of the nine Ardha-chakravartis of the Jainas also bore this name;[3] as did also one of the three brothers of Vikramâditya, king of Ujjain, the rival of Śâlivâhana.[4] The Bali of the present inscription is identified, through his son Bâṇa,[5] with the first of these four princes. He is therefore that Mahâbali who is the hero of innumerable legends belonging to every portion of India; the once lord of heaven and earth and hell; the leader of the hosts of the Asuras in their unsuccessful attempt to wrest the nectar of immortality from the gods; whose hundred arms were cut off by thunderbolts hurled at him by Indra while engaged in single combat with him; who, nevertheless, subsequently succeeded in driving the hosts of Indra out of the city of Amarâvatî, and in seating himself on the throne of that capital city of the gods; and who was at last overcome by Vishṇu, but only through stratagem, in his incarnation as the dwarf Vâmana, and was then degraded to the throne of the subterranean region of Pâtâla.[6] Festivals in his honour are to this day celebrated in different parts of India,[7] a temple is dedicated to his worship at Gokarna[8]; he is supposed to visit this earth annually on the anniversary of his incarnation in the infernal regions;[9] and he is expected to reappear on the earth before the close of the present dispensation to inaugurate a general moral renovation of the world, at which time Bharoch is

[1] Wilson's *Vishnu Purâṇa*, p. 147, or Hall's ed. vol. II, pp. 69, 211, vol. III, pp. 19, 23; vol. IV, pp. 123, 250; vol. V, pp. 6, 108; 115.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 444, or Hall's ed. vol. IV, p. 122.
[3] *Asiatic Researches*, vol. IX, p. 246.
[4] *Ibid.* vol. IX, p. 120.
[5] See verse 4.
[6] Wilson's *Vish. Pur.* p. 265, note 22, or Hall's ed. vol. II, p. 211.
[7] Rottler's *Tamil Dictionary*, Part II, p. 387; *Mad. Jour. Lit. and Sc.* vol. I, p. 22; *As. Res.* vol. III, p. 265.
[8] Taylor's *Catalogue of the Madras MSS.*, vol. III, pp 240, 254 and 737.
[9] *Mad. Jour. Lit. and Sc.* vol. I, pp. 22-23.

to have the distinction of being his birthplace;[10] on the anniversary of his defeat by Vâmana the Brâhmaṇs annually renew their sacred thread;[11] and the first day of the month of Kârtika is observed as the anniversary of his coronation as monarch of Pâtâla.[12]

B â ṇ a,[13] the eldest of the hundred sons of Bali,[14] occupies a place in the legends of ancient India almost as conspicuous as that of his father. The story of the loves of A n i r u d d h a, the grandson of Vishṇu, in his incarnation as Kṛishṇa, and U s h â, the daughter of Bâṇa, is told in several of the *Purâṇas*; and so also is the history of the terrible war, which resulted from it, between Vishṇu and Bâṇa, in which Bâṇa was ultimately defeated and his thousand arms cut off by the discus of Vishṇu, notwithstanding the mighty assistance of Śiva, whom Bâṇa worshipped, who brought all his now supernatural forces to his aid in this war.[15]

Intermediate between these two illustrious founders of this royal line and the series of consecutive kings who immediately preceded the donor of the present grant, the inscription interposes another prince who bore the great name of the son of Bali, B â ṇ a a d h i r â j a,[16] of whom nothing more is known than the generalities which are mentioned here. He was preceded and succeeded by several unnamed princes.

The remainder of the pedigree of the donor is recorded in verses 6 to 15 of the inscription. It contains the following names:—

Bâṇa adhirâja.
|
Jayanandivarmâ.
|
Vijayâditya I.
|
Śrî Malladêva, *alias* Jagadêkamalla.
|
Śrî Bâṇa Vidyâdhara.
|
Prabhu Mêrudêva.
|
Vikramâditya I.
|
Vijayâditya II, *alias* Pukaḻavippavagaṇḍa.
|
Vikramâditya II, Vijaya-bâhu.

This pedigree presents us with a series of eight princes in direct succession. Their reigns may therefore be regarded as covering about two centuries and a half of time.

The position of the territory of these princes is indicated in the following general terms in the seventh verse of the inscription:—"That unrivalled hero, mighty in strength, ruled the earth to the west of the Â n d h r a country." By "the Â n d h r a country," we are to understand the country in which the Telugu language is spoken. We are then to look for the situation of the B â ṇ a kingdom, or the territory of the M a h â-b â l i-B â ṇ a kings, along the south-western boundary of the Telugu-speaking districts upon the borders of the Tamiḻ country; because the Tamiḻ-Grantha character in which this inscription is written, necessitates the conclusion that some portion of the dominions of these kings was in the neighbourhood of the Tamiḻ-speaking country, in which alone this character was in use. We are therefore to look for it not far from the middle basin of the P â l â r. The situation of the village of U d a y ê n d u m a ṅ g a l a, as described in other inscriptions of this group,[17] renders this conclusion still more certain and definite.

The western boundary line of the Telugu language, after crossing the river T u ṅ g a b h a d r â southwards, runs through the neighbourhood of Â d o n i,[18] and strikes the left water-parting of the Northern Pennâr near the elbow where that river changes its course from the northward to the eastward direction. It then runs up the line of that water-parting southwards, crossing the boundary of the present Maisûr territory, until it reaches Nandidurg. From this important hydrographical centre this language-limit coincides in a general way with the left water-parting of the Pâlâr, running in a south-easterly direction as far as the western boundary of the present district of North Arcot, and continuing onwards through the hills which lie along that boundary as far as the left bank of the P â l â r, near that point in its course where it enters the district of Salem.[19]

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10 *As. Res.* vol. IX, p. 83.
11 Forbes's *Rás Málá*, vol. II, p. 329; *Calcutta Review*, vol. XXIII, p. 177.
12 *As. Res.* vol. III, p. 265.
13 See verse 4 of the inscription.
14 Wilson's *Vish. Pur.* p. 147, or Hall's ed. vol. II, p. 69.
15 Wilson's *Vish. Pur.* p. 591ff.
16 Verses 5 and 6 of the grant.
17 See *Ind. Ant.* vol. VIII, pp. 167 and 273, and another to be published hereafter. See also Plate III*b*, line 11.
18 Compare Wilks' *Mysore*, vol. I, p. 5, for the conterminous boundary of the Canarese language.
19 There are immigrant Telugu-speaking people scattered amongst the indigenous inhabitants of some portions of the country considerably to the south and west of the general limit here indicated. (Compare Rice's *Mysore and Coorg*, vol. I, p. 393, and Cox's *Manual of North Arcot*, p. 257.)

We are therefore to look for a portion of the dominions of these ancient Bâṇa kings somewhere to the westward of this latter section of the Telugu boundary; namely, in the eastern portion of the present district of Kolâr of the Maisûr territories. How far their kingdom extended into the Canarese country westwards, and what was its extent northwards, there is nothing here to indicate.

This location of the Bâṇa territory is confirmed by the indications of its situation which are incidentally mentioned in an inscription of another later Bâṇa prince, which I hope shortly to publish, for whom the Bâṇa kingdom was resuscitated by Vîra-Nârâyaṇa Choḷa immediately after the Choḷa conquest of the Koṅgu-Karnâṭa kingdom. In the *first* place, that Bâṇa prince bore the title of 'Lord of Nandi'; from which it is to be inferred that the district in which Nandidurg is situated formed part of the Bâṇa kingdom at that time. *Secondly*, the conquest of Tumba by Vîra Nârâyaṇa Chôḷa appears to have followed close upon his victory over 'the lord of the Bâṇa kings'; from which it is to be inferred with considerable probability that Tumba's kingdom was in the neighbourhood of the Bâṇa kingdom. The situation of Tumba is shown on the 78th sheet of the Great Trigonometrical Survey Map of India, there spelt 'Toombah,' near the western boundary of the present district of North Arcot, in latitude 13° 15½′ N., and longitude 78° 55′ E.; and some portion of the old kingdom of Tumba is probably represented at this day by the proprietary estate of the present Poligar of that name.[20] On the other hand, the town of Kolâr was apparently not in the Bâṇa kingdom; for, as early as the reign of Koṅgaṇivarmâ, who is placed in the third century A.D., it was held by the king of Koṅgu-Karnâṭa; and some of his successors are similarly said to have possessed it.[21] Some portion of the country around Kolâr, naturally depending on this chief town of the district, must also have been included in that proprietorship. The conquest of the Bâṇa kingdom by Koṅgaṇivarmâ is mentioned[22] in connection with his residence at Kuvaḷâlapuram (Kolâr); and from this it is to be inferred that some portion of the Bâṇa territory was in the neighbourhood of Kolâr. It is not improbable that these districts may have been originally acquired by the Koṅgu-Karnâṭa kings by conquest from the Bâṇas, and that these latter kings were sometimes fortunate enough to reconquer them: at any rate the title of 'lord of Nandi' belonged sometimes to the kings of Koṅgu-Karnâṭa,[23] as it did to the Bâṇa prince referred to above.

The Bâṇa dynasty has long disappeared from the annals of Southern India; and but few references to it have hitherto been discovered in the researches which are at present being made respecting its early history.

(1). The early conquest of the Bâṇa kingdom by Koṅgaṇivarmâ has already been mentioned. Koṅgaṇivarmâ's reign has been placed between A.D. 189 and 240[24]; and this conquest therefore belongs to the end of the second century A.D., or to the beginning of the third century. This is the earliest reference which I have met with to this kingdom. Its conquest implies its existence at a still earlier date: and it necessarily follows that the Bâṇa kings were reigning as early at the least as the beginning of the second century of the Christian era, and probably earlier still.

(2). A copperplate inscription of A.D. 777 at Nâgamaṅgalam[25] mentions another victory over the Bâṇas by Duṇḍu, the heir-apparent to the kingdom of Nirgunda,[26] which kingdom was then feudatory to Pṛithivi Koṅgaṇi, king of Koṅgu-Karnâṭa. From this it is to be inferred that at some date intermediate between these two conquests, that is to say, between the third and the eighth centuries A.D., the Bâṇa kings recovered their lost kingdom, and had become formidable to their neighbours,—a "cause of fear," as the expression is there.

(3). The continuous rule of the Bâṇa kings for a considerable portion of the intermediate centuries is attested by the present inscription of Vikramâditya II.

(4). The 'uprooting' of the Bâṇa king by Vîra Nârâyaṇa Choḷa, whose date, ac-

[20] See *Gazetteer of Southern India*, p. 260ff, and Cox's *Manual of North Arcot*, pp. 75ff and 129ff.

[21] See Rice's *Mysore Inscriptions*, pages xlv, xlvi, 142, 148, 173, 293 and 307.

[22] In the unpublished Bâṇa inscription above referred to. See also *Mys. Inscription*, pp. xlii, 289, and *Ind. Ant.* vol. V, p. 136.

[23] *Mys. Inscr.*, pp, xlv, xlvi, 142 and 148.

[24] See *Mys. Inscr.* p. xlii. This date I think very doubtful.—See Fleet's *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 11f, or *Ind. Ant.* vol. XII, p. 111.—ED. *I. A.*

[25] *Mys. Inscr.* p. 287 and *Ind. Ant.* vol. II, p. 156.

[26] Nirgunda is in the present district of Chitaldurg in the Maisur territories.

cording to the information at present available, is the end of the ninth century A.D. and the beginning of the tenth century,—is mentioned in the unpublished Bâṇa inscription referred to above; as is also the resuscitation of the Bâṇa kingdom shortly afterwards.

(5). There are two inscriptions of the Bâṇa kings at Gulganpode[27] in the Kolâr District, about fifteen miles north of Kolâr. One of these inscriptions records the grant of a village for an act of bravery in the reign of Śrî Mahâvali Bâṇarasa, without any indication of that king's proper name. The other records a similar grant for raising the siege of Mavindi-ûru,[28] to the commander of a detached force belonging to the army of Śrî Mahâvali[29] Bâṇarasa, who is described as "the great king Vikramâditya, who, as a Mount Mêru of victory, received from other kings the celebrated name of Bâṇa Vijâdhara," *i. e.* Bâṇa Vidyâdhara.[30] Here we have the name of one of the kings of the present inscription,[31] the fourth from Jayanandivarmâ. The present inscription, in the next place, throws light upon a doubtful passage in Mr. Rice's inscriptions; and, instead of Mr. Rice's rendering of the phrase, *tannânana Prabhu Mêru dêsase*, "at the command of the great lord who ruled him" in his translation of the first inscription, and "by command of the great lord who ruled him" in his translation of the second,—seeing from our present inscription that 'Prabhu Mêru' is the name of one of the kings of its pedigree,[32]—the following rendering in military phraseology may now be substituted, "by order of Prabhu Mêru who commanded him." With this fresh light thrown upon them, both of these stone monuments clearly refer to two similar acts of bravery performed by two officers commanding detachments of cavalry from the army of Prince Prabhu Mêru, the heir-apparent of Śrî Vikramâditya Jaya Mêru, Bâṇa Vidyâdhara, and at that time commanding the Bâṇa army sent to the relief of the town of Mavindi-ûru when it was besieged by some powerful enemy.

(6). The existence of a Bâṇa kingdom of sufficient importance to be mentioned by the side of the principal kingdoms of Southern India as late as the end of the twelfth century, is attested by a verse of the *Pratâpa Rudrîya* of Vaidyanâtha, a standard work on Sanskṛit composition belonging to the fourteenth century:—

" Rere Ghûrjara jarjharośi samare Lampâka kiṁ kaṁpase
Vaṁga tvaṁgasi kiṁ mudhâ balarajaḥkâmo sikiṁ Koṁkaṇa |
Bâṇa prâṇaparâyano bhava Mahârâshṭrâparâshtrosy anû
Yoddhâro vayam ityarînabhibhavaṁty Aṁdhrakshamâbhṛidbhatâḥ ||[33]

"The troops of the king of Andhra[34] triumph over his enemies exclaiming, Ghûrjara! thou art mocked in the fight. Lampâka! why dost thou tremble? Vanga! why dost thou flee away? Konkaṇa! why art thou blinded for nothing by the dust raised by thy troops? Bâṇa! save thy life. Mahârâshṭra! thou hast lost thy dominions. We are the warriors."

(7). The *Trivikrama-vṛitti*, a celebrated Prâkṛit grammar belonging probably to the fifteenth century, states that its author, Trivikrama Deva was of Bâṇa descent. The passage runs thus in my manuscript copy of this work:—

Śrî Bâṇa sukulakamala-dyumanir Âdityavarmaṇaḥ-pautraḥ ||
Śrî Mallinâthaputro Lakshmîgarbhâmṛitâṁbudhisudhaṁśuḥ ||
Bhâmasya Vṛittavidyâ-nâmnâ bhrâtâ Trivikramasukaviḥ ||[35]

The date of the present inscription cannot yet be definitely ascertained. The date of the Gulgânpode monuments above referred to would lead up to the date of this grant approximately if their date could be fixed with any approach to certainty; a conjectural date alone, however, can be assigned to them at present. When Mr. Rice first published[36] those monuments, he regarded them as belonging to two distinct periods two centuries apart; but in his more recent revision[37]

[27] *Mys. Inscr.* pp. lvi, 304-305.
[28] Mr. Rice's original reading of this name was Machindi-ûru. The photograph of the inscription in vol. X, p. 39 of this Journal confirms his later reading.
[29] The present inscription shows that the 'Vali' of these grants is a vernacular equivalent of the Sanskṛit name 'Bali.'
[30] See Mr. Rice's note, *Mys. Inscr.* p. xlix.
[31] See verse 10.
[32] See verse 11.
[33] *Pratâpa-Rudrîya*, Pra. I. v. 29; and repeated with a slight variation in the example-drama, *Pra.* III, v. 47.
[34] Namely, Prâtâpa Rudra, the Kâkatiya king of Orangal, about A.D. 1165 [See *ante*, vol. X, p. 211; vol. XI, pp. 9ff.—ED.]
[35] Âdhyâ, I, pâ. 1, vv. 2-3.
[36] In A.D. 1878; *Mys. Inscr.* pp. 304-305.
[37] In 1881; *Ind. Antiq.* vol. X, p. 38.

of them published in this journal, he regards them as belonging to the same reign; and he there assigns a date to them "not later than the seventh century," upon grounds arising out of references which he finds in other inscriptions. If the reign of Bâṇa Vidyâdhara could be assigned to the seventh century with any trustworthy approach to exactness, the approximate date of the present inscription would be about a century later; since its donor lived in the fourth generation after Bâṇa Vidyâdhara; at the latest its date would be, on these grounds, about A.D. 750.

The fact that this inscription is written in the Tamiḻ-grantha character is of considerable consequence in the search for its date. The time of the introduction of this character cannot yet be traced; its earliest appearance known to me connected with a clue to any date is in the inscriptions of the Choḻa kings, in which the names of those kings are frequently written in letters of this character, as are also the Sanskṛit quotations which are found in them, while the body of the inscriptions is written in the antique Tamiḻ character. The earliest of the Choḻa kings to whom a date can be assigned, namely, Vîra Nârâyaṇa Chôḷa, reigned about A.D. 920.[38]

[38] The reasons for fixing this date will be given in my remarks upon the second Bâṇa inscription.

NOTES ON BUDDHIST IMAGES IN CEYLON.

BY W. KNIGHT JAMES, F.R.G.S., F.R.HIST.S., COLOMBO.

I. *Buddha.*—In Ceylon Wihâras or shrines, Buddha is represented in three positions: (*1*) standing; (*2*). sitting; (*3*). reclining.

1. In *standing* figures, the left arm hangs by the side of the body, the fingers are stretched out close together, slightly touching the thigh of the left leg. The right arm is placed close to the side as far as the elbow, the fore-arm is raised, and the hand held vertically, displaying the palm, while the thumb and index finger are joined at their tips, leaving an oval space between them. This position of the left arm is supposed to represent the inoffensiveness of Buddha, and the needlessness to the Perfect One of any temporal defence or protection. The position of the right arm indicates exhortation, and the placing together of the thumb and finger is intended to show that he covets not the smallest particle of worldly wealth.

Sometimes the right arm to the elbow is placed by the side as above, but the under part of the fore-arm is towards the body, and the palm of the hand turned upwards with the fingers slightly inclined downwards. This position is symbolical of benevolence, open-heartedness and charity.

2. *Sitting* figures are always cross-legged, with the soles of the feet turned upwards. This is probably a device of the sculptor to show the *Maṅgalalakkhaṇas,* or auspicious marks of which Buddha was said to have had 108 on his feet.

The hands generally rest in the lap, the back of the right hand lying in the palm of the left.[1] Sometimes the hands are separated, the right one resting on the thigh, close to the knee, and the left one placed on the sole of the right foot (the *Bhûmisparśa mudrâ*).

This position is indicative of contemplation and deep meditation (Pali, *Dhyâna*). I have never seen or heard of any sitting figure of the Buddha in Ceylon, with the feet hanging down, such as are stated by Dr. Burgess to be found in the Cave Temples of India.

3. *Reclining* figures are always on the right side, representing what is called in Pali *Sîhaseyyâ*—the lion's sleep.[2] Buddha while sleeping was said to retain his consciousness. The head in this position is represented as resting on the palm of the right hand, the elbow touches the bed, and the fore-arm rests on a round pillow. The left arm is extended and rests upon the left side. The figure is always represented as stretched at full length, and the legs and feet are placed one upon the other. This position is emblematical of perfect rest (Pali, *nirodhasamâpatti*—the *nirwâṇa* to be attained in this world). Very rarely a figure of Buddha is represented as walking, but it is doubtless intended to represent the Buddha during one of the seven *satiyas* or weeks which he spent fasting, and during which time he is said to have been engaged in various exercises intended to show how thoroughly he had overcome human passions and fatigue.

[1] This is the *Dhyânamudrâ.*

[2] Burnouf, *Lotus,* p. 342.

One of these *satiyas* was spent in walking up and down on the *Ratnachaṅkamaṇa* or walk composed of gems which was built for him by the gods.

Small images, made of gold and silver, and representing Buddha in each of the seven *satiyas*, are frequently enclosed within *dágabas* in Ceylon. The images of the 24 Buddhas previous to Gautama, and from whom he obtained *Vivaraṇa* or approbation, are also frequently enshrined in these *dágabas*. Sometimes in temple sculptures, but more frequently in paintings, we find these 24 figures represented with the Bôdhisattva in attendance in a reverential attitude, and occasionally he is represented as making offerings of flowers, &c., to them. There appear however to be no distinctive marks by which each of the Buddhas can be distinguished. They are usually arranged in a row, which is supposed to represent their order. .

The Bôdhisattva is generally broadly distinguished :—when he appeared as a Râjâ or a Cakkavatti Râjâ, he is represented as wearing a kingly or imperial crown ; when a Nâga Râjâ as wearing a crown formed by a cobra; in Brahmanical dress when a Brâhmaṇ. He is represented as a lion when with the Buddha intended to represent Padumo, and as an ascetic wearing the *jaṭá* of matted hair, when represented as Jatilo the Bôdhisattva of Padumuttaro.

Sometimes an incident during one of the *satiyas* is represented. When Gautama was preaching rain came on, and a snake god, Muchalindo (Muchilinda) is said to have spread out its hood over his head to protect him from the storm. An image representing this, which was at one time in the Kælani Temple near Colombo is described by Totagamuwa in his *Selalihini Sandêsa.*

II. *Attendants.*—In Ceylon there are only two principal attendant figures, these are Sâriputta, who is always on Buddha's right, and Moggallâna, who is always represented on the left. These are the *Aggasáwaka* or chief disciples.

The posture of the attendants is generally standing with the palms of their hands together in an attitude of reverence. They are rarely represented as sitting, and never when the Buddha is standing, and we never find them represented in the reclining posture. Sometimes the disciples hold a flower (generally a lotus) in the right hand, while the left hangs by the side of the body. This is intended to represent *pûja*, or the offering of flowers to Buddha. In some temple *paintings*, with these two, and sometimes without them, is represented a large number of other disciples in various attitudes of reverence, such as kneeling, standing with bowed head, offering flowers, &c., but no distinctive names are given to any of these figures. Ânanda and Kassapa appear not to be represented in Ceylon sculptures as principal attendants.

III. *Dress, &c.*—Buddha and his disciples are always represented as wearing the ordinary saffron-coloured mendicant's robe. In some figures both shoulders are covered, whilst in others the robe is thrown only over the left shoulder, leaving the right one bare. In Buddhist books Buddha is spoken of as wearing his robe over both shoulders when preaching, walking abroad, or in the presence of an assembly, and over one only when in the retirement of the *pansala*, but it appears doubtful whether artists have been guided by this in any way.

Although in Ceylon Buddha or his disciples are never represented as wearing ornaments or a head-dress of any kind, he is generally represented as having on his head a peculiar flame-like process which is intended to represent a sort of halo (Sin. *Siraspata*) formed by the collection of the six coloured rays of light which were said to be reflected from his body (Pali, *níla*, *pîta*, *lôhita*, *odáta* and *mañjiṭṭhā*). In some paintings however this halo is represented as surrounding the whole body. Buddha is generally represented as having short hair arranged in the form of little curls.

IV. The figure of Buddha is invariably represented as larger than that of any of his attendants or disciples. There is among the Buddhists of Ceylon a tradition that Buddha's height was 18 cubits (27 feet) and under this notion where it is possible they make the reclining figure of this length, but at Aukana Wihara, between Dambulla and Anuradhapura, however, there has been discovered a colossal standing image of Buddha, hewn from the solid gneiss, which is said to be nearly 50 feet in

height.[3] Several other colossal figures hewn from the rock and more or less defaced, have been found in the Anurâdhâpura and Polonnaruwa districts.

V. *Dewas*.—In some places sculptures representing Dewas or spirits and Hindu gods as well as kings are to be found. These wear ornaments, crowns, &c., and have weapons in their hands, and are symbolical of support and protection. These figures are only occasionally to be found within the limits of the shrine, and are never represented as attendant on Buddha. They are generally placed outside the shrine, and often in a separate room or compartment.

The following are some of the gods which are found represented in temple paintings:—Vishṇu, Sumana, Śakra or Indra, Brahmâ, Mâra and his attendants, Âlavaka, Kuvêra, Vibhîshana. Although Brahmâ is frequently mentioned in Siṁhalese Buddhist literature, his image is not found in the Vihâras. The pictures generally are representations of Jâtaka stories. The gods represented in sculpture are very few, generally Vishṇu only, who is painted black, and holds a sword and a discus. Occasionally we find Nâthadêwa, who is considered to be the Maitrêya Bôdhisattva.

Similarly a number of Siṁhalese kings are represented, *e. g.*:—

Vattagâmini Abhaya, Kîrtissri Râjasiṇha and Bhâtikâbhaya.

The Ceylon Pantheon appears to be remarkably small when compared with that of Buddhism in India, and although nearly all the deities of the Hindu Pantheon are referred to in Ceylon Buddhistical literature, very few are represented in the temples. There is a sameness in design and arrangement, and, as a rule, but little artistic merit.

[3] *Vide* Sir Emerson Tennant's *History of Ceylon*, vol. I, p. 604.

A LEGEND FROM THE TALAVAKÂRA

(OR JAIMINÎYA) BRÂHMANA OF THE SÂMAVÊDA.

BY THE LATE A. C. BURNELL, PH. D.

The *Talavakâra Brâhmaṇa* has been hitherto known only by Śaṅkarâchârya's assuring us that the *Kênopanishad* forms part of the ninth chapter of it, and it seems to have been long regarded as a lost work; at least, Sanskrit scholars mention it with an indifference that shows they were hopeless about its recovery[1]. By a lucky concurrence of circumstances, not only did it come to my knowledge that this work still existed, but a copy has come into my hands,[2] and from it I extract the following legend:—

This *Brâhmaṇa* is, perhaps, the largest work of the kind in existence; it is much like the other *Brâhmaṇas* in style and contents, but much of the matter is new, and it promises to be of considerable importance to lexicographers, as it contains many new words, and furnishes means to test the renderings hitherto given to hard words already found in the *Brâhmaṇa* literature. It is also, happily, a contrast to the dry and sutra-like *Brâhmaṇas* of the *Sâmavêda* hitherto known. It is thus the most important addition to the *Brâhmaṇa* literature made since the earliest days of Sanskrit studies by foreigners.

The legend I have chosen is, in substance, already known from the *Śatapatha Brâhmaṇa* (ch. xi, 6, 1, etc.[3]), but the form there is decidedly of a later time, and in the course of the whittling down to which the Brâhmaṇs submitted their early literature, it has lost many of its most striking features. This legend, in its two forms, also gives new proof of what has, perhaps, not been sufficiently insisted on hitherto by scholars—that the existing *Brâhmaṇas* are merely more or less perfect representations of what was once a common property, and that it is imperatively necesssary, not only that we should have editions of all the *Brâhmaṇa* texts, but also that a comparison should be made of what (apart from ritual) is common to two or more works of the kind.[4] In this way it will be possible to trace the origin of

[1] Prof. Weber's "*Sanskrit Literature*" (Eng. trans.) p. 74 of the text; in the App. he notices my discovery. Prof. Monier Williams, *Indian Wisdom*, p. 38.

[2] The old Grantha MSS. containing three chapters were lent me, and from a copy of these I give the legend. Another (of another part) having been nearly destroyed by white ants, I was allowed to keep; the complete text I hope for in a transcript of another Grantha MS.

[3] Ed. Prof. Weber, p. 870 ff.

[4] This has, in effect, been done in many cases, by Dr. J. Muir in his *Sanskrit Texts*.

many obscure passages and allusions in the *Smṛitis* and *Purâṇas*.

I shall now give the *Talavakára* version of the legend (ch. I, §§ 41-43) word for word, almost, as follows in English :—

Now Bhṛigu Varuṇa's son was a student. He thought himself better than his father, than the gods, than other Brâhmaṇs not students. But Varuṇa beheld (*him*): "Why is my son utterly without discernment? I must teach him!" He took his breath away, then he, freed from darkness and from limits, went to the other world. He went on in that world. One having cut up a man ate him. He said: "Can this be? How is this?" They said to him: "Ask (*thy*) father Varuṇa! He will explain this to thee." He went on again. A man devoured a man who was crying out. He said: "Can this be? How is this?" They said to him; "Ask (*thy*) father Varuṇa! He will explain this to thee!" A third (*time*) he went on. A man devoured a man who was silent. He said: "Can this be? How is this?" They said: "Ask (*thy*) father Varuṇa! He will explain this to thee!" For the fourth (*time*) he went on. Two women watched much wealth. He said: "Can this be? How is this?" They said: "Ask (*thy*) father Varuṇa! He will explain this to thee!" For the fifth (time) he went on. (*He saw*) a red woman and a yellow woman both stretching out (*their*) arms. As for the red woman, a black, naked man with a club, watched her. As for the yellow woman, golden men with golden pots, were raising her up all her wishes. He said: "Can this be? How is this?" They said: "Ask (*thy*) father Varuṇa! He will explain this to thee!" For the sixth (*time*) he went on. (*He saw*) five rivers, abounding in blue and white lotus flowers, flowing with sweet water. In them were bands of Apsarases, the sound of lutes and singing and dancing, a delightful smell, (*and*) a great sound. He said: "Can this be? How is this?" They said: "Ask (*thy*) father Varuṇa! He will explain this to thee!" || 41 ||

He then met Varuṇa in an open place; he said to him: "Father, I am come!" "Son! didst thou see?" "Father! I saw." "What? son!" "A man cut down a man and ate him." He replied: "Yes, those who do not understand rightly and do not offer the agnihôtra in this world, (*but*) cut down plants, and use them as fuel, them the plants, in human form, devour in return in that world." "What avoidance is there for that? When one puts on fuel (*to the sacred fire*) for it, that is avoidance of it, by that it is evaded." "What next?" "A man ate a man who was crying out." "Yes," he said: "those who in this world do not rightly understand and do not offer the agnihôtra, (*but*) cook animals for themselves, them the animals in human form devour in return in that world." "What avoidance is there for that?" "If one offers the first invocation by the voice, that is the avoidance of it; by that it is evaded." "What thirdly?" "A man was devouring a man who was silent." "Yes," he said; "as men who do not offer the agnihôtra or rightly understand, cook in this world for themselves the plants that are silent, so the plants in human form eat them in return in that world." "What avoidance is there of that?" "When one offers the final invocation by the mind, that is avoidance of it; by that it is evaded." "What fourthly?" "Two women watched much wealth." "Yes," he said: "they were Belief and Disbelief. Those who in this world offer the agnihôtra (*but*) who do not rightly understand, (*and*) who sacrifice without faith, it (*goes to*) Disbelief, those who have faith, it (*goes to*) Belief." "What avoidance of it is there?" "If one tastes for them (*the milk*) twice by means of a finger, that is avoidance of it; by that it is evaded." || 42 ||

"What fifthly?" "(*I saw*) a red woman and a fair woman stretching out their arms. As for the red woman, her a black naked man with a club watched. But as for the fair woman, golden men with golden pots raised her up all her wishes." "Yes," he said: "those who don't offer the Agnihôtra in this world, and don't understand rightly, press out Brâhmaṇs' blood; that is the red woman. But the black naked man with a club who watched her is Wrath; she is his Ambrosia." "What avoidance of that is there?" "When one eats (*of the offering*) by the sruc (*wooden spoon*), that is its avoidance; it is evaded by that." "Now the water that, having washed that spoon, one pours out to the North, that is the fair woman, for whom golden men with golden pots raised up all her wishes." "What sixthly?" "Five rivers, abounding with blue and white lotus flowers, flowing with sweet water; in them dancing and singing, the sound of lutes, troops of Apsarases, a delightful smell, a great sound." He said: "Yes, those were my regions." "How must I conquer thee?" "By what is learned from (*these*) five sights,

by what is inferred from (*these*) five sights." He said: "As there is no room to conquer (*that*) world except by the agnihôtra, to-day (*shall be*) my fast-day before establishing sacred fire." So they did. The wise man who knows this thus, (*and*) sacrifices the agnihôtra, by (*reason of*) it the plants in human form do not devour him in that world, nor cattle, nor (*grain-plants such as*) rice and barley. His sacrifices are not destroyed, going to Belief and Unbelief. He prevents the red woman, the fair woman. || 43 ||

The corresponding legend in the *Śatapatha Brâhmaṇa* has been translated (in German) by Prof. Weber[5]; it is therefore unnecessary to repeat it here, and the same illustrious *savant* has already fully discussed the Indian view of the sacrificial acts referred to. I will, therefore, only say that the *agnyâdhâna* (or establishing by a Brâhmaṇ of the three sacred fires in his house) is the necessary step to the *agnihôtra*[6] or offering of milk in the fire, morning and evening, which at once atones for all the wrongs the offerer may do, and is also the preliminary to the other Vedic sacrifices. But this offering, as the above shows, must be done with right knowledge and intention, or it is in vain.

The first remarkable point in the above legend, as we now have it, is that Bhṛigu[7] died and went to the other world. In this way it has a character quite new to it, for in the meagre version already known, there is nothing of this, and Bhṛigu meets his divine father just as he might meet any mortal in the world. In this way, also, the legend belongs to a large and striking class of myths which occur not only in the so-called Indo-Germanic,[8] but also in the Assyrian and Semitic mythologies. The story of Orpheus and the descent of Aeneas will at once occur to all. In the Norse there are similar legends, the Vegtamskviða in the older *Edda*, and the journey of Gylfi in the younger. The Persian (Pahlevi) book of Arda Virâf is one of the most complete stories of the kind, and is, in many parts, much like the *Brâhmaṇas*. In the Middle Ages the popular myths, *e. g.* of the Venus mountain, and even the lives of the Saints, *e. g.* of St. Bruno the founder of the Carthusian Order, furnish visions or experiences of precisely the same kind, to say nothing of Dante's *Divina Commedia*. If these Indo-Germanic myths be compared, they all agree in one remarkable characteristic, a strong impression of illusion;[9] the journey is more or less unsatisfactory, and the result to its hero is only this, that he must go on steadily in the old paths. The Semitic myths of this kind, *e. g.* Muhammad's journey, have a more positive character. Legends of this kind, it is hardly necessary to say, abound in all primitive literatures.

Again, Varuṇa here appears in his primitive character, as a death-causing god; which is omitted in the *Śatapatha* text. Varuṇa takes away Bhṛigu's breath or rather (*five*) 'breaths,' and he then goes to the other world.[10] It is remarkable also that the sixth sight that Bhṛigu saw is omitted in the *Śatapatha* text, and the first is repeated. Again, in the *Talavakâra* text there is nothing like an idea of heaven and hell as distinct and separate places, whereas in the *Śatapatha* the distinction is clear. This differentiation points to relatively later times.

For these reasons, it may be urged that the *Talavakâra* text is the older; as it is it is far more intelligible than that in the *Śatapatha*. In the last, only enough to barely convey the lesson intended is left; but this abridgment is characteristic of the later Vedic literature as it gradually became transformed into *sûtras* or *kârikâs*.

The style supports this view. That of the *Talavakâra* text is plain vigorous prose, with a more frequent use of the conjunctive mood,

5 *Indische Streifen*, vol. I, pp. 24-6.

6 There are very few Brâhmaṇs who do this now-a-days, and the number is rapidly diminishing. The whole first chapter of the *Talavakâra Brâhmaṇa* treats of the *agnihôtra* and *prâyaśchittas* connected with it, much as in the fifth book of the *Aitarêya Brâhmaṇa*, but the resemblance is only as far as the matter goes. I have not found a single passage common to both *Brâhmaṇas*. For the *agnyâdhâna* see Âpast. *Srauta sûtra*, ch. v., and for the *agnihôtra*, ch. vi.

7 On this mythical being and the Bhṛigus see Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*.

8 So far as Sanskrit literature is concerned I will only refer to the *Kôṭhakopan*.

9 This is amusingly preserved in the dream of the meddlesome cobbler. See Grimm's *Kinder- und Hausmährchen* (ed. of 1864), vol. II, p. 358. So also in the tale of Rip van Winkle. The first of these is based on a very old tale. See Grimm's remarks, do.: vol. III, p. 249 fig. (ed. 1856). The last book but one of the *Mahâbhârata* also brings this feature prominently forward.

10 *Cf.* Grimm's account of the old Teutonic view of death; *Deutsche Mythologie* (2nd ed.) p. 799 ff. For the Indian views see Dr. J. Muir's paper in the *Royal Asiatic Society's Journal*, N.S. vol. I, pp. 287ff.

whereas that of the *Śatapatha* shows a tendency to accumulate epithets, a characteristic of the later Sanskrit, in which the general clearness of statement is sacrificed to an attempt at precise details, such as, in the end, led to the *sûtra* style, in which details are everything, and it is often all but impossible to get a clear general view of the matter discussed. In some respects, the style is irregular, like that of the *gâthâs*—a name which the Sâmavêda writers give to prose and to the *Brâhmaṇas*.[11]

These differences in the condition of the text of the two *Brâhmaṇas* show clearly the value of a definite form or style in preserving traditional literatures; the metres of the *Vêdas* have saved the parts in verse from much change, whereas those in prose have suffered like the *Brâhmaṇas*. . . . . .

If the above legend be not of the very earliest times, yet the language and style mark it as belonging to the earliest part of the times when the *Brâhmaṇas* were composed, or to a time when the earliest notions of the *Brâhmaṇs*, so far as we know, yet survived to a great extent, though a transition to polytheism had already commenced; but there cannot be a better example of fetishism[12] in the real sense of the word—for it is strictly a technical term — than what we find here, where plants are seen by Bhṛigu as human beings,[13] and even '*Śraddhâ*' or faith and its contrary are personified. Such notions survive even in the later Sanskrit literature;[14] but in the earlier or Vedic literature they are to be found almost in every line; the difficulty is not to find examples, but to choose the best. The names of the Vedic gods, for instance, are all names of natural objects,[15] and Dr. Muir's *Sanskrit Texts* put in the clearest light the gradual growth from fetishist conceptions regarding these objects or phenomena, up to the polytheistic notions of more advanced times. It is impossible to read the different allusions to the Vedic gods collected by Dr. Muir from the earliest Indian literature without perceiving that the Vedic mythology is a confused mass of inconsistent beliefs; there is nothing like a trace of harmony or subordination. But such a state of things can only be explained by what is to be understood by fetishism; if any metaphysical abstraction had been the beginning of the Vedic mythology, some artificial harmony must have been the result, and the supererogatory gods and the attribution of the same functions to several gods would not appear; as it is, the confusion is so great, that the greatest scholars have not yet reduced this chaos to order.

In the text there is a mention of a class of divine beings—Apsarases—to which references are rare in the Vedic literature. Various explanations have been assigned to account for them, and from Yâska[16] down to the present time various etymologies of the name have been proposed. Goldstücker supposed that they are intended to represent the vapours attracted by the sun, and Holtzmann compares them to the fairies of Europe. I would suggest —I cannot find that it has been done already —that they are the Indian counterparts of the naiads and nymphs of Europe. Thus (as in the text) we find them mentioned in connection with water,[17] and like the water spirits of Europe they are dangerous and seductive.[18] They are also mentioned in company with gandharvas[19] who seem to be the corresponding male spirits, and who possess women[20] like the Apsarases seduce men.

It is remarkable that these beings are sometimes represented as being the equals of the

[11] *Samhitopanishadbrâhmaṇa*, p. 38, *Sâmavêda Prâtiśâkhya*, *Sûtra* 38.

[12] I use the word without the usual inverted commas, for it is now a good English word. 'Fetisso' is to be found in Purchas (1625). Originally, it is Portuguese, but as a technical, philosophical term we owe it to A. Comte.—*Cours de Phil. Posit.* vol. V, p. 25.

[13] Similar ideas survive elsewhere. *Cf.* the superstition about the mandrake.

[14] *Cf.* Manu, ch. ii, 114. As regards plants—*Vishṇu Purâṇa*, i, 15.

[15] This has been often clearly stated: " La race indo-européenne fit des forces de la nature ses premières divinités : elle adora le Ciel, le Soleil, l'Aurore, la Tempête ; elle leur prêta une âme, une intelligence, une volonté libre, des sentiments d'amitié ou de haine pour les hommes. Mais, tout en leur rendant hommage comme à des êtres supérieurs, on ne perdait pas de vue leur caractère physique."—Bréal, *Hercule et Cacus* (1863) p. 7. This view is supported by the more recent researches of Hillebrandt and others.

[16] V. 13 (p. 84 *ed.* von Roth). This passage seems to be the origin of the obscene references to Apsarases in the later literature. Grassmann supports the etymology *a-psaras*, but *ap-saras* (moving in water) seems more probable.

[17] *Ṛigvêda*, 790, 3—*samudriyâ apsarasaḥ*. Invocations to the waters are mentioned in the *Brâhmanas*.

[18] *Ṛigvêda*, 949, 5—*âpsarâ jâram upa sishmiyâṇâ*, etc. So in the *Atharvaveda* they win at dice and cause madness. *Cf.* the legends of the Lorelei and Melusine, also the Nixies and Swan Maidens (Grimm, *D. Myth.* p. 404.)

[19] *Ṛigvêda*, 949, 4-5; 962, 6. *Ait. Br.* iii, 31.

[20] Ait. Br., v, 29—*tadgṛihasvâminâ gandharvêna* (Sâyana's *C.* A kind of domestic spirit!!!). *Cf.* *Ṛigv.* 911, 40-1.

greater gods; thus in this *Talavakâra Brâhmaṇa*,[31] it is said that when the Dêvas and Asuras were contending, Indra went to a Gandharva with three heads to learn how to get the victory. In the later literature and Buddhist works, myriads of Apsarases[32] and Gandharvas are mentioned, but they are very subordinate beings.

It appears to me that fetishism only will make all this intelligible. How otherwise is it possible to explain the multitude of divine beings of the same class? or how is it possible to explain invocations and offerings to divine beings that the Vedic writers yet knew to be only natural phenomena?

The recovery of this *Brâhmaṇa* and the *Śâkhâ* of the *Sâmaveda* to which it belongs, now confirms, in a striking way, the conclusions which Haug's discovery of the *Maitrâyaṇîya śâkhâ* of the *Yajurvêda*, and Sir W. Muir's discovery of the *Paippalâda śâkhâ* of the *Atharvavêda*[33] already suggested a few years ago, that there is little absolutely new to be hoped for, even if the recovery of the lost Vedic works became probable. That a few more books of this kind may be found,[34] is possible; but it is tolerably certain that they will be very much like what we already have, and that though they may furnish new details and thus help research, yet the progress of the growth and development of the Brâhmaṇ religion and literature will still remain to be discovered by minute and painful research; there is no longer any probability of a happy discovery which will, at once and without the tedious labour now necessary, throw light on what is obscure and open out new fields to the enquirer.

This is a result that the earliest students of Sanskrit—except, perhaps, the sober Colebrooke—certainly did not anticipate; but it will be much to the advantage of Indian studies, if it be now generally recognized that they are utterly foreign to all sentimentalism and romance, and that only the most tedious and patient labour can hope to make any discoveries, and that even those will be of little interest except to scientists. Here, in short, there is now no room for amateurs, who cannot be expected to sift the mountains of dust and ashes which represent Indian literatures, in the hope that years of toil may bring to light a few grains of ore.

I will now give one specimen to show the philological interest of this *Brâhmaṇa*.

Sakvala (*Chakkavâḷa*, *Chakkavâla*).

In Pali books one frequently meets with words which are not to be found in Sanskrit texts, and yet must obviously have had a Sanskrit source. Such a word, *e.g.*, is the Pal. *chakkavâla* commonly called *sakvala* (the Singhalese form of the word) in popular treatises on Buddhism. This word is used to signify a mundane system (of which there is an infinite number), the limit being the space to which the light of a sun is supposed to extend.

The late Prof. Childers (in his admirable *Pali Dictionary*) has derived this word from *chakravâṭa* (Sanskrit), but for this word (assumed to mean 'limit') there is no good authority. *Chakravâla* (Sanskrit) is equally questionable; both words, in short, seem to be fabrications of pedants, and occur only in the *Amarakôsha* and other relatively recent works.

In the *Jaiminîya* (*Talavakâra*) *Brâhmaṇa* a new word occurs which is evidently the Sanskrit original of *chakkavâla*; this word is *châkvâla* (neut.). It occurs more than once, but the following passage (ii, 22) settles its meaning: *âdityo vâ êtad atrâ'gra âsîd: yatrai'tach châkvâlam adô 'gniḥ. sa idaṁ sarvam prâtapa. tasya dêvâḥ pradâhâd abibhayus, tê'bruvan sarvaṁ vâ ayam idam prayakshatî'ti*" etc. Here *châkvâla* can only mean 'sphere' or 'horizon.'

The formation from this of the Pali *chakkavâla* is easily explained.

The *â* becomes short before the double consonant (Minayeff's *Pali Gr.* by Guyard, § 9), and this (by insertion of *a*) becomes *kkav* (do. § 46. *cf. ratana*), and thus we get *chakkavâla*, which has been assumed (as might be the case) to be the representative of *chakravâla*;

[31] Ch. iii, § 10. *Cf. Ṛigv.* 949, 4; 965, 6.

[32] *Lotus de la bonne Loi*, ch. xxvi, p. 279.

[33] As regards the first, see the preface to my *Jaiminîya text of the Ârshêyabrâhmaṇa* (1878); as regards the second, Haug's *Brahma und die Brahmanen* (1871), pp. 31-4, and Weber's *Ind. Studien*, xiii, pp. 117-128. As regards the third, von Roth's *Der Atharvaveda in Kaschmir* (1875).

[34] Not, however, by indiscriminate and unsystematic search made by persons who do not know what to look for. But if success is to follow such search at all, it will only be possible at present; in a few years more, all the little known and obscure works—and these alone are of value—will have utterly disappeared. Very little interest is taken by the natives, at present, in their literatures, and what little exists is bestowed entirely on recent sectarian and polemical tracts.

the difficulty as regards the meaning of *vâla* being overlooked; as an independent word it means 'hair,' and is not a formative.

But what is the origin of *châkvâla*? *âla* is here obviously a primary formative such as we find in *pâtâla pañchâla, visla, mṛiṇâla* and other words. The root is then, to be sought in *châks-*. I would connect this with √ *chaksh* = see, as appears in *chakshhuh*, etc. Thus *châkvala* would mean the visible horizon, and from this has been gradually extended in meaning to what we find in the Buddhist cosmogony.[25]

ON THE JÂIMINÎYA- OR TALAVAKÂRA-BRÂHMAṆA.[1]

BY PROF. W. D. WHITNEY, OF NEW HAVEN.

The *Jâiminîya* is on the whole a dull and uninteresting work, as compared with the others of its class. A most unreasonable share of its immense mass is taken up with telling on what occasion some being "saw" a particular *sâman*, and "praised with it," thereby attaining certain desired ends, which may be attained by others that will follow his example; and the *pseudo*-legends thus reported or fabricated average of a degree of flatness and artificiality quite below the ordinary. Of course, there are extensive passages of a different character; and also some of the stock legendary material of the Brâhmaṇa period appears here in a new setting, or a different version, or both. Decidedly the most interesting case of the latter kind, so far as I have observed, is the passage which, with a true insight, Burnell himself selected and published in 1878 as a specimen of his new *Brâhmaṇa*.[2] By way of further specimen and contribution to the same important end, the comparison of the varying versions of common material found in the *Brâhmaṇas*, I give here another extract, containing a story already well known from the *Śatapatha*;[3] it fills several sections of the third and last of the principal divisions of the *Brâhmaṇa* proper:—

"120. To these the *chyâvana*. Chyavana the Bhârgavan knew the *vâstupaśya* (MS. *vastup-vâptup-, vâstupasya*) *brâhmaṇa*. He said to his sons: 'I know the *vâstupaśya brâhmaṇa*; put me down, then, in the *vâstu*, and go forth with thrice repeated departure (? *triḥ punaḥ prayâṇam*).' They said: 'We shall not be able; we shall be cried out against (*âkrôśanavantas*); men will say of us "they have deserted their father."' 'Not so,' said he; 'you on your part will be the gainers by it, and I by this means have hopes of becoming young again; just leave me and go forth.' Thus he gave them to understand. They put him down at the *śâiśava* of the Sarasvatî, and went forth with thrice renewed departure. He, deserted (?) in the *vâstu*, wished: 'May I be young again; may I win a girl for wife; may I sacrifice with a thousand.' He saw this *sâman*; he praised with it.

"121. When he had praised, Śaryâta the Mânavan, with his clan, settled down by (*adhyavâsyat*) him. The young cow-herds smeared him with dirt, with balls of dung whited with ashes (*âsapâṇḍu*). He wrought discord for the Śâryâtans; then neither did mother know son, nor son mother. Śaryâta the Mânavan said: 'Have ye seen anything here about, on account of which this has become thus?' They said to him: 'Surely there lies below here this used-up (*nishṭhâva*) old man; him the young cow-herds and shepherds to-day have been smearing (*adhikshus!*) with dirt, with balls of dung whited with ashes; hence this has become thus.'

"122. He said: 'That verily was (*abhût* 'has been') Chyavana the Bhârgavan; he knows the *vâstupaśya brâhmaṇa*; him, now, his sons have left in the *vâstu* and have gone forth.' Running up to him, he said: 'Sage! homage to thee! have mercy, sir, on the Śâryâtans.' Now there was a beautiful daughter of Śaryâta, Sukanyâ. He said: 'Do you give me Sukanyâ.' 'Not so,' said he; 'name some other treasure. 'Not so,' said he; 'surely I know the *vâstupaśya brâhmaṇa*; put her down here by me, and then go (*yâtât*) with your clan this very day at evening.' They [*said*]: 'How shall we answer thee without taking counsel?' They took counsel, and said: 'Surely, one, two, three treasures we should be willing to gain at cost of her; and now we shall gain just everything by her; come, let us give her to him.' They gave her to him. They said to her: 'Girl, this is a worn-out old man, not equal to pursuing; when, now, we shall yoke up, then do you run (*dhâvatât*) after.' So she rose up to follow after

[25] From a small tract printed at Mangalore in 1878. See the next paper.

[1] From the *Proceedings of the American Oriental Society*, May, 1883.

[2] *A Legend from the Talavakâra or Jâiminîya Brâhmaṇa of the Sâma-Veda*, by A. C. Burnell. Mangalore, 1878; pp. 40, 24mo. Also included in the *Acts of the International Oriental Congress at Florence*, vol. II, pp. 97-111; and given above, except the Sanskrit text, and some other very slight omissions.

[3] See Muir's *Original Sanskrit Texts*, vol. V, p. 250; Weber's *Indische Streifen*, vol. I, p. 13.

the clan when it had yoked up. He said: 'O serpent, circumvent her deserting [*her*] living friend.' As she goes (?)—

"123. A black snake rose up against her. She noting this, sat down. Now the two Aśvins, spoon-sacrificers (*darvihômin*), were going about there performing cures, not sharers in the *sôma* (*anapisômau*). They came up to her and said: 'This is an old man, not whole, not fit for the office of husband (*patitvandya*); be our wife.' 'Not so,' she said: 'to whom my father has given me, his wife will I be.' This he listened to. Then they went forth. He said: 'Girl, what was that noise just now?' 'Two men came up to me here with a form that is the most beautiful of forms.' 'What did they say to you?' 'Girl, this is an old man, not whole, not fit for the office of husband; be our wife.' 'What did you say?' 'Not so, I said; to whom my father has given me, his wife will I be.'

"124. That, now, was pleasant to him; he said: 'Those were the two Aśvins, spoon-sacrificers, that go about here performing cures, not sharers in the *sôma*. They will come to-morrow and say the same thing to you; do you then say (*brûtât*) to them: "You verily are not whole, who, being gods, are not *sôma*-drinkers (*asômapau*); whole in sooth is my husband, who is a *sôma*-drinker." They will say to you: "Who is competent to this, that we be sharers in the *sôma* (*apisômau*)?" And do you say (*brûtât*): "My husband here." By this means there is hope of my becoming young again.' They came to her on the morrow, and said the same thing. She said: 'You verily are not whole, who being gods, are not *sôma*-drinkers; whole in sooth is my husband, who is a *sôma*-drinker.' They said: 'Who is competent to this, that we be sharers in the *sôma*?' 'My husband here,' said she.

"125. They said to him: 'Sage, make us sharers in the *sôma*, sir.' 'Very well,' said he; do you now make me young again.' They drew him away to the *śâiśava* of the Sarasvatî. He said: 'Girl, we shall all come out looking alike; do you then know (*jânîtât*) me by this sign. They all came out looking just alike, with that form which is the most beautiful of forms. She, recognizing him . .
'This is my husband.' They said to him: 'Sage, we have performed for you that desire which has been your desire; you have become young again; now instruct us in such wise that we may be sharers in the *sôma*.'

"126. He said: 'The gods here are engaged in sacrificing in Kurukshêtra with a victim-sacrifice (*?paśishṇyâyajñêna*); they do not obtain that desire which is the desire at the sacrifice; the head of the sacrifice was cut off; so then what Dadhyañch the Atharvana saw, that do you supply; he will teach it to you; then you will become sharers in the *sôma*.' That head of the sacrifice that was cut off is yonder sun; he in sooth is the *pravargya*. So they came to Dadhyañch the Atharvana; they said to him: 'Sage, we would have recourse to thee.' 'For what desire?' 'We would learn about the head of the sacrifice.' 'Not so,' said he; 'Indra likewise saw that; he said to me: "If you were to tell this to any one else, I should cut off your head;" that is what I am afraid of.' 'Then do you teach us with this head of a horse.' 'Very well,' said he; 'let me now see you talking together.' They then laid off his head, put on instead the head of a horse, and sat talking together, singing *sâman*, uttering *ṛich* and *yajus*. So he put confidence in them, and taught them with that horse's head.

"127. This Indra became aware of: 'He has told it to them,' said he; and running up, he cut off his head, that horse's head. Then what was his own head, that they skilfully (*manîshiṇau*) put on instead. They came to the gods, who were sacrificing with a headless sacrifice. They said to them: 'Ye sit sacrificing with a headless sacrifice; hence ye do not obtain that desire which is the desire at the sacrifice.' 'Who knows that head of the sacrifice?' 'We do.' 'Put it on in its place.' 'Then draw a draught for us.' They drew for them that Aśvins' draught. They said to them: 'Ye two verily are officiating priests; ye, who understand it, shall set on in its place that head of the sacrifice.' 'Very well.' They were officiating priests. Thus they became sharers in the *sôma*.

"128. Then Chyavana the Bhârgavan, having become young again, went to Śaryâta the Mânavan, and conducted his sacrifice on the eastern site (*prâchyâṁ sthalyâm*). Then he gave him a thousand, with them he sacrificed. Thus Chyavana the Bhârgavan, having praised with this *sâman*, became young again, won a girl for wife, sacrificed with a thousand. Those were the desires at that *sâman*; just those desires he attained. With just what desire one praises with this *sâman*, that desire is fulfilled for him. With that same *sâman* Chyavana the Bhârgavan used to draw up out of the *śâiśava* of the Sarasvatî whatever food he desired. That is a food-attaining *sâman*. He attains food-eating, he becomes the best food-eater of his kindred, who knows this. And since Chyavana the Bhârgavan saw it, therefore it is called *chyâvana*. . . "

Whatever may be thought respecting the extract already published by Burnell (and in regard to it opinions will doubtless differ), it will hardly be denied that this story wears a

less original aspect than the corresponding one (or ones) in the other *Brâhmaṇa*. We cannot, however, be too cautious about expressing sweeping opinions as to the comparative age of the various *Brâhmaṇas* and their relation to one another, while they are so imperfectly worked up as at present. Their pervading accordance, in language, style, and contents, is the most striking fact about them; they evidently come in the main out of one period, and their differences appear to be of minor consequence. Even from such grammatical indications as that the *Aitarêya Brâhmaṇa* uses *âvâm* as nominative, makes a periphrastic perfect with *âsa* (known elsewhere only in the *Gôpatha*, and occurring but once even in the older *Upanishads*) and has such forms as *hvayîta* and *kâmayîta* (common enough in the *Sûtras*, but among *Brâhmaṇas* paralleled only by *kalpayîta* in the *Kaushîtaki*), we should doubtless be over-hasty in concluding that the *Aitarêya* is a more recent compilation than the rest.

In point of language, the *Jâiminîya* stands fully upon the general plane of the *Brâhmaṇas*, offering no signs either of special antiquity or of more modern date. Thus, to specify a few points: it invariably (and not very rarely) uses as nominatives *âvam* and *yuvam*; it makes its periphrastic perfects with *kṛi* only (a new case is *apachâyâṁ chakrus* 'reverenced;' and *iyakshâṁ chakre* occurs three times, in the sense of *îje*; the text has no examples of aorists of this formation); it has no optatives like *kâmayîta* (still less any participles like *kâmayâna*, which seem to be absolutely wanting until the epic period); it uses the aorist strictly to express time just past (and hardly offers an instance of what Delbrück calls the *zeitlos* use, or equivalence with a present); its infinitives are in their variety and proportional frequency like those of the *Śatapatha* and *Aitarêya*; it employs the subjunctive with freedom (although its variety of forms is decidedly less rich than that of the *Śatapatha*); its imperative in *tât* has as regularly a future sense as in other *Brâhmaṇas* (some of the best examples are those in the extract given above); it has such. 3d sing. pres. middle forms as *duhé îśé śagê* (which Aufrecht, *Ait. Brâh.* p. 429, incautiously pronounces "imitations of Vedic forms," though no *Brâhmaṇa* is found without them); its gen.-abl. sing. fem. is in *ai* instead of *as*: and so on. Its unusually frequent omission of the augment is probably to be regarded as due to the inaccuracy of the manuscripts; they vary greatly in regard to it.

Of new and interesting grammatical material, the immense text is decidedly barren, more so than any of the other *Brâhmaṇas* except perhaps the *Kaushîtaki*. But the mass of literature from this period already at command was so considerable, that not much that is novel was reasonably to be hoped for. The text is so faulty that some things are doubtless hidden which further collation or deeper study may bring to light. A very few new aorists appear: as *amishat*, *amruchat* (doubtful), *alûlubhat*, *amimarat* (not noted before in the older language), *âipsît*, *asvâris*. Precative forms are made from only half-a-dozen roots. As usual, the *s*-aorist is most frequent, being made from over thirty roots (the *ish*-aorist from about half as many; of the *sa*-aorist, only two or three scattering forms appear (the mongrel *adhikshus*, in the extract given above). Desiderative stems are nearly three times as numerous as intensive; of special interest in the two classes are *tistîrsha*, *jigâsa* (*gâ* 'sing'), *dhîpsa* (besides *dipsa*), *verishya*, *tâtrasya*, which are new: and *chichhitsa vivadisha*, *lélih*, *nânadya*, which I have not hitherto found of *Brâhmaṇa* age.

A new root, *gûrd*, seems to make its appearance at iii, 171, in accounting for the name *gûrda* given to a *sâman*. We are told that when the gods and Asuras contended about food (*annâdya*), and the gods got possession of the Asuras' food, there was left to the Asuras a great food named *gûrda*, which the gods coveted. Accordingly (as nearly everywhere through the *Brâhmaṇa*), 'they saw this *sâman* and praised with it; and thereby they won the *gûrda* food of the Asuras;' and then: *tasminnagûrdan* ('rejoiced, made merry' ?); *yad agûrdans tad gûrdasya gûrdatvam*. In another passage (iii, 92), √*sadh* is apparently a variant or an error for √*sâdh* (which the grammarians give as of the *nu*-class, although no *nu*-forms have heretofore been found): thus, *indrô vai simâ nâ 'sâdhnôt*; *sô 'kâmayata: simâ sadhnuyâm iti*; *sa êtat sâmâ 'paśyat*; *tênâ 'stutâ*; *tatô vai sa simâ asadhnôt*; *tad yad êtat sâma bhavati*, *simânâm êva saddhyâi*. The rare root *néd* occurs repeatedly, both with *ati*, as in the

examples hitherto found, and with *pra* (*tasya yô rasaḥ prâ,'ṇêdat*, etc.)

I will only add further that the familiar later word *âdi* makes its earliest appearance here (it had been found till now no further back than in *Upanishads* and *Sûtras*), and in constant connection with forms *â* + √*dâ*, showing that the derivation conjecturally given for it in the *Petersburg Lexicon* is unquestionably the true one. Examples are: *tênô êva punar âdim âdattê* (i, 120); *hô ity uktvâ "dim âdadîta* (i, 130); *hiṁ kurvanti...prastâuti...âdim âdattê...udgâyati...pratiharati*, etc., (iii, 304).

It may be mentioned, however, in conclusion that the word *châkvâla* put forward by Burnell as an older form of *chakkavâla*, is (as conjectured by Böhtlingk in his minor dictionary) only the familiar *châṭvâla*. The groups *tv* and *kv* are hardly distinguishable, and often confounded in the Grantham manuscripts; but what they give here is pretty clearly meant for *tv*.

MISCELLANEA.

BURMESE BUDDHIST DHARMAŚÂSTRA.

Mr. Jardine, Judicial Commissioner of Burma, and Dr. Forchhammer, Professor of Pali, have in the press a complete edition of the oldest law-book known in Burma. It consists of a bundle of palm-leaves scratched with a version of the laws of Manu. The author—one Buddhagosha, a jurist of the 15th century—records that he translated it from the Talain language. He adds that the text was originally arranged by a Talain King of Martaban named Wagaru, whose reign began in 1280 A.D. The language is Burmese, intermixed with a dialect resembling Pali, but not the same as Pali. The printing from the palm-leaves is completed; portions will be transliterated in the Roman character, and the whole translated into English. The editors will deal with philology and ancient law. It divides law into 18 titles, something like those of the Hindu Manu, and is believed to be a very ancient type of Hindu Law.

THE RECOVERY OF A SANSKRIT MS.[1]

A highly interesting paper, announcing the recovery of Sâyaṇa Mâdhava's commentary on the Kâṇva recension of the *White Yajurvêda* was sent to me by Râo Bahâdur Śankar P. Pandit, for communication to the International Congress of Orientalists at Leiden. . . . . A preliminary notice of the find will, I think, be acceptable to all scholars interested in Vedic studies.

The fact that Sâyaṇa had written a Commentary on the *Mantras* of the *Śukla Yajurvêda* was known from Mahîdhara's statement in the introductory verses to his *Vêdadîpa*, where he says that "he consulted" the *Bhâshyas* of Uvaṭa and of Mâdhava, as well as from his quoting an opinion of Mâdhava on *Vâj. Saṁh.* xiii. 45. As long ago as 1852 Prof. A. Weber stated in his *Hist. of Sansk. Lit.*, p. 112 (first German edition) that Mâdhava's Commentary, which he considered to be lost, followed the text of the Kâṇva recension. Moreover, Prof. Kielhorn's *Catalogue of MSS. from the Central Provinces*, p. 6, No. 2, contains an entry asserting that a copy of Sâyaṇa's *Bhâshya* on the *Kaṇvavêda* was, in 1874, in the possession of Bâbâ Śâstrî Bhâke of Chândâ. Nobody seems, however, to have taken the trouble of making enquiries regarding the Chândâ MS. and of having the entry verified. The honour of having brought the work to light belongs, therefore, undoubtedly to Mr. Pandit. The copy of which, up to the date of Mr. Pandit's writing, twenty Adhyâyas, or one-half of the whole, had come to hand, was discovered in the family library of certain famous Vaidîks living in the Kanarese districts of the Bombay Presidency.

As regards the Commentary itself, Mr. Pandit's analysis of its introduction shows that Sâyaṇa discusses in this case much the same topics as in the beginning of his other published *Bhâshyas*—*i.e.*, the meaning of the term *Vêda*, the necessity of the *svâdhyâya*, the object of the *Vêda* study, &c. He makes, however, incidentally, some statements which possess particular interest. First, he narrates the "Paurâṇik" legend, which derives the name of the *Taittirîya Vêda* from its having been picked up by Vaiśampâyana's pupils, who had assumed the shape of *tittiris*, or partridges, and adds "that he saw this account distinctly mentioned in the *Vaṁśabrâhmaṇa* of the *Kâṇvavêda*." The latter assertion shows that the curious myth must go back to a remote antiquity. Secondly, Sâyaṇa gives some important information regarding the succession of the teachers of the Kâṇva school, which partly differs from that contained in the *Brâhmaṇa* of the Mâdhyandina recension, as well as a remarkable enumeration of the *Śâkhâs* of the *White Yajurvêda*. The number of the latter agrees, according to Sâyaṇa,

[1] From the *Academy*, October 27, 1883, pp. 284-5.

with that given in the *Charaṇavyûha*. But many of the names are new, and look more trustworthy than those known hitherto. Thirdly, Sâyaṇa states that he wrote his Commentary on the *White Yajurvêda* after that on the *Taittirîya* recension, and mentions as his reason for explaining to *Śâkhâs* of the same *Vêda* their great difference in the readings of the text and in the precepts on the ritual. He unfortunately omits to inform us why he chose to comment on the *Kâṇva* text instead of on that of the Mâdhyandinas. Mr. Paṅdit thinks that, though in the present day the Kâṇvas do not enjoy great consideration among the learned and rank below the Mâdhyandinas, the case may have been different in Sâyaṇa's time, and that Sâyaṇa may have held the Kâṇva text to be superior to that of their rivals. In support of this view it might be urged that other and more ancient writers, when speaking of the *White Yajurvêda*, mention the Kâṇvas and not the Mâdhyandinas by name. But the problem becomes somewhat more complicated by the circumstance that, in explaining the *Brâhmaṇa* of the *White Yajurvêda*, Sâyaṇa follows the Mâdhyandina recension. I almost suspect that he was induced to give the preference to the *Kâṇva Mantrasaṁhitâ* by the consideration that it had been commented on by one, or perhaps more, predecessors.

The details which Mr. Pandit gives regarding the relation of Mahîdhara's *Vêdadîpa* to the works of the two older commentators, Uvaṭa or Ûaṭa and Sâyaṇa, are even more important than his analysis of Sâyaṇa's Introduction. He shows that Mahîdhara's statement that he "consulted" the works of his predecessors is not exact, and that, in reality, Mahîdhara transferred into his work large portions of Sâyaṇa's Commentary and smaller pieces of Uvaṭa's without making any alterations or acknowledging the sources from which he drew them. A comparison of the three commentators' explanations of ten *Mantras*, which Mr. Pandit exhibits side by side, clearly convicts Mahîdhara of gross and unscrupulous plagiarism. His work contains little that is original; what is good and sensible in it seems to have been taken chiefly from Sâyaṇa.

In concluding his paper, Mr. Pandit makes some interesting remarks on some communities of students of the *Kâṇva Śâkhâ*, which he has discovered in the Dekhaṇ, and on the age of Uvaṭa. As regards the latter point, he adduces, from a copy of the *Yajurvêdabhâshya* lately acquired by Prof. Bhâṇḍârkar for the Government of India, some verses in which Uvaṭa states that he was the son of Vajraṭa, an inhabitant of Ânandapura, and that he wrote at Avanti, or Ujjain, in the reign of king Bhôja. These assertions leave nó doubt that he lived in the first half of the eleventh century A.D., and make it probable that he belonged to the most influential and most talented section of the Gujarât Brâhmans, the Nâgars of Ânandapura-Vaḍnagar. One of the verses, which mentions king Bhôja, but not his capital, I remember to have read in the copy which I obtained for Government in 1868. The other point—the fact that Kâṇvas exist in the Dekhaṇ at Paṇḍharpur and at Vâḍâghôḍâ, close to Puṇâ, is, to me at least, entirely new. Though Kâṇvas are repeatedly mentioned as donees in grants issued by kings of the Dekhaṇ, I hitherto believed—relying on the statements of the Puṇâ Pandits—that they were extinct in the Marâṭhâ country, and in Western India confined to parts of the Surat collectorate. In the latter district they are numerous; and one sub-division of the Gujarât Brâhmaṇs, the Mottâlâs, who derive their name from the ancient Brahmanical settlement of Mottaka, the modern Mottâ, consists exclusively of Kâṇvas. While in charge of the search for Sanskrit MSS., I have repeatedly attempted to obtain the books of these Kâṇvas, which comprise not only the partly-known *Mantrasaṁhitâ* and *Brâhmaṇa*, but also a peculiar set of *Sûtras* on *Śrauta* and *Gṛihya* ceremonies (quoted also by Sâyaṇa in his Commentary), and a number of unknown minor works. Though one of my deputy inspectors, a head-master of a high school, and some village schoolmasters, all Mottâlâ Brahmans, worked for me, the Bhaṭṭas, or Śuklas, as they are called, who possessed MSS., refused to let us have even modern copies of their sacred books. I trust that Mr. Pandit will be more fortunate with the Kâṇvas of the Dekhaṇ, and will soon lay the students of the *Vêda* under fresh obligations by the recovery of the *Kâṇva Sûtras*, *Prâtiśâkhya*, and *Pariśishṭas*.

Vienna, Oct. 6, 1883. G. BÜHLER.

ASIATIC SOCIETIES.

The *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (N. S.), vol. XV, pt. iii, contains four papers. The first is by Mr. Lewis Rice on "Early Kannaḍa authors," in which he enumerates the following, with more or less information respecting the works of each, but we can hardly accept the dates of the first two at least:—

cir. 240 A.D. Mâdhava Râja, mentioned in a Gaṅga inscription.

c. 470 Avinîta, author of a commentary on Bhâravi's *Kirâtârjunîya*. Same source.

634 Ravikîrtti, mentioned in a Chalukya inscription.

? 650 Samantabhadra, author of a *Dêvâgamastôtra*, &c.

? 670 Kaviparimêshṭi.—No works of his are known by name.

cir. 690 Pûjyapâda, author of *Jainêndra-nyâsa*, *Pâṇini-śabdâvatâra*, &c.

788 Akalanka Chandra, said to be the author of *Pramâṇaratnapradîpa* and *Dêvâgamastôtranyâsa*.

—— Vidyânanda, author of *Ślôkaavârttika lâṅkâra*, and *Âptamimâṁsâ-nyâsa*.

941 Pampa wrote the *Pampa-Bhârata*, *Âdi-purâṇa*, &c.

—— Asaga, said to have written a *Varddhamânasvâmi-kâvya*.

c. 950 Jinachandra, author of *Pûjyapâda-charita*.

c. 950 Ponna or Kurulgala Savaṇa, wrote the *Śânti-purâṇa*.

—— Châmuṇḍa-râya, author of the *Châmuṇḍarâya-purâṇa*.

983 Ranna or Ratna wrote the *Ajita-tîrthakara-purâṇa*, *Paraśurâmacharita*, and *Chakrêśvara-charita*.

c. 990 Nêmichandra, author of the *Lîlâvatî*.

—— Gajânkuśa and Gajaga,—perhaps the same.

1060-83 Bilhaṇa, author of the *Vikramâṅkakâvya Pañchâśikhâ Râmacharita*, &c.

—— Guṇabhadra, author of the *Uttara-purâṇa*.

c. 1070 Guṇachandra, said to have written the *Pârśvâbhyudaya* and *Mâghanandîśvara*.

—— Guṇanandi—may be the same.

—— Haripâla, quoted by Nâgavarmâ and Bhaṭṭâkalanka.

c. 1070 Guṇavarmâ, author of a *Harivaṁśa*, *Pushpadanta-purâṇa*, and *Dêvachandraprabhastôtra*.

1115 Nayasêna, author of the Dharmmâmṛita.

—— Śambavarmâ, and Śaṅkhavarmâ—only named.

c. 1070-1120 Nâgavarmâ, author of the *Kâvyâvalôkana*, *Chhandô'mbudhi*, *Karṇâṭaka-bhâsha-bhûshaṇa*, *Vastukôśa*, and *Kâdambarî*,—the latter a Kannaḍa version of Bâṇa's work.

c. 1120 Bâṇa. On this date see below.

c. 1120 Mallikârjuna, said to be the author of *Chhôrakathâ*.

—— Kumudêndu, said to have written a *Kumudêndu-Râmâyaṇa*.

—— Mâghanandi. There is a *Padârthasâra* by a writer of this name.

—— Bâlachandra, said to have written the *Tatvaratnadîpikâ*, and *Prâbhṛitakatrayavyâkhyâna*.

1158 Nâchirâja, author of *Nâchirâjî*, a commentary on the *Amarakôśa*.

c. 1170 Nâgachandra wrote the *Râmachandra-charita-purâṇa* or *Pampa-Râmâyaṇa*, *Mallinâtha-purâṇa* and *Jinamunitanayâ*.

c. 1170 Śrutakîrtti, author of a *Râghava Pâṇḍavîya*.

c. 1175 Vîranandi, to whom is ascribed the *Chandraprabha-kâvyamâlâ*.

1189 Aggala, author of the *Chandraprabha-purâṇa*, and *Aggala-Lîlâvatî*.

—— Chandrabhaṭṭa and Śrîvijaya, named by Kêśi-râjâ.

c. 1160-1200 Kêśi-râjâ, author of the *Śabdamaṇi-darpaṇa*, *Chôlapâlakacharita*, *Subhadrâharaṇa*, *Prabôdhachandra*, *Kirâta*, but only the first is known.

—— Bandhuvarmâ was the author of *Harivaṁśâbhyudaya*, and *Jîvasambôdhane*.

—— Janna, wrote an *Anantanâthacharita*.

c. 1200 Kamalabhava, author of a *Śântîśa-purâṇa*

c. 1220 Karṇapârya, author of *Nêminâtha-purâṇa*.

c. 1225 Maṅgarasa, author of a *Harivaṁśa* or *Nêmi-Jinêśa-saṅgati*, and to whom is ascribed *Karṇâṭa-Śabdamañjarî*, *Manmatha-charita*, and *Samyuktva-Kaumudî*.

c. 1250-1300 Rudrabhaṭṭa wrote the *Jagannâthavijaya*, a Brahmanical work in praise of Kṛishṇa.

—— Amṛitanandi, author of the *Dhanvantari-nighaṇṭu*—a medical dictionary.

c. 1300 Sâlva wrote the *Rasaratnâkara*.

From this period the Jaina literature declines, and Liṅgâyat authors take a prominent place.

c. 1398 Abhinava Mangarâja, author of the *Maṅgarâjâ-nighaṇṭu*, on the plan of the *Amarakôśa*.

—— Abhinava Vâdi-vidyânanda, collected the *Kâvyasâra*.

? 1550 Dêvôttama, author of *Nânârtharatnâkara*.

—— Dêvachandra, author of the *Râmakathâvatâra* and *Râjâvali-kathe*.

—— Vṛittivilâsa, author of *Sâstrasâra* and *Dharmaparîkshe*.

1604 Bhaṭṭakalaṅkadêva, author of the *Karṇâṭaka Śabdânuśâsana* and its commentaries.

Mr. Rice tells us, that "Bâṇa was the author of the *Śrîharsha-charita*, a life of Harshavarddhana of Thânesâr, who came to the throne 1088. Samano Bâṇa, described as a poet, whose daughter was the mother of Kêsi Râja, may have been the same person"! This statement may well shake our confidence in any other for which he does not cite his authority; the merest tyro in Sanskrit literature is supposed to know that Bâṇa and Harshavardhana belong to the first half of the seventh century—not the *twelfth*. References to authorities, however, seem to be carefully avoided in this paper, which is a serious defect. Mr.

Kittel, to whose works the author of it is evidently so largely indebted, is not even named in it.

Mr. B. H. Chamberlain's paper, is "On two questions of Japanese Archæology," viz., the documentary sources of our knowledge of Ancient Japan, and the so-called Sacred Characters said to have been used by the Japanese before the introduction of the Chinese mode of writing. On these questions he is at issue with the views of M. Léon de Rosny, which he combats most satisfactorily, showing that, on the first, M. de Rosny has given credence to a recent forgery entitled *Jô-ki* or *Uye tsu Fumi*; and as to the second, that there is not sufficient evidence to justify us in speaking of the use of the so-called "sacred" characters as a fact, and that these characters are identical with the existing Korean alphabet, which is reasonably believed to have been based on an Indian original.

The next is a paper by Rev. S. Beal on "Two sites named by Hiuen Tsiang," in which he tries to identify the mountain Pôtalaka or Pôtaraka "to the east of the Malaya mountains," on which Avalôkitêśvara often resided, and from which perhaps Mount Pôtaraka at Lhassa, the residence of the Dalai Lama, takes its name. A Chinese writer—the annotator on Wong Puh—says that "Buddha preached a sermon on the subject of Avalôkitêśvara with twelve faces on Mount Pôtaraka," which "derives its name from the fact that it produces a great number of little white flowers, the scent of which is perceived from far." And Mr. Beal suggests that if the flower was the white jasmine (*sumanâ*), it would support his theory that Sumanakûṭa or Adam's Peak in Ceylon was the mountain in question, and in connexion with this he traces the Buddhist worship of Avalôkitêśvara 'the god who looks down,' also called Samantamukha ('looking every way') to the veneration of sailors and others for the hill-god Sumana. He also notes that the Chinese name Kwan-shai-yin is equivalent to that of the Sabæan divinity Al-Makah—'he who hears,' and that the knowledge of him may have been brought to Ceylon by Sabæan or Arab merchants, who, as Fa-hian states, had settled there in large numbers in the early centuries of our era. This is hardly satisfactory. The second site is Po-lo-mo-lo-ki-li, a hill on which king Sadvaha excavated a splendid Saṅghârâma for Nâgârjuna. Julien restored the name to Baramulagiri, but Mr. Beal prefers Brâhmara, 'the black bee,' as a name of Durgâ. Now Fa-hian calls the same place Po-lo-yu, which he transliterates as Pârvatî; and Pârvatî is Durgâ, and Brâhmara is Durgâ. Even if this hold good, however, it does not enable us to fix the place.

The last paper is by Mr. H. H. Howorth on "Two early sources of Mongol History"—viz., the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, the contents of which are being incorporated in the papers on Chinghiz Khân, in this *Journal*, and the *Huan-yuan-shen-vu-tsin-jen-lu*, edited by Palladius in 1872.

These papers are followed by Mr. Vaux's very full and elaborate report on the progress of Oriental studies and research for 1882.

The *Journal of the Bombay Br.R. Asiatic Society* (vol. XVI, No. xl.) is devoted to Prof. Peterson's *Report* on the search for Sanskrit MSS. in the Bombay circle, 1882-83. It is elsewhere (*inf.* p. 28) analysed so fully that only some minor points need be noticed here.

This *Report* is very readable, but contains some rather *ex cathedra* dicta; thus (p. 2), the author says:—"I should like, however, to say that having had the good fortune to be admitted within the shrine of Achalêśwara, where the mark of the toe of the god Śiva is to 'be seen unto this day,' and having carefully examined that mark, I am disposed to think that it contains the explanation of the curious knob on the left of the figure of the Pramâra prince, which stands facing the temple of Vasishṭha at the other end of the hill. The one is an exact copy of the other; and the 'toenail of the devil' was probably one of the cherished insignia of the royal house of the time. I was able to secure admittance both to this shrine and to that of Vasishṭha." This admittance, which has not been rarely granted to visitors previous to Prof. Peterson, we are led to infer, was secured to him by putting off his shoes; for he proceeds to lecture other visitors in these terms,—"There may," he says, "be circumstances in which persons officially representing the government of the country, or an alien church, may hesitate to comply with the condition universally attached to such a concession. No such considerations need trammel the scholar in search of knowledge. And as far as personal feelings are concerned, I do not envy those of the man who can stand before the ruined shrine of Vasishṭha, or enter the porch of the Kârli cave, while fancy conjures up the innumerable company of men and women who have worshipped where he now is, without saying to himself, 'Put off thy shoes from off thy feet: for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground.'" It is amusing to listen to this demand for reverence to the places where men have long time worshipped what in a previous breath he has described as "the devil," or elsewhere (p. 55), as "a hideous black stone," and at the same time interlarding his language with quotations from a Book, which many of the best men of all ages have regarded it as a want of reverence and good taste to quote in a flippant way.

Thus, in describing Udêpur, in which there are a very few marble structures, he says, (p. 49), "poet or painter might be forgiven who should take it for the embodiment in marble of the apocalyptic vision of the Holy City, New Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband." It is quite Prof. Peterson's habit to interlard his sentences with such quotations (see pp. 44, 46, 52, 55, &c.) He even finds a parallel between Paul and Kshêmarâja, who, he thinks, "may have changed his name to Kshêmêndra at the time of his conversion." But, like the blind man at Jêpur, whom he mentions (p. 43) as so well versed in the *Mahâbhârata*, Prof. Peterson is perhaps—to use his own words—"as content with the shadow he pursues as any of us all"—Very complimentary to 'us all!'

We are also struck by such sweeping statements as that it is "amusing to note that one of the chief features" of the Jêpur public library, "is what must certainly be the most complete collection of Scotch sermons that exists anywhere east of the Lothians." This we know to be an exaggeration, the result perhaps of bias.

Again, is he correct when he asserts (p. 46), that Pushkara is the only sacred place in India that "boasts a temple" raised in honour of Brahma? This we know is a popular story, but we have seen and heard of temples of Brahmadêva elsewhere, even in Rajputana, as well as in Eastern and Southern India.

Then he speaks of "the magnificent marble statue which some strange chance has raised above ground," near Cambay, "and which has such a weird effect on the visitor, who comes upon it, as we did, unexpectedly." This "marble statue," we are told by one who has examined it, is merely a common black stone or slate image of a Jaina Tirthankara, in the usual squatting posture; its "weird effect" may be a personal concern.

In describing the daily sacrifice at Ambêr, he says:—"in a corner of the room a girl was encircling with her arms the little goat that had till then been her playmate, but was now to be torn from her, and put to death, because the upper powers require some such satisfaction for the sins of the people of Jêpur. We turned and fled the scene, thinking in our hearts that a sight like this might possibly open the eyes even of certain commentators." This is quite sagely romantic; is this girl to be found often there, or only when a Professor and his wife visit the place? Prof. Peterson, however, has a liking for the oratorical; thus he describes Hêmâchârya (p. 64), as "the great teacher who, writing when English history was hardly yet begun, has, from his urn, ruled the spirits of so many generations, and is potent still," and adds a quotation from Byron's *Manfred*.

We hardly see the use of reproducing, in an Appendix of fully 24 pages to this *Report*, the paper on Bâna, his predecessors and contemporaries, which has so recently appeared in the author's edition of the *Kâdambari*, nor of the extracts and long notes, such (*e.g.*) as that on I-tsing (p. 44) from Max Müller's latest and well-known work; a simple reference to the book quoted and the page, would, in most of such cases, have been enough.

Finally, he tells us (p. 6), that *his* MS. of the *Suvrittatilaka* "was not bought for Government; but was presented" to him by a friend. Does Prof. Peterson not know that there is a distinct rule against any Government officer receiving *any* such presents? It was thus that Drs. Haug and Sprenger dealt, and finally carried off from the country, to dispose of, for their own behoof in Germany, the best of the MSS. they found. Prof. Peterson excuses himself by stating that 'in the comparatively few cases in which MSS. have thus been put at his disposal, he has gone on the rule of making over to the collection all MSS. that are new, or more correct than copies already there. Others he has felt at liberty to retain.' No such excuse ought to be pled for the evasion of the law. He may retain nothing of value; another led by his example may easily accumulate a splendid collection.

The more important features of this *Report* are so fully noticed below by Dr. Bühler, that more need not be added here.

BOOK NOTICE.

PROF. PETERSON'S REPORT on the SEARCH for SANSKRIT MSS. in the Bombay Circle, 1882-83. [No. 41. of vol. XVI. of the *Jour. Bo. Br. Roy. As. Soc.*]

Professor Peterson's *Report* of his operations connected with the search for Sanskrit MSS. in 1882-83 consists of three separate parts; (1) an account of a journey to Râjputânâ and a description of his more important acquisitions, together with extracts from the latter, and an alphabetical list of all MSS. bought (pp. 1—132); (2) a list of the palm-leaf MSS. in Śântinâth's Bhaṇḍâr at Cambay (App. I, pp. 1—108); and (3) a reprint of a portion of his introduction to the *Kâdambarî*, 'Bâṇa, his contemporaries and predecessors,' (App. II, pp. 104—129). Prof. Peterson's journey to Gujarât and Râjputânâ was his first official tour, undertaken

during the autumn vacation in September and October 1882. He followed the railways by Ahmadâbâd to Jaipur, went thence back to Ajmîr, visiting the neighbouring Tîrtha of Pushkara, and from Ajmîr by railway to Chittur and Udaipur, returning *viâ* Gujarât, and from the Ânand station made an excursion to Cambay.

At Jaipur which, as my visit in 1876 proved, is a very promising ground for the manuscript-hunter, Prof. Peterson had considerable success, and obtained a number of valuable MSS. containing works on *Kâvya* and *Alaṁkâra*, most of which, curiously enough, belong to Kaśmîrian authors. The works from the *Kâvyaśâstra* include—1, a very good copy of Śaṅkara's *Saṁketa* on Bâṇa's *Śrîharshacharita;* 2, 3, two new treatises by Kshemendra Vyâsadâsa, entitled *Chârucharyâśataka* and *Chaturvargasaṁgraha;* 4, the same author's *Suvṛittatilaka;* 5, the *Sâmbapañchâśikâvivaraṇa* of Kshemarâja; 6, 7, two hitherto unknown poems by Śambhu; the *Muktâlatâśataka* and the *Râjendrakarṇapûra;* 8, Yaśaskara's *Devîstotra;* 9, Alaka's *Vishamapadoddyota* on Ratnâkara's *Haravijaya;* 10, a small hitherto unknown poem, the *Vakroktipañchaśikâ* by Ratnâkara, with a commentary by Vallabhadeva. Nos. 2—10 are described at some length at pp. 4—14 of the *Report*, while extracts from them are given at p. 72ff. No. 1 is noticed in App. II.

Some of the new facts which Prof. Peterson adduces from his finds are very interesting and important for the history of Sanskrit literature. Thus he shows that the *Suvṛittatilaka* contains the initial verse of Bhartṛimeṇṭha's *Hayagrîvavadha*, the character of which will convince the most suspicious enquirer that the poem really was, as Hemachandra asserts, a *mahâkâvya*, not a *nâṭaka*. The same work contains also the name of Râjaśekhara, who is said to belong to the *pûrvakavayaḥ*. This fact is just at the present moment of some importance, as it shows that Prof. Pischel's combinations (*Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1883, pp. 1221ff.), according to which Râjaśekhara wrote in 1020, A.D., require reconsideration. As Kshemendra who composed the *Suvṛittatilaka* in the reign of king Ananta of Kaśmîr, 1029—1064, calls Râjaśekhara one of the ancients, the latter cannot have lived later than in the beginning of the tenth century. To this conclusion points also the fact that Râjaśekhara mentions, as Prof. Pischel has shown, 'charming Ratnâkara,' the famous Kaśmîrian poet of the ninth century.

If the form Bhaumaka, which the new copy of the *Suvṛittatilaka* gives as the name of the author of the *Râvanârjunîya* (*Kaśmîr Report*, p. 62), is preferable to the reading Bhîma in the Kaśmîr copy, I would leave an open question until a good Śâradâ MS. of the poem has been procured. It is as easy to make an *au* out of an *î* as to change an *au* into *î*, and the opinion of Prof. Peterson's friend, Paṇḍit Durgâprasâda, who decided in favour of Bhaumaka is perhaps worth less than that of the Kaśmîrian Dâmodar who held the contrary view. The list of Kshemendra's known compositions, (given in the note to p. 4) is not quite complete, as the *Kavikaṇṭhâbharaṇa* (Bombay Collection 1879-80, No. 205), has been left out. An examination of my apograph of this MS. by Mr. J. Schönberg, has shown that it contains besides the 'Ornament for the throats of poets,' another small treatise on *Alaṁkâra*, called *Auchityavichâracharchâ*. Abstracts of both works are in preparation, and will shortly be published. The *Kavikaṇṭhâbharaṇa* gives a most amusing recipe for 'making' a poet, and the names of several unknown compositions of the author. In his notes on the *Sâmbapañchâśikâvivaraṇa*, which is also represented in the Government Collection of 1875-77, Prof. Peterson proposes to identify its author, Kshemarâja with Kshemendra Vyâsadâsa. I am still as unwilling to agree to that step as in 1877. For though the two names are really identical, they are so common, and both Kshemarâja's and Kshemendra's compositions so numerous that they probably designate two different persons. The question can be settled only when the name of Kshemarâja's father is found.

With respect to Śambhu, the author of the *Râjendrakarṇapûra*, I agree with Peterson in identifying him with the father of Ânanda, who is mentioned by Maṅkha. But when he attempts to explain the mutilation of Alaka's commentary on the *Haravijaya* by the supposition that Ratnâkara did not complete his poem, and when he alleges that the colophon of the copy which I brought from Kaśmîr names Gaṇapati as author of the last part of the poem, I am unable to follow him. The fact is that in the colophon of the 50th *sarga* the Kaśmîr copy of the *Haravijaya* (*Kaśmîr Report*, App. cxxvi—vii), clearly ascribes the authorship to Ratnâkara. The words *samâptîkṛitaṁ Gaṇapatinâ mahâkâvyam idaṁ oṁ tatsat śivaṁ śubhaṁ astu*, have, therefore, to be referred to the completion of the MS. and mean nothing else, but that one Gaṇapati wrote the copy from which the Government MS. was taken.

The important acquisitions in the *Alaṁkâraśâstra* (pp. 14—42) are—1, a new complete copy of Rudraṭa's *Kâvyâlaṁkâra* with Śvetâmbara *Nami Ṭippaṇa;* 2, Vallabhadeva's *Subhâshitâvali;* 3-6), three commentaries on Mammaṭa's *Kâvyaprakâśa* by Râjânaka Ânanda, Narahari-Sarasvatîtîrtha, and Bhîmasena. Though the first work is represented in the Government collection of 1880-81

by a beautiful old palm-leaf MS. (Kielhorn, *Report*, p. 34), which has disclosed the real name of the author of the commentary, Prof. Peterson has extracted from his new copy some interesting information bearing on the age of Rudraṭa. He shows that Nami composed his *Tippana* in Vikrama Saṁ. 1125 or 1068-69 A.D., and that he used older commentaries. It is, therefore evident that in suggesting (*Kaśmîr Report*, p. 67), the second half of the eleventh century as the period of Rudraṭa's literary activity, I have placed him too late. Under the circumstances now brought to light he cannot be placed later than the tenth century, and he may be even older. Vallabhadeva's *Subhâshitâvali*, of which Prof. Peterson gives a short abstract, is the same work as that ascribed in my *Kaśmîr Report*, (p. 61), to Śrîvara. My mistake arose from trusting to an interpolation at the end of the MS. and to the assertions of the Kaśmîrian Paṇḍits. Prof. Aufrecht, who has since been using the Kaśmîr copy, has already assigned the work to its true author (*Indische Studien*, vol. XVI, pp. 209-10). Concerning Mammaṭa's *Kâvyaprakâśa*, Prof. Peterson adduces from his new materials some interesting and important details, and he starts a new theory regarding the authorship of that famous compendium of poetics. According to him the metrical portion, the *Kârikâs* alone, belongs to Mammaṭa, while the prose commentary is the work of Râjânaka Ânanda. His chief arguments are—1, that in some cases discrepancies are observable between the opinions advanced in these two constituent parts of the work; 2, that the colophon to the 10th *ullâsa* in his fresh copy of the *Nidarśana* mentions Ânanda as joint author of the *Prakâśa*. This passage runs as follows: "*iti śrî-Mammâṭâchârya-virachite Kâvyaprakâśe Râjânakânandakṛite Kâvyaprakâśadarśane 'paranâmni arthâlaṁkâranidarśano nâma daśama ul(l)âsaḥ*;" and Prof. Peterson translates it by, 'Here ends the tenth *ullâsa*, by name *Alaṁkâranidarśana* in the *Kâvyaprakâśa* of Mammaṭa, otherwise known as the *Kâvyaprakâśadarśana* of Râjânakânanda." He finds a further confirmation of his opinion in the colophon of a MS. of the text (No. 31 of his list), written in the *vatsara śaśiśivanayanâbdhiśvetavâhonmita* (*i. e.* the year 1431, either of the Vikrama or of the Śaka era), which says, "*iti śrîbhaṭṭarâjânaka-Mammaṭayoḥ kṛitiḥ Kâvyaprakâśaḥ . . . . samâptaḥ*." It seems to me that these arguments do not make Prof. Peterson's case a very strong one, while other considerations invalidate them altogether. For the divergence of opinion between the *Kârikâ* I, 3*b*, and its commentary (*tad adoshau śabdârthau saguṇâv analaṁkṛitî punaḥ kvâpi* and *kvâpîty anenaitad âha yat sarvatra sâlaṁkârau kvachit tu sphuṭâlaṁkâravirahe 'pi na kâvyatvahâniḥ*); the only instance given, is due merely to Mr. Peterson's peculiar, and, it seems to me, inadmissible translation of the two passages. He takes them as follows: "A poem consists of words and sense, both faultless, and in addition possessing specific excellencies. *They need not always have alaṁkâras*, that is, *alaṁkâras* are usual, but not necessary concomitants," and, "By the words, 'not always,' he means that while *alaṁkâras must always be present*, a poem does not cease to be a poem if there be no apparent *alaṁkâras*."

But if we follow Kamalâkara's interpretation, and understand the words *yat sarvatra sâlaṁkârau* in their proper sense, the meaning of the two passages agrees completely. We then obtain the following translation:—"That (*i.e.* poetry, consists of) words and sense free from faults, but (such faultless words and sense as are) endowed with specific excellence (*i.e.* with *rasa* or sentiment), are in some cases (poetry, though they may be) destitute of (*i.e.* not possessing any apparent) *alaṁkâras*," and, "By the (*words*) 'in some cases' he means that (faultless sense and words) possessing *alaṁkâras* (*are*) always (*poetry*), and that sometimes (*they do*) not lose their poetical character, though apparent *alaṁkâras* may be wanting."

The second argument, drawn from the colophon, entirely loses its force through a quotation in the *Nidarśana* appended to the verse:—

ity esha mârgo vidushâṁ vibhinno
'pyabhinna ekaḥ pratibhâsate yat |
na tad vichitraṁ yad amutra samyag
vinirmitâ saṁghaṭanaiva hetuḥ ||

which in the copies and editions of the *Kâvyaprakâśa* is sometimes placed before and sometimes after the colophon. The *Nidarśana* gives two explanations of this passage. First, the commentator explains it, as is done in most other *ṭîkâs*, as meaning, that the conflicting opinions of former writers on *alaṁkâra*, such as the *Dhvanikṛit* and others, have been so skilfully put together in the *Kâvyaprakâśa* that they form one harmonious whole. Afterwards he proposes a second interpretation which I have not noticed elsewhere. He says that it may also mean that, though the *Kâvyaprakâśa* consists of two different parts written by different authors, the break has been so cleverly concealed that the book looks like the production of one man. In support of this view he adduces two verses composed by two different authors, which mention a tradition, according to which Mammaṭa left his work unfinished. The first of these runs as follows:—*kṛitaḥ*

*śri-Mammaṭâchâryavaryaiḥ parikarâva-dhiḥ |
prabandhaḥ pûritaḥ śesho vidhâryâlaḍhasûriṇâ* ||

The last *pâda* is slightly corrupt. The reading given above is that contained in Prof. Peterson's extracts (p. 75), where °*yâlakasûriṇâ* is proposed as an emendation for °*yâlaḍha.*° At p. 23 we have *vidhâyâlaṭhasûriṇâ*. Neither *vidhârya* nor *vidhâya* gives any good sense. I write *vichârya*, and translate the verse as follows:—

"The work was composed by the best of teachers, the illustrious Mammaṭa, *as far as the* (section on the poetical figure, called) *parikara, i. e.*, as far as the middle of *ullâsa* x.); the remainder was filled in after careful consideration by the poet Alaḍha (? Alaka ?)."

Whatever the correct form of the Sûri's name may be, it is evident that a commentator who accepts the statement that Mammaṭa's work was completed by another author, cannot have composed the curiously-worded celophon according to which the *Kâvyaprakâśa* and the *Kâvyaprakâśadarśana* are the same thing. That passage is corrupt, and the manner in which it ought to be corrected, it would seem, is indicated by the entry in the list of MSS. bought. At p. 114 of the *Report* the title of No. 33, which contains the *Nidarśana*, is given as "*tasyaiva ṭîkâ Sârasamuchchayâkhyâ.*" If that entry is correct, it is clear that Ânanda's commentary has *two* names. Hence the colophon must be read, "*râjânakânanda-krite Kâvyaprakâśa* [*ni*]*darśane* [*Sârasamuchchayâ*]*paranâmni.*"

Though I am thus unable to accept Prof. Peterson's main theory, I think that he has done a service to the history of Sanskrit literature by showing the existence of an old tradition, according to which the *Kâvyaprakâśa* is the work of two authors. I do not see any reason for doubting this statement.

With respect to the remarks on the other works, explaining the *Kâvyaprakâśa,* I am not able to review Prof. Peterson's remarks in detail, but would call attention to the following points:—The date of Narahari-Sarasvatitîrtha's birth which the MS. gives as "the *kâla* measured by 1298," does not necessarily refer, as Peterson thinks, to the Vikrama era. For the term *kâla* is ambiguous, and the Śaka era may be meant. Secondly, the commonly told anecdote, retailed in Bhîmasena's commentary, according to which Mammaṭa, Kaiyaṭa, and Ûaṭa were brothers, is probably worthless. For Ûaṭa repeatedly states in his works that his father was an inhabitant of Ânandapura-Vaḍnagar, called Vajraṭa, while Kaiyaṭa was the son of the Kâśmîrian Jaiyaṭa. Mammaṭa's parentage, is, I think, not known. Thirdly, the poet Ruchikara, *alias* Śrîharsha, a brother of Govinda, the author of the *Kâvyapradîpa*, cannot, as Prof. Peterson seems to think (p. 11, note 1 and p. 28), have been one of the Śrîharshas, whose works still survive. For the father of Śrîharsha, the author of the *Naishadhîya*, was Hîra, while Ruchikara-Śrîharsha was the son of Keśava.

At Udaipur Prof. Peterson's success seems to have been no less marked than at Jaipur. More books than he could buy were offered for sale, the Mahârâṇa's library was opened to him with great liberality, and he received the important news of the existence of a large Digambara Bhanḍâr, belonging to Bhaṭṭâraka Kanakakîrti, in Idar. Among his acquisitions are two very important works, a new copy of Mahendrasûri's *Kaumudî* on Hemachandra's *Anekârthasaṁgraha*, and Somadeva's *Yaśastilaka*. The former MS. will be of great service, as the copy which I got at Jaipur in 1876 leaves much to desire, and is too incorrect to allow a critical edition of the important *kôsha* to be prepared. The second work is stated to have been written in Saṁ. 881 (*i.e.* either in 824-5 or 959 A.D.), and to describe the life of a Chalukya prince Yaśodhara, the son of Arikeśarî. Though Chalukyas bearing these names do not occur in the authentic pedigrees of the main branches of the family, it is very probable that the *Yaśastilaka* will, on a closer examination, furnish an important contribution to the history of one of the offshoots from the chief lines. Among the other acquisitions described in the *Report*, the commentary on the *Chausaraṇa Pâiṇṇâ* is a valuable addition to the Bombay Collection.

The library of the Mahârâṇa of Udaipur is, to judge from the extracts at pp. 95—111, in its contents very similar to that of the Mahârâjas of Jodhpur and Bikâner, where all the works mentioned are to be found. (See Râjendralâl Mitra, *Bikâner Catalogue, passim, e.g.*, p. 406 and 446). It ought to be noticed that the *Gajâyurveda* of Pâlakâpya is contained in the Bombay collection of 1873-4, No. 111, and that Varâhamihira's *Yogayâtrâ* has been edited and translated by Prof. Kern in the *Indische Studien*, vols. VIII—XV. A copy of the *Krityaratnâkara*, composed by Lakshmîdhara in the 12th century, ought to be secured. I possess in my private library modern copies of a few sections of the work, which were made for me at Puṇâ and at Bânâras in 1864 and 1865.

As regards the catalogue of the palm-leaf MSS. in the Cambay Bhanḍâr, they are apparently not as old as those acquired by Prof. Kielhorn for the Government Collection, as the earliest date

given is Saṁvat, *i.e.*, Vikramasaṁvat 1164. The lower limit seems to be Saṁvat 1445. The library includes very few books which possess a general interest for Sanskṛit students. Besides the important *Gauḍavaha* (No. 180), which I mentioned in my *Report* for 1879-80, there are only the following eight:—

(1.) Varâhamihira's *Bṛihajjâtaka*, No. 146. (2.) Pârśvadeva's *Nyâyâpraveśâṭippana*, No. 123. (3.) A *Nyâyâvatâraṭippaṇa* No. 122. (4.) Râmachandra's *Nirbhayabhîma*, a *vyâyoga*, No. 121. (5.) The *Kaviśikshâ*, by Jayamaṅgala, a poet of the time of Jayasiṁha of Aṇhilvâḍ, No. 120. (6.) A *Lokasaṁgrahaṇavyahâranâmâṅka*, a fragment of Ravigupta's *Sâhityaśâstra*, No. 91. (7.) Two pieces of the *Raghuvaṁśa*, Nos. 69 and 22. (8.) Dâmodaragupta's *Sumbhalîmata*, No. 34.

But I think that Prof. Peterson has done well to print the whole of Râmachandra Sâstrî's compilation. For, in spite of its imperfections, it proves the existence of a number of curious works of the Śvetâmbaras, which are not easily obtainable elsewhere. No. 29, Hemachandra's *Jîvasamâsa*, is interesting, as it seems to be an autograph of the famous Jaina Prabhâvaka. (*Report*, pp. 63-64). It must, however, be noted that Prof. Peterson's translation at p. 64 of its colophon contains a mistake. Jayasiṁha was not "the conqueror of Kalyâṇa." The phrase *kalyâṇavijayarâjye* is exceedingly common in the inscriptions, and means "in the auspicious (or holy) and victorious reign." In connection with No. 122 (p. 69), it ought to have been mentioned that Śobhana's *Stuti* has been translated by Prof. Jacobi, and that, as I have shown in the *Transactions of the Vienna Academy* of 1883, a commentary on that dreary poetical effusion has been composed by Dhanapâla, the author of the *Pâiyalachchhî*, who, indeed, was Śobhana's brother.

Prof. Peterson concludes his *Report* with a strong appeal in favour of the continuance of the official search for MSS., and with a protest against the diversion of a part of the funds to the edition of inscriptions and the preparation of a *catalogue raisonné* of the Bombay Collections through European agency. Every lover of Indian literature and every Sanskritist will agree with him in his assertion that much remains to be done, and entertain with him the hope that continued efforts will produce even more important results than those which have been achieved hitherto. As regards the chances in Gujarât and Râjputânâ they are very good. There are a large number of valuable private libraries which will come into the market during the next ten years, there are a number of very important works, such as the manuals of the *Kâṇva Śâkhâ*, the *Paippalâda Śâkhâ*, the *Paiśâchî Vṛihatkathâ*, &c., which have to be extracted from their hiding-places, and there are also half a dozen Bhaṇḍârs belonging to Jaina communities and native princes, such as Hemâchârya's library at Aṇhilvâḍ, which remain to be investigated. There is work enough for another ten years, and it would be a pity if the operations were interrupted. But I trust there is no chance that the Government of India will withdraw the grant.

Prof. Peterson's remarks against Dr. Kielhorn's judicious and economical scheme for preparing a really trustworthy catalogue of the Bombay MSS., will, I think, find little, if any, favour in the eyes of Sanskṛit scholars. If the catalogue were made, as he would wish, in India, its preparation would have to be entrusted chiefly to the Śâstrîs. Though I have a great respect for the Śâstrîs in their proper domain—the traditional explanation of the *Śâstras*—I must confess, that an experience of eighteen years has convinced me of their utter inability to turn out any trustworthy and accurate work on a large scale. I should consider it something like a miracle if Prof. Peterson or any other Sanskritist could produce, with the assistance of the Śâstrîs, a *catalogue raisonné* worthy of the name. Those who go carefully over Râmachandra's Cambay catalogue, will see how small the chance of such an event is. Moreover, though the monthly pay of a Śâstrî is low, it takes him a long time to finish anything. The preparation of a printed sheet of the catalogue, if entrusted to Śâstrîs, would cost three or four times as much as the small sum (Rs. 40), which the European students will receive. Thus were Prof. Peterson's wish fulfilled, he would have less to spend on his purchases than he has now. Nor do I think that with Rs. 2,500 to 3,000, he is badly off. During many years I have never had more, and I sometimes have had to do my work with only Rs. 1,600. Yet the results have not been altogether unsatisfactory. The important point is to limit the purchases to what is really useful and necessary, to abstain from the acquisition of copies of works already represented in the collection, except in cases where the MSS. acquired before are decidedly inferior, and to steadfastly refuse all the rubbish of *Stotras*, *Kavachas*, *Mâhâtmyas*, or extracts from the *Purâṇas* and the *Mâhâbhârata*, and so forth, which, however necessary they may be to Bhaṭṭjîs, possess no interest for any scholar. I trust that Prof. Peterson will, in the end, find it possible to agree with me, and that his future *Reports* will show even more interesting results than that under notice.

G. BÜHLER.

BUDDHIST LEGENDS.

From "Fragmentos d'uma Tentativa de Estudo Scoliastico da Epopeia Portugueza,"
by G. de Vasconcellos Abreu.[1]

TRANSLATED WITH ADDITIONAL NOTES BY DONALD FERGUSON, CEYLON.

ORIGIN OF THE KING OF THE LIONS AND OF THE NAME OF CEYLON.

Vestiges of a Buddhist Legend in the "Lusiads."[2]

THERE are legends of peoples descended from the unnatural connection of a wild beast with a human being, the mythological value of which may serve as a guide for the historical knowledge of the origin of those peoples.

In this case the legend which explains the name of Ceylon given to the ancient isle of Tâmra, Tâmra-dvîpa, or Tâmra-parṇa, is related by the Buddhist authors in their sacred language, the Pâli, or in Sanskṛit or Chinese.

In the oldest classical texts in Sanskṛit, the *Mahâbhârata* and the *Râmâyaṇa*, we find the word Laṅkâ, as the name of the capital of the island, and—by an extension—the whole island of the savage Râkshasas, whose king was, according to the Hindu epic, the terrible Râvaṇa. Another name equally ancient is that met with in the *Harivaṁśa*, Ratna-dvîpa, "isle of precious things," which the Chinese translated by the word *Pao-chu*.[3]

Hiuen-Tsiang, in the 7th century, however, employs the name of Ling-kia, from the Sanskṛit Laṅkâ, but to designate simply a high mountain inhabited by evil spirits in the southeast corner of the kingdom of Seng-kia-lo, in Sanskṛit Siṁhala "country of lions."[4]

In the 6th century, Cosmos Indicopleustes, the Egyptian navigator of the Indian seas, in his *Topographia Christiana*, calls the island of Ceylon, Selediva; and one of the names best known by the navigators and merchants was, in effect, that of Serendivus,[5] Singaldib,[6] or Sirindib.[7]

These names are derived from the Pâli word *sîhala-dîpo*,[8] the Sanskṛit form of which is *siṁhala-dvîpa*, "isle of the Siṁhalas," the island of Ceylon, as is seen from the collection of Hindu fables and apologues, the *Hitôpadêśa*. The word *dvîpa*, isle, *dîpo* in Pâli, is transformed in the language of the Arabs into *dyvah*, *al-dybah*, as is seen from a Portuguese document of the 16th century, though Fr. João de Sousa transcribes *adiba*.[9]

Previous to this the word *siṁhala-dvîpa* had been brought by the Arabs to Europe, for Ptolemy uses the adjective *salike* to designate all the inhabitants of Sâlai. Lassen[10] identifies this name, given by the Greek geographer, with an abbreviated form in Pâli, Sîhala, signifying "dwelling of the Siṁhas," not of actual lions, but of the warriors who emigrated thither with Vijaya, the Hindu conqueror, to whom is attributed the Buddhist civilization of Ceylon.

But a confirmation of the legend we have mentioned, that the island was formerly called Tâmra-parṇa, or in Pâli Tamba-paṇṇi,[11] is found in the fact that this designation was brought to the knowledge of Onesikritos before that of Sâlai, and had thus been in the west since Alexander—

"A nobre ilha tambem de Taprobana,
Já pelo nome antigo tam famoza."—
Lus. x. fol. 169.[12]

From the name of the Siṁhalas the island

[1] Published in Lisbon, 1880, in commemoration of the Camoens Tercentenary; pp. 39 ff.

[2] It will be seen that the "vestiges" of the Buddhist legend in the *Lusiads* are contained simply in the mention by Camoens of the name of Taprobana for Ceylon, and his reference to the footprint on Adam's Peak.—D.F.

[3] Stanislas Julien, *Voyages des Pèlerins Bouddhiques*, tome III, p. 125. Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 557.

[4] St. Julien, *op. cit.*, tome III, p. 144.

[5] Amm. Marcell. lib. lxxii, cap. 7.

[6] Abu Rihân, *apud* Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 558.

[7] *Chaînes des Chroniques*, p. 5, No. 7, and *passim*, in *Relations des Voyages faites par les Arabes et les Persans dans l'Inde et à la Chine dans le IXe Siècle*, translated by Renaud, 1845.

[8] Childers, *Pali Dict.* s.v.

[9] *Documentos Arabicos para a Historia Portugueza*, Lisboa, 1790, p. 107 f.

[10] *Indische Alterthumskunde*, 2nd ed., vol I, p. 241, n

[11] *Dîpavaṁsa*, IX, 20, ed. H. Oldenberg.

[12] This verse is thus translated (rather paraphrased) by Capt. Burton in his edition of the *Lusiads* (1880), vol. II p. 389:—

"And, eke, the noble Island Tabroban,
whose ancient name ne'er failed to give her note,
as still she reigns superb and sovereign
by boon of fragrant tree-bark, biting-hot:
Toll of her treasure to the Lusitan
ensign shall pay, when proud and high shall float
your breezy banners from the lofty tower,
and all Columbo fear your castled power."—D.F.

takes in Pâli that of Sîhalaṁ, the popular form of which, Sîlaṁ,[13] gives origin to the forms Sailân, used by the Persian Rashidu'd-dîn, a contemporary of Marco Polo, and that used by this same Polo, Seilan, as well as our Ceylão [Ceylon].

It is noteworthy that Camoens has identified[14] the two names, Ceylon and Taprobana, because in 1537, from an ambiguity arising from a false interpretation of the geography of Ptolemy by the school of Behaim,[15] Taprobana is explained as the island of Sumatra.

In 1559, Jomard again confounds the two names of Sumatra and Taprobana, which are distinguished both in the maps of this geographer of Henry II, and in the magnificent portulane of Charles VI,[16] from this supposed Taprobana, the island of Ceylon, whose position is accurately marked.

The name of Taprobana, or in Sanskṛit Tâmra-parṇa, is, as we have seen, the oldest known Hindu name given to the island of Ceylon.[17] The name Laṅkâ appears to have been that by which it was known to the first Aryans who went thither from India.

The name of Ceylon or island of the Siṁhalas is, however, of such remote origin that even the *Mahâbhârata* speaks of the Siṁhalas as inhabitants of the island at the south of India.[18]

Childers[19] says that the Siṁhalas, or as we now call them the Siṁhalese, are "only the Aryan inhabitants of Ceylon, descendants of a people who emigrated from Lâla, in Magadha, in India, and came thither many centuries before our era." The capital of Lâla, the Larikê of the Greeks, was Siṁhapura, "the city of Lions."[20]

These historical questions having been settled, we give some Buddhist legends regarding the origin of the Aryan civilization of Ceylon. The mythological elements which are found in them are common to other European legends, and a comparison of them is therefore interesting.

CONQUEST OF THE ISLAND OF LANKÂ, AND FOUNDING OF THE SIMHALESE OR LION DYNASTY.

From Chap. IX. of the Pâli Chronicle, Dîpavaṁsa.[21]

1. This island of Laṅkâ was formerly called Sîhala from the name Lion (*Siha*). Listen, therefore, ye, to the narration of its origin, which I shall relate to you.

2. The daughter of the king of Vaṅga cohabited in the forest with a wild lion, in consequence of which two children were born.

3. Sihabâhu and Sîvalî[22] were two lovely children; the mother was named Susimâ,[23] and the father was called (the Lion) Sîha.

4. On the expiration of sixteen rainy seasons the son of Sîha departed from the cave, and founded the most noble city of Sihapura.

5. The son of Sîha (the Lion), a powerful king in the country of Lâla, ruled the great kingdom in the most noble city of Sîhapura.

6. Thirty-two brothers were the progeny of the son of Sîha (Lion), and of these the eldest were Vijaya and Sumitta, both of extraordinary beauty.

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[13] Childers, *op. cit.* s. v.

[14] Camoens says positively:—
" . . . . Taprobana
(Que ora he Ceylão) . . . . . ."—lib. X. stanza 107.

[15] Richthofen, *China*, vol. I, p. 640 ff.

[16] In the possession of M. Frederic Spitzer, in Paris.—Richthofen.

[17] The first to show that Taprobanê was the Greek form of Tâmraparṇa was Eugêne Burnouf in 1834. The monograph read by him in that year before the Acad. des Inscr. et B. Lettres of Paris was published in the *Journal Asiatique* of January 1851. I have not been able to utilize it, as the *Journal* for this year is missing from the library of the A. R. S. [The separate reprint is dated 1857.—D. F.]

[18] *Sanskrit Worterbuch*, s.v. [19] *Pâli Dict.* s.v.

[20] Lassen, *Ind. Alterthumsk.* vol. I, p. 105; cf. *infra* the legend which we translate from the *Dîpavaṁsa*, IX, ed. Oldeuberg.

[21] This translation differs somewhat from that of Prof. Oldenberg. I will here mention the chief points:—

Ver. 2. For "children" the Portuguese has "irmãos," corresponding to the Pâli *bhâtaro*=brother and sister.

Ver. 13-14. Instead of "went on shore on an *uninhabited* island," Oldenberg has, "was *helplessly* driven to an island." The Pâli has "*dîpaṁ tuvassakaṁ*," and the latter translation seems the correct one.

Ver. 17. Instead of "strangers" Oldenberg has "unnoticed (?)." The Pâli text is uncertain.

Ver. 18. Instead of "murder" Oldenberg has "slander." The Pâli word is *pesuṇaṁ*, which does not occur in Childers' *Dict.*, though *pesuññaṁ* and *pesuneyyaṁ* are given, with the latter meaning. Why Sr. Abreu has "murder," I cannot understand.

Ver. 28. Instead of "could scarcely walk," Oldenberg has "were unable (?) to walk on foot." The Pâli is uncertain.

Ver. 29. "They went on their hands and feet." The Portuguese is "Foram de gatinhas com pés e mãos," literally "They acted like little she-cats with feet and hands." Oldenberg has:—"They crawled about on the ground with both hands and knees," which is more literal.

Ver. 32. Instead of "landed there and took possession of territory" Oldenberg has "came first to this country." The Pâli is uncertain, Oldenberg reading *Anurâdhanakkhattena* instead of *nôraṁ anurakkhena*, and therefore adding the name of Anurâdhanakkhatta to those given above.—D. F.

[22] See further on, p. 37 *b*.

[23] The beautiful wanderer.

7. The young prince Vijaya was audacious and without instruction, and committed acts of the greatest wickedness and unparalleled extortions.

8. The merchants and all the other men of the country assembled, and went to complain to the king of the crimes of Vijaya.

9. On hearing their clamorous voices, the king, full of anger, gave order to his ministers, "Expel this young man;

10. and all these slaves, wives, and children and relatives, and servants of both sexes, and workmen, expel all these people."

11. Then they expelled him, separating him from all his relatives, and they put them on board a ship, and the ship sailed away upon the sea.

12. "Let them go wherever they please, and they shall not be seen any more, nor shall they return to our kingdom to dwell amongst this people."

13. The ship with the children went on shore on an uninhabited island, whence it got the name of Naggadîpa.[24]

14. And the ship with the women went on shore on an uninhabited island, and hence they called it Mahilâraṭṭha (Kingdom of Women).

15. The ship with the men, sailing over the sea without a destination, futilely and without a course, arrived at the port of Suppâra.[25]

16. And when seven hundred disembarked at Suppâra, the Suppârakas received them with much welcome and many honours.

17. Whilst they were being thus received, Vijaya and his company, all these strangers, practised cruel deeds,

18. giving themselves to drunkenness, theft, adultery, treachery, murder, and the most vile, immoral, and horrible modes of procedure.

19. The Suppârakas were irritated at these horrors of unsurpassable cruelty and barbarous savagery, and agreed: "Let us quickly kill these wicked ones."

20. There was formerly Ojadîpa, Varadîpa, or Maṇḍadîpa, also called Laṅkâdîpa, and which is known as Tambapaṇṇi.

21. At the time when Sambuddha, the best of men, attained *parinibbâna*,[26] this son of Sihâbâhu, the Khattiya (*Kshatriya*, warrior prince). Vijaya

22. arrived at Laṅkâdîpa, after having departed from the land of Jambudîpa (*one of the names of India*). The excellent Buddha had prophesied: "The prince will be the king (*of Laṅkâ*)."

23. At that time the Master (*Gautama, the Buddha*), said to Sakka,[27] the chief of the gods, "Do not neglect thy care, Kosiya,[28] of Laṅkâdîpa."

24. Sujampati, the king of the gods, after hearing this warning of Sambuddha, charged Uppalavaṇṇa,[29] to protect the island.

25. Hearing the order of Sakka, the powerful Devaputta,[30] with the Parisas,[31] protected the island of Laṅkâ.

26. After staying at Bhârukachchha and exasperating the inhabitants, Vijaya returned to his ship.

27. Having with his company gone on board, they put to sea, and soon a furious wind made them lose sight of the coast.

28. They arrived at Laṅkâdîpa, where they disembarked, and went on shore. But on *terra firma* they felt exhausted with hunger, thirst, and fatigue; they could scarcely walk.

29. They went on their hands and feet, and afterwards rose and stood on their feet, and saw their hands (*pâṇi*) shining.

30. The very red dust of that earth covered

[24] Nagnadvîpa in Sanskrit? "Island of the Naked."

[25] See *Ind. Ant.* vol. XI, pp. 236, 247, 293, 294. It is evident from the mention of Bhârukachchha (Bharuch) (v 26) along with Suppâra, that the *Dipavaṁsa*, places Lâla on the *west* coast of India or in Gujarat, and the Siṁhapura stated to be the capital may be Sîhor in Kâṭhiâwâḍ, about 18 miles south of the site of Valabhî, and the traditional capital of the Siṁha dynasty.—ED. *I. A.*

[26] In Skr *parinirvâṇa*. This term is used to designate the death of the sage, the Buddha, or of an Arhat, "a Buddhist ascetic and saint." The Buddhist era counts from the death of the sage, Gautama, the Buddha. According to some writers, among them Childers, it occurred in the year 543 before Christ. Now, since the latest works of Cunningham, although even before that the great Burnouf had cited the passage which served as a basis for the discovery of the English archæologist,—it is reckoned from about 482 or 472 B.C.

[27] In Sanskrit Śakra, powerful, an epithet of Indra.

[28] Kauśika in Sanskrit is an epithet of Indra.

[29] See the following note.

[30] *Dêvaputra* in Skr. To the inhabitants of the *dêvalôka* (paradise) are attributed male and female sexes. Dêvaputra is a celestial being of the male sex. Such is Uppalavaṇṇa, *i.e.* Vishṇu, a god in the Brahmanical religion, an archangel in the Buddhist. There is an archangel of the female sex (*dêvadhîtâ*), whose name may easily be confounded with Uppalavaṇṇa, and Uppalavaṇṇâ, "name of an eminent nun who was of Gautama's *aggasâvikâs* (*Dh.* 213)," says Childers, citing the *Dhammapadam* of Fausböll. We may also refer to the chronicle which we are translating, *Dîpavaṁsa* XVIII, 9, and *Vinayapiṭakaṁ, Chullavagga*, X, 8. *Aggasâvikâ*, in Skr *Agraśrâvikâ*, "principal female disciple," follower of Buddha. Gautama's two were Khemâ and Uppalavaṇṇâ, besides other lesser ones.

[31] Angels under the command of an archangel.

their arms and hands; and from this cause that place was called T a m b a p a ṇ ṇ i.

31. The first city in the renowned L a ṅ k â d î p a was Tambapaṇṇi, and dwelling there Vijaya ruled his kingdom.

32. Vijaya and Vijita and with them Achchutagâmi and Upatissa, were the first who landed there and took possession (?)[32] of territory.

33. A great multitude of men and women came together, and one Khattiya (*prince*) built cities here, another there, in all the country.

34. Vijaya built the city of T a m b a p a ṇ ṇ i, with its suburbs, on the south bank of the river in the most charming place.

35. Vijita built the city to which he gave his name, and then that of U r u v e l a; and the minister, who got his name from the asterism Anurâdha, founded the city of A n u r â d h a.

36. He whose name was Achchutagâmi founded U j j e n i, and Upatissa, U p a t i s s a—the city of beautiful markets, rich, vast, of great prosperity, and delightful.

37. The first king of famous Laṅkâdîpa was king Vijaya in T a m b a p a ṇ ṇ i.

38. When seven years of his reign had passed, many people had come thither. His reign was thirty-eight years.

39. In the ninth month of Sambuddha,[33] the Yakkas were destroyed; in the fifth year of Sambuddha the Jina conquered the Nâgas;[34] in the eighth year of Sambuddha the *Samâpatti*[35] was completed.

40. On all these three occasions Tathâgata[36] came hither. In the last year of Sambuddha, Vijaya came hither.

41. Sambuddha, the best of men, made the island of L a ṅ k â fit for the habitation of men; and by the *anupádisesá*[37] extinguished himself in all his *upadhis* (*upadhi*).[38]

42. The Khattiya reigned thirty-eight years after the *parinibbâṅa* of Sambuddha, the shining lord of truth,

43. and sent to S î h a p u r a a messenger to Sumitta: "Come shortly to us to this magnificent L a ṅ k â d î p a.

44. There is no one to succeed me in the rule after my death; I yield in your favour this island which I conquered by my valour."

PRINCE SIMHALA SAVED BY THE MAGIC HORSE.

A Buddhist Legend[39] *on the Origin of the Name of Ceylon.*[40]

"S i ṁ h a l a, son of the merchant S i ṁ h a, having embarked to go in search of precious stones in a distant island, is assailed, on approaching T â m r a d v î p a (the same as T â m r a p a r ṇ a, the T a p r o b a n e of the ancients), by a tempest raised by the R â k s h a s î s, wicked divinities, which inhabit that island. He is shipwrecked with his companions, and by swimming reaches the shore, where the Râkshasîs appear, and under the guise of beautiful women entice the merchants to yield themselves to pleasure with them. S i ṁ h a l a, after passing the night in the arms of one of these women, discovers by the lamp which lightens them that he has fallen into the hands of an ogress, whose pleasure he serves and who will devour

[32] Cf. Oldenberg, p. 56, with p. 162.

[33] See note 26, *ante* p. 35.

[34] *i.e.* consolidated Buddhism.

[35] This Buddhist term is translated by "attainments, endowments," which are eight successive states induced by ecstatic meditation (Childers, *Pâli Dict.*, s. v.) The explanation of Burnouf (*Lotus de la Bonne Loi*, pp. 348-9) appears to me to be exact: *Samâpattî* is the moral state, which is reached by *samâdhi; samâdhi* is one of the conditions for becoming a perfect ascetic and one of the perfections of the ascetic; and these perfections are—*jhâna*, "profound meditation," *vimokha*, "freedom, destruction of passion," *samâdhi*, "perfect tranquillity," *samâpatti*, "sweet joy, tranquil delight, the calm and holy happiness resulting from the superior perfections." And the annihilation of all suffering and of all enjoyment of every physical sensation is the ecstatic feeling of delight in the indifferent contemplation of the exterior world. The eight successive states are like bridges, degrees of progressive acquisition of each of these perfections. See Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 789.

[36] "Gautama Buddha in the *Suttas* frequently speaks of himself as the Tathâgata, and the epithet is analogous to that of Son of Man applied to himself by Jesus Christ." (Childers, *Pâli Dict*, s. v.) But it appears to me that this name of Tathâgata, composed of *tathâ-âgata*, "coming thus (like the other Buddhas)," signifies "a redeemer."

[37] Complete annihilation by the destruction of the five elements of being.

[38] *Substrata corporis, i.e.*, entered into complete *nibbâna* (*nirvâna* in Skr.) or *parinibbâna.*

[39] According to Burnouf, "*Introd. à l'Hist. du Bouddhisme*," (1st ed.), p. 223 ff. With this legend compare that given by Hiuen-Tsiang apud St. Julien, *Mémoires*, tome II, p. 131 ff.

[40] In the *Academy* of Aug. 13 and 27, 1881 (reprinted in the *Indian Antiquary* for Oct. 1881, pp. 291-3), are two interesting communications on the subject of "The Myth of the Sirens," one from Mr. W. E. A. Axon, who drew attention to the "Story of the Five Hundred Merchants," given by Beal in his *Romantic Legend of Sâkya Buddha*, p. 339 ff.; the other by Dr. R. Morris, who showed that the story is a veritable *jâtaka* tale, the Pâli text of which is given in Fausböll's edition of the *Jâtaka*, vol. II, p. 127 ff, under the title of *Valâhassajâtaka*, "Cloudhorse *Jâtaka*." As no translation of the *Valâhassajâtaka* has yet appeared, I give one below, p. 45 *f*. The explanation of several doubtful passages I owe to the kindness of Mr. L. C. Wijesinha, Mudaliyâr, the coadjutor of the late Prof. Childers in his Pâli Dictionary. I have added a few notes.—D.F.

him. He learns that other merchants, shipwrecked like himself, have been since their arrival thrown into a prison whence the Râkshasîs take them daily to feed on their flesh. Taught by the revelations of the lamp, he goes with his companions to the shore, where there appears to him a miraculous horse which is to transport him from the island. But he has to take care not to turn his head back; any one allowing himself to be moved by the tears of the Râkshasîs and casting a single look towards the shore is condemned to fall into the ocean, where the ogresses wait to put him to death. The companions of Siṁhala consent gladly to leave the island with him; but faithless to their promises they give an ear to the lamentations of the women whom they are leaving, and disappear one after another, devoured by the Râkshasîs. Siṁhala alone escapes; and, in spite of the endeavours of the woman he has left in the island, the marvellous horse transports him to India.

"The Râkshasî from whose hands Siṁhala had escaped seduced the king Siṁhakêśarin, and entered his inner apartments. Assisted by the other demons whom she summoned from the island of Tâmradvîpa, she devoured the king and his family. Siṁhala, who alone was able to explain this disaster, was proclaimed king; and he formed the resolution of going to destroy the Râkshasîs of the island, in order to spread there the doctrine of the Three Precious Objects. The demons retired into a forest; and from that event the country formerly called Tâmradvîpa took the name of Siṁhaladvîpa."

This legend is completed by the following, of what we know of the origin of the Siṁhalas:—

ORIGIN OF THE KINGDOM OF SIMHA (LION).

According to the "Mahâvaṁsa."[41]

"There was once a king who ruled in Baṅganagara in the land of the Baṅgas, and whose spouse was a daughter of the king of Kâliṅga. They had a very beautiful daughter, who, one day, going for a walk by herself, met a caravan, going to Magadha, and accompanied it without making herself known. On reaching the land of Lâla, they were separated from each other by a lion.

"The daughter of the king, remembering that it had been prophesied that she would cohabit with a king of animals, caressed the lion, and the latter carried her to his cave, and there were born to them a son with lion's feet and hands, and a daughter.[42] The mother then gave them the names of Siṁhabâhu (lion's arms) and Siṁhâvalî (lion's offspring).

"When the son had completed sixteen years his mother discovered to him his origin; taking advantage of the lion's absence, he took his mother and sister on his back and carried them to a neighbouring village, where Anura, són of a maternal uncle of his, the commander-in-chief of the armies of Baṅga, was commissioned to direct the labours of the villagers.

"The latter received them into his house, and clothed them, and gave them food on tree-leaves. The clothes then become of the richest textures, and the leaves were changed into golden vessels. Astonished at such marvels, he asked his guests about their origin, which the mother then related to him. He thereupon conveyed them to the capital of Baṅga, and took the daughter[43] for his wife.

"When the lion returned to his cave, which was deserted, he searched for his children, and not finding them he entered the villages, putting to flight the inhabitants. These hastened to complain to the king, showing him the danger they were running. As the king could find no one able to capture the lion he twice offered still larger rewards to whoever would give chase. Twice the mother of Siṁhabâhu forbade him to accept the offer; but the third time Siṁhabâhu offered himself, without first asking the consent of his mother, and the king promised to give him the kingdom if he succeeded in capturing the lion.

"Siṁhabâhu then sought out the lion in his cave, pierced him with an arrow, and fled back to the capital of the kingdom like a wild beast. The king had died without a suc-

[41] Lassen, *Ind. Alterthumsk.* (2nd ed.), vol. II, p. 103 ff. Compare this legend with that recounted by Hiuen-Tsiang. (St. Julien, *Mémoires*, tome II, p. 125 ff.) I have translated Sr. Abreu's Portuguese translation of Lassen's German translation, which will be found to differ slightly from Turnour's version.—D. F.

[42] Turnour says:—"They partook of the nature of the lion in the formation of their hands and feet," but the version here given corresponds with the Pâli.—D. F.

[43] Rather, "the daughter of his father's sister," *i.e.* the mother of Siṁhabâhu and Siṁhâvalî.—D. F.

cessor seven days previously. The ministers, being informed of the fact that he was the grandson of the king and his mother the daughter, and astonished at this, assembled in council, and unanimously invited him to be king. Siṁhabâhu assumed the rule but resigned the kingdom to him who had married his mother, and returned with his sister to his native country. There he founded in the kingdom of Lâla the city of Siṁhapura and villages in the forests, and married his sister. The latter had twin sons sixteen times, the eldest of whom was Vijaya, and the second Sumitra, the first of whom his father at a suitable age nominated *Uparâja* (chief heir)."

In these legends we have to separate the historical portion from the mythological.

The historical portion is evidently the Aryan conquest of the island of Laṅkâ, and its conversion to Buddhism.

But before this Buddhist conquest the island had already been conquered by the Âryas, as is sung in the epic of Râma; in these legends we see only the legendary series of which the *Râmâyaṇa* is the most beautiful expression.[44]

The Pâli chronicle attributes to the same invaders the two names, Tambapaṇṇi, in Sanskṛit Tâmraparṇa, or Tambadîpa, in Sanskṛit Tâmradvîpa, and Sîhaladîpa, in Sanskṛit Siṁhaladvîpa. Here, in my opinion, there is confusion.

The chronicler explains the etymology of Tambapaṇṇi in a quite erroneous way, as we hear people ignorant of etymological processes explaining local names, for example, Ribeira's of 'Coselhas,' 'Odemira,' 'Miragaya.'

It is sufficient for us to note the two ṇ's in *paṇṇi* to trace the word to the Sanskṛit *parṇi*, which we refer to *parṇa*, 'leaf,' with the feminine termination in composition. The word *pâṇi*, 'hand,' corresponds identically with the Sanskṛit. The word *tamba*, 'copper-coloured, vermilion,' corresponds in Sanskṛit with the word *tâmra*, 'copper-coloured, vermilion,' but is also the name of several plants, and among them the *Rubia munjista* of Roxburgh, which name in Sanskṛit is also given to *mañjishṭhâ* (Pâli *mañjiṭṭhâ*), the madder of the dyers, and a kind of sandal, the vermilion of which Garcia da Orta (*Colloquio*, xlix) speaks, but which must not be confounded with the actual *Pterocarpus santalinus*, better known by the name of *Lignum santalinum rubrum* [red sanders wood].

According to the statement of Flückiger and Daniel Hanbury,[45] we are led to believe that in the time of the physician of D. João III, the wood known by the name of red sandal in commerce was not that of a variety of sandal, an article of trade even then very different from that which nowadays has that name in Europe. Garcia da Orta himself confesses that he did not know the tree, but was informed that the natives of India used a portion for fevers, and considered the wood good for working, and suitable from its size for pagodas and idols.

The true region of the sandal in India is from Malabar to Coromandel, especially the mountains of Malaya.[46] Hiuen Tsiang,[47] describing these mountains, says:—"There rise the mountains Mo-la-ye (Malaya) with their scarped sides and their frowning summits, their gloomy valleys and their deep ravines. On these mountains grow the white sandal, and the tree called Chen-t'an-ni-p'o (*Chandanêva*, 'like sandal')."

And in the region of the Malaya mountains, which in ancient India exactly formed one of the nine divisions[48] of the country of Bhârata (India), the division or *khaṇḍa* of Tâmraparṇa is the river of the same name.[49]

The trade in sandal was of the greatest importance in Ceylon in the first centuries of our era. However, the larger merchants who had the opportunity procured supplies from abroad. Ceylon imported it to export it, because she was the emporium of the Asiatic world, as being the central point of all the maritime commerce.[50]

On the other hand, it is certain that previous to the Aryan expedition attributed to Vijaya, and with which Buddhism was introduced into Ceylon, the Aryan expedition attributed to Râma took place. Of the expedition of Vijaya there is a tradition on the eastern coast, of the expedition of Râma there is living tradition on

[44] See Sénart, *Essai sur la Légende du Buddha*, pp. 272-8.

[45] French translation of Lanesson, *Histoire des Drogues d'Origine Végétale* (Paris, 1878, 2 vols.), tome II, p. 372-3.

[46] *Mahâbhârata* and *Râmâyaṇa* apud *Sanskrit Wörterbuch*.

[47] Apud St. Julien, *Mémoires*, tome II, p. 122.

[48] *Siddhânta-śirômaṇi*, III, 41.

[49] *Sanskrit Worterbuch*, s. voc. *Tâmraparṇa*.

[50] Richthofen, *China*, vol. I, pp. 521, 524, note 2.

the western coast, in Malabar. Among the Malabars exist even now families with the ancient names of the race of the Ikshvâkus, ancestors of Râma.[51]

It is possible, therefore, that the name of Tâmraparṇa, anterior to that of Siṁhaladvîpa, originated from the region of Malabar.[52]

In the mythological portion we distinguish, as having historical value, the death of the lion.

The speaking lamp, the magic or flying horse, and the misfortune of any one looking back from it, are mythological elements of another order.

These assassinations, nearly always fratricides, but also parricides and filiicides, are connected with the building of a city raised over the hole into which has been cast the head, or the phallus, of the individual sacrificed, and whose name is sometimes given to the city.[53]

The lion killed by Siṁhabâhu has in Greece its mythological representative in the lion of Herakles, which some mythologists explain as the cloud, dark and thundering, conquered by the solar god.[54] In Hellenic tradition is known the monstrous and terrible lion, the devastating lion of the country of the king of Megara, whose daughter is to marry the hero who slays it; and yet the lion has not its habitat in the Peloponnesus, nor in any part of the Doric region, to which the cities of Megara and Nemea belonged.

The tradition is common to the mythology of the Aryan races. And to further confirm it there is the circumstance of the hero of India and the hero of Greece being a great traveller by sea.[55]

In the middle ages the lion and the virgin of the Buddhist legend are the monoceros and the maiden, who embraces him round the neck, attracting him by the enchantments of her beauty or by the delicious perfume which she exhales.[56]

Before examining the other mythological elements, it may be as well not to forget that in the classical literature of Europe mention is made of female beings similar to the cruel Râkshasîs; such are, in the African island, always populated, the fanciful beings, exclusively of the female sex, whom Pomponius Mela (III, 9) notices. And Athenæus (V, 64), tells us that Marius brought from Africa the skins of marvellous animals, which he offered to the temple of Herakles.

The origin is well known of the name of *gorilla*, given in the *Periplus* of Hanno by the Carthaginian navigator to certain animals of the tropical zone encountered by him on the western coasts of Africa. The animals which, from among these, he brought and consecrated to the temple of Tanit (Juno) were three females.

So, then, if there are identical traditions of an island of fierce female beings, both in India and in Europe, there is also a historical fact by the resemblance of which we can explain the Hindu tradition. In fact, tradition in Europe supplies the lack of antiquity, in anatomy and mythology, of the centuries which elapsed between the Punic navigator and the geographer of the time of Claudius.

The inhabitants of the female sex, the fierce Râkshasîs of the island conquered by Vijaya, must not, however, be set down as fabulous. We have every reason rather to consider them as the savage women of Hanno, who, according to Pomponius Mela, were fanciful beings.

Besides the tradition common to the whole Aryan race, there exist in Europe traditional vestiges which mythographers prove to be of Buddhist origin. They had easy access into Italy, where we find them in abundance, and from thence they spread to the west.

We do not know that there is among us any popular story in which speaking lamps are mentioned. In Italy many are known, and the

[51] Turnour's *Epitome of Ceylon History.* Conf. also *ante*, vol. XI, p. 257.—ED. I. A.

[52] On this subject of the name of Tambapaṇṇi and the landing of Vijaya, I would refer to Dr. Caldwell's *Political and General History of the District of Tinnevelly*, 1881, pp. 9-10, 13-14, where the connection between the river Tâmraparṇî and the name for Ceylon is shown to be exceedingly probable, though it is left doubtful which was borrowed from the other; also Dr. E. Müller's *Ancient Inscriptions of Ceylon*, 1883, pp. 21-24, where the theory is advanced that the Vijayan invaders came to Ceylon through Southern India. We have not yet sufficient evidence, however, to show that the invaders did land on the west coast of Ceylon.—D. F.

[53] See Fr. Lenormant, *Les Origines de l'Histoire d'après la Bible et les Traditions des Peuples Orientaux*, 1880, chap. IV; *cf.* V, Abreu, *Investigações sobre o Caracter da Civilização Árya-Hindú*, 1878, p. 38-9.

[54] Cf. the explanation of the death of Abel by Cain given by Goldziher, *Der Mythos bei den Hebräern*, Goldziher-Martineau, pp. 113, 114, 126, et passim.

[55] See Decharme, *Mythologie de la Grèce Antiquè*, B. IV, c. 2.

[56] Brunetto Latini, *Trésor de Toutes Choses*, Jordanus, *Mirabilia*.

reader can see them in the magnificent collection of Pitré, *Fiabe, Novelle e Racconti Popolari Siciliani*, for example, in the story of "La soru di lu Conti."[57]

In Italy we also meet with the tradition of the magic horse. But in this case there enter in common Aryan elements and elements of tradition, which is the daughter of importation through Buddhist influence.

Before the winged horse described by Ariosto, Greece knew Arion, the horse of Adrastus, and Pegasus, another marvellous horse.[58]

In fact, a patrimony of Aryan legends must be assigned to the myth of the horse of the hero, which saves him from difficulties, like the horses of the two Aśvins and the horse of Indra, which warns him or at least foretells to him, like the horse of Râvaṇa, weeping, of future disgrace, or neighing predicts, as to Darius, glory and triumph; the myth of the horse which identifies itself with the hero, on whose strength depends the strength of the hero, and whose rider bears a name given to him from the horse he rides and from the strength of that horse, like Aśvatthâman (*aśvasthâman*, strength of a horse), the son of Drôṇa, in the *Mahâbhârata*.

The later transformations of the myth of the magic horse, the horse of the hero, indicate to us, however, an importation of Buddhist traditions. Thus transformed, the magic horse is in Lisbon the pair of cork boots; and in literary productions, who does not recognize it in the mantle of the lame devil and the cane of M. de Balzac?

In popular stories their parallels are found in the carpet on which the hero ascends, and on which he is transported through the air, the boots of swiftness which the three brothers procure,[59] and the shoe of Cinderella.

An example these of transformations in the east before those known to be European is the *Avadâna* No. lxxiv, of the Indian stories and apologues, translated from the Chinese by Stanislas Julien.[60]

THE DISPUTE OF THE TWO DEMONS.

"There were formerly two Piśâchas, who had each a box, a stick, and a shoe. These two demons disputed with each other, each wishing to have these six objects at once. They passed whole days quarrelling without being able to come to an agreement. A man, being witness of this obstinate discussion, questioned them and said: 'What then is there so wonderful in a box, a stick, and a shoe, that you dispute with such hotness?'

"'From this box,' replied the two demons, 'We can obtain clothes, drink, food, bed-coverings, and, in fact, everything necessary for life and comfort. When we hold this stick our enemies submit humbly, and no one dares dispute with us. When we have put on this shoe, by its power we can go flying without meeting any obstacle.'

"On hearing these words, the man said to them: 'Go a little way from me; I am going to make a fair division.'

"At these words the two demons retired apart. The man took the two boxes and the two sticks, put on the two shoes, and flew off. The two demons were stupified on seeing that nothing was left to them.

"The man then spoke to the demons, and said to them: 'I have taken away what was the object of your quarrel, I have placed you both in the same condition, and have

[57] Vol. I, p. 60 ff. This story was pointed out to me by my friend and colleague, Professor Adolpho Coelho.

[58] The Arab legend of the horse Hizan, which goes over to Moses, protected by the archangel Gabriel, on the other side of the Nile, after his leaving the palace of Pharaoh, is modern.

[59] F. Adolpho Coelho, *Contos Populares Portuguezes*, Conto XVI. To this friend and colleague of mine I owe the following communication:—"On an episode in which, in place of boots, figure by turns a mantle and a saddle, which transport through the air, and which are met with in a great number of European and Oriental stories, see Gebr. Grimm, *Kinder- und Haus-märchen*, vol. III, p. 166 (note to No. 92); R. Köhler in the *Jahrbuch f. rom. und engl. Literatur*, vol. VII, p. 148 (note to the Venetian story from the collection of Widter Wolf, No. 10, published in the same periodical); J. Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, 3rd ed., p. xxx; F. Liebrecht in *Orient und Occident*, vol. I, p. 132, where the author refers to an article of his in the *Germania* of Pfeiffer, vol. II, p. 244. To the stories mentioned by these writers we may add the following, in which the episode reappears:—J. G. von Hahn, *Griechische und albanische Märchen*, No. 114 (Leipzig, 1864), in which it is the striking of the earth three times with a magic stick which transports the possessor wherever he wishes; Kreutzwald-Löwe, *Esthnische Mærchen*, No. 11 (cork boots which carry one far); G. Pitré, *Fiabe, Novelle e Racconti Popolari Siciliane*, No. 31 (boots which carry like the wind).

[60] Vol. II, p. 8. *Avadâna* means, according to the *Sanskrit Wörterbuch*, primarily "frank, honest, upright dealing," later "heroic deed," and finally "legend, story;" and thus the title of a collection of stories, such as the *Avadâna-Śataka*, "the hundred *avadânas*" (Burnouf, *Intr. à l'Hist. du Buddhisme indien*, 1st ed., p. 115), *Avadâna-Kalpalatâ*, *Dvâviṁśati-Avadâna*. On the great importance of the *Avadânas* and of the Buddhist *Jâtakas*, see principally vol. I of the *Pañchatantra* of Benfey; and Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde*, 109-21, or in *Orient und Occident* of Benfey, vol. I, p. 129 ff, and Léon Feer, *Etudes bouddhiques*, in *J. Asiat.*, ser. VII, vols. XI, XIV.

relieved you of all subject of jealousy and dispute.'"

Our leading mythographer, Sr. Adolpho Coelho, knows a Portuguese popular story, of which, however, he cannot obtain a complete version, in which there are three brothers, one of whom has an eye with which he sees at great distances, another has a carpet which carries one far away, the other has an apple or a water which cures every disease. Professor Adolpho Coelho sees in this story, to which, he says, there are many European parallels, a Buddhist origin; and traces it to the story which we have given from the *Avadânas*.

The parallel story in India is No. 24 of vol. II of the collection *Tuti Nâme*, edited by Georg Rosen, Leipzig, 1858, quoted by De Gubernatis, *Mythologie Zoologique*, vol. I, p. 135.[61]

In the collection of Hindu fables, in Sanskṛit, the *Pañchatantra*, the reader may find an interesting variant of the episode, in the story of "The Weaver who passed himself off as Vishṇu." Benfey in his valuable study on these Hindu stories and apologues comments on some peculiarities of this story.[62]

The horse, which we thus see substituted by the mantle, the carpet, the boots, the shoe, is in the Buddhist religion one of the necessary requisites of the *Chakravartin*.[63]

A *Chakravartin* is he who possesses all that exists in the limits of the world. Buddha is a *Chakravartin*. His horse is white as the light of day, and has hair like the golden rays of the sun; he lives by drinking in the winds, and flies, traversing the whole of space.[64]

According to the *Rgya-Tch'er-Rol-Pa*, the horse belonging to the Buddha *Chakravartin* is grey,[65] has a black head, its hair plaited, is covered with a net of gold, and traverses all the heavens. The *Chakravartin* mounts it at break of day, and traverses, from one side to another, as far as the oceanic confines, the entire world, not before the keeper, who has the courser in his charge, first ceases to ask it to neigh.

From the Vedic hymns we see that the sun is designated as a god who sees and knows all, to whom nothing is hidden, and who rises, drawn by his rays, by his horses,[66] and this conception reveals a great development of anthropomorphism, because to the sun is given in the hymn VII, 77, 3, the double qualification of "eye of the gods," and "shining white horse." On the other hand, the sun is compared to the fire of the altar, and the fire of the altar is compared to the sun, because in mythology, as in all the Vedic cult, to celestial phenomena correspond like terrestrial phenomena, what takes place on earth has equally a place in heaven. The fire, *agni*, in Latin *ignis*, is also compared to a horse.[67] It is he who goes from earth to heaven bearing the sacrifice to the gods,[68] neighing from the first moment, *i.e.* crackling on the altar of sacrifice, roaring, flashing in the midst of the cloud-like lightning which pierces space.

It is he who draws the gods to the altar,[69] it is he who gives the victory, it is he who leaps from abysses, he is the victor who saves the hero.[70] It is he who feeds on the winds, who is the friend of the wind;[71] he is the horse of which we can say with Ariosto:—[72]

"Questo è il destrier . . . . .
Che di fiamma e di vento era concetto;
E senza fieno e biada, si nutria
Dell'aria pura. . . . . ."

Secure when attached to the hair of the magic horse, the companions of Siṁhabâhu can save themselves from the voracious Râkshasîs, but under the condition imposed on Orpheus, of not looking back. They suffer themselves, however, to be enticed by the sirens of Ceylon, and die by their hands, as Orpheus by the hands of the Bacchantes of Thracia; they are lost through the motive which robbed Orpheus, the morning star rising over the earth, of the beautiful Eurydice, the aurora, his beloved.[73]

In the Semitic mythology the same myth is met with. Goldziher[74] explains by the solar theory the myth of the daughters and wife of Lot. Like so many other traces of ancient

[61] Cf. Liebrecht, *Volkskunde*, p. 118.
[62] *Pantschatantra*, vol. I, p. 159-63.
[63] Benfey, l. c.; Spence Hardy, *Manual of Budhism*, p. 127; Foucaux, *Rgya-Tch'er-Rol-Pa*, chap. III.
[64] Cf. Sénart, *Essai sur la Légende du Buddha*, passim.
[65] See Note II below, pp. 47 f.
[66] *Ṛigvêda*, I, 50, I; cf. with *Ṛigv.* IV, 45, 6, &c.
[67] I, 58, 2; 149, 3; III, 1, 4; 2,7; VI, 2, 8; 12, 6; &c.
[68] III, 27, 14. [69] I, 14, 12.
[70] Cf. VIII, 91, 12, with IV, 2, 8.
[71] Cf. *Ṛigv.* V, 19, 5; X, 91, 7; I, 94, 10; &c.
[72] *Orlando Furioso*, Canto XV, 41. Cf. Custodio Jesam Barata, *Recreaçam Proveytosa*, Part I, Colloquio IV. And also *Dissertações* of Padre Antonio Pereira de Figueiredo, Dis. IV, *Das Egoas da Lusitania*, p. 100-6 of Book IX of the *Hist. e Memorias da Acad. Real das Sciencias de Lisboa.*
[73] See Decharme, *Mythologie de la Grèce antique*, p. 571 ff.
[74] *Op. cit.*, 189-97.

legends, so also this, Sr. Adolpho Coelho tells me, is reproduced in modern popular stories, for example, in different European versions of "The Two Envious Brothers."[75]

In some popular versions of the story, which Sr. Adolpho Coelho possesses, and which he kindly showed me, two of the three brothers of the story, when they go in search of certain marvellous objects, are converted into statues of stone for looking back on hearing various voices.

The legends of individuals converted into stones are not peculiar to the Aryan race, as we see by the example of Lot. But still further, they are not peculiar to the white race. They are met with in North America, as is seen from the *Popol Vuh*,[76] and from the studies of Müller on the primitive religions of the American Indians.[77] The manner in which these legends are there described is a confirmation of the solar theory, which in itself is not false, but only defective, when exclusive in mythological explanations, as some mythologists have in an exaggerated manner used it:—"A giant guarded the caverns where were the men whom the mother earth had produced; one night this giant left the caverns, and after the break of day the sun surprised him and transformed him into the rock Kauta."

We cannot fail to see in this legend the resemblance of the legend of Atlas, the giant of the west, transformed into a mountain. And from the relation in which Atlas, Perseus of the *pês alados*, and the Gorgons (to whom may be compared the wild women of Hanno) stand, and also the horse Pegasus, born from the blood of Medusa, it would be impossible to deny that throughout these transformations into stone are legends whose explanation is found in the passage of night to day, and the entry into or falling upon the earth of darkness, in the subterranean world called Tartarus by the Greeks, Talâtala by the Hindu Aryans,[78] invisible as the region Amenti of the Egyptians,[79] for which the solar theory satisfactorily accounts; nor would it be possible to deny the intimate connection between the mythological elements of the Oriental legends which we have given, and the identical features of the legends of classical antiquity.

With these legends, also, are connected superstitions which we meet with in our day in Europe, so that in Portugal the people say that "to go backwards is to call on the demon," that "to go backwards is to fall into hell," and the Norwegians say that "he who goes backwards drags his father and mother with him to hell," as they also say that "to beat the mother is to beat the earth," and "to beat the father is to beat a stone,"[80] superstitions which are also met with on the other side of the ocean in America, according to Müller.[81]

Thus, as the Aryan conception of the white horse of the hero furnishes a solar myth, so its explanation in like manner is the belief in traces of the visits of a divinity to the earth, and chiefly the belief in divine footprints on the summit of mountains.

In the Buddhist religion the horse and the feet of Buddha are objects of the greatest veneration in his temples. And as such we see them represented on bas-reliefs, on sculptures; and

"......em Ceylão que o monte se alevanta,
Tanto, que as nuvens passa, ou a vista engana,
Os naturaes o tem por cousa sancta
Pela pedra onde está a pegada humana."[82]
Lusiada, X, fol. 183.

[75] See the list of versions given by our colleague in his collection, *Contos Populares Portuguezes*, pp. xix, xx.

[76] *Le Livre Sacré et les Mythes de l'Antiquité Américaine, avec les Livres Héroïques et Historiques des Quichés.* Original and translation by Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg, p. 243-5.

[77] J. G. Müller, *Geschichte der Amerikanischen Urreligionen*, Basel, 1855, p. 179; cf. p. 110.

[78] Benfey, *Hermes, Minos, Tartaros.*

[79] We would remark, in this place, of Amenti, that it is not a chance illustration nor a common-place and unnecessary comparison. The motive is correct, and the comparison apt. Chapter XV of the *Book of the Dead* says:—"In the afternoon the sun turns his face to Amenti." Pierret, in the *Vocabulaire Hiéroglyphique*, p. 29, says:—"Ament, Amenti, hell, region where the sun *hides* himself, abode of souls after death." And further on:—"Ament, the west, the occidental region." Cf. the same author's *Dict. d'Archéologie Egyptienne*, s. v. To this definition of Amenti is also to be added that given by P. Guieyesse and E. Lefébure in *Le Papyrus Funéraire de Sontimès*, p. iv:—"It even seems that the myths of Egypt, less diversified by legends and plays on words than those of the Indo-European race, should be more easily penetrated. The hieroglyphic texts show us without possible dispute that from the first centuries to the last most of the divinities have kept their original significations, which their names indicate, and of which the priests did not lose sight. For them as for us, Ra is the sun, Nu the heaven, Hapi the Nile, Amenti the west," &c.

[80] Liebrecht, *Norwegischer Aberglaube* in *Volkskunde*, p. 310ff, No. 174 a, b.

[81] Op. cit. p. 110. Cf. Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, 2nd ed., 538, apud L.

[82] Capt. Burton's translation runs:—
"See in Ceylon that Peak so stark, so gaunt,
shooting high o'er the clouds or mocking sight;
The native peoples hold it sacrosancta
for the famed Stone where print of foot is pight."

Camoens, and before him Duarte Barboza, were acquainted with this trace of Buddhist legend; but it seems that they heard it from the Arabs.[83]

Commencing with low lands, the island of Ceylon runs down to 7° 51′ south latitude, rising, little by little, and appearing to attain to the highest ranges, which fall suddenly from the clouds to the other shore of the sea. Of the mountains which form the crown of this "jockey's cap," a remarkable one is the Samanella, "rock of the divine assembly in the mountain,"[84] which the Europeans, following the Arabs, call Adam's Peak, and which the Buddhists had previously named Siripâda in Pâli, in Sanskṛit Śrîpâda, "foot-mark of the Fortunate One," because they believe that there the footprint of Buddha is still visible.

The true Pâli name of this mountain is Sumanakûṭo, so-called because the divinity (*dêva*) Sumana dwelt there, says Childers (Pâli Dict., s. v.), "mountain of the happy," or, as Lassen[85] says, "mountain of the gods." Another name of this mountain is Śumbhakûṭa, "the shining mount," the last from which, in the south, the sun disappears.[86]

Hardy (*Manual of Budhism*, p. 211-12) gives the following Ceylonese legend:—"The dewa (*the divinity*) of Sumanakûṭa (*another name* of Samanella), Sumana, having heard of the arrival of Budha, went to the place where he was, and after he had worshipped him, he presented a request that he would leave an impression of his foot upon the mountain of which he was the guardian, that it might be worshipped during the five thousand years his religion would continue among men. . . . . Budha went to it (*the mountain*) through the air, attended by 500 rahats (*saints*). At the right hand of the sage was Sumana, in beautiful garments and rich ornaments, attended by all his inferior dewas, with their queens, who made music and carried flags and banners, and scattered around gold and gems. Sekra,[87] Maha Brahmâ,[88] and Iśwara,[89] were all there with their attendant retinues; and like the rolling of the great ocean upon Maha Méru or the Yugandhara rocks, was their arrival at the mountain. The sun remained in the midst of the sky, but his rays were cold as those of the moon; there was a slight falling of rain like the water that is sprinkled around a throne to allay the dust; and the breeze, charged with sweet perfume, came from all sides to refresh the illustrious visitant. At his approach, all the trees of the mountain were as though they danced in gladness at the anointing of a king. In the midst of the assembled dewas, Budha, looking towards the east, made the impression of his foot, in length three inches less than the cubit of the carpenter; and the impression remained as a seal to show that Lanká is the inheritance of Budha, and that his religion will here flourish."

Hardy says in a note, that the print of the foot of Buddha is an "indentation upon the summit of Adam's Peak." Ibn Batutah describes the foot of Adam in the island of Serendib (Ceylon), saying:—"The mark of the noble foot, that of our father Adam, is seen in a black and high rock, and in an open place. The foot is impressed in the stone, so that its site is quite depressed; its length is eleven spans. The inhabitants of China came there formerly; they

[83] It is not the only instance of an Indian name being replaced by another of Arab origin, this of "Adam's footprint," in place of "Buddha's footprint," given to the depression on the summit of Samanella. So the Arabs give the name "Adam's Bridge" to the "Bridge of Râma," the line of rocks which reaches from the Asiatic continent to the island of Ceylon, like enormous stepping-stones, thrown by Hanumat, from the end of the coast of Coromandel to the island of the terrible Râvaṇa, for the passage of the troops of the heroic Râma, and called *Sêtubandha* (*Râmâyaṇa*, ed. of Gorresio, v. 95; trans. vol. 4, ch. 95. In the magnificent summary of H. Fauche, which is, so to speak, the popular *Râmâyaṇa* in the west of Europe, this chapter, where the work of the allied soldiers constructing the "Bridge of Râma," is described, is on p. 163-5 of vol. II).

[84] "It is 7420 feet above the level of the sea, and was considered as the highest mountain in the island; but it has been discovered, since the English came into possession of the interior, that there are at least three others that are higher, Pidurutalagala having an elevation of 8280 feet. It will, however, always be the most remarkable, from the many legends connected with it, and the conspicuousness of its appearance, especially from the sea; it is an insulated cone, rising boldly into the sky, and generally cloud-capped. It is supposed by the Chinese (Davis's Chinese), that at its base is a temple, in which the real body of Buddha reposes on its side, and that near it are his teeth and other relics." Spence Hardy, *Manual of Budhism*, 1st ed., p. 211.

[85] Lassen, *Ind. Alterthumsk.*, 2nd ed., vol. I, p. 233-4.

[86] On the hypothesis, in the idea, that this was the highest. Cf. however, note 45.

[87] The lord of Tavutisâ (paradise). He is the same as Śakra (powerful), in Sanskṛit, a name given to Indra.

[88] Not to be confounded with the Brahma of the Puranic religion. In that of the *Piṭakas* (Buddhist sacred books) Maha Brahma "is simply the ruler of a brahma-loka" (H., p. 41), of a superior celestial world. See Childers, *Pâli Dict.*, s. v. *Sakko*.

[89] Not to be confounded with Îśvara, "supreme lord," in Sanskṛit. In the Buddhist religion some of the principal Brahmanic divinities are met with as archangels. See Childers, *ut supra*.

cut from the stone the place of the big toe and of that adjoining it, and deposited the fragment in a temple of the town of Zeitun (Tseu-thung), whither they go from the remotest provinces."

Dr. Davy[90] says that the footprint of Buddha is "a superficial hollow five feet three inches and three quarters long, and between two feet seven inches and two feet five inches wide."

The plain fact, then, is a depression on the summit of the mountain. Of the legends which explain this fact the Buddhist alone has scientific and historical importance. We shall therefore leave on one side what the Muḥammadan Mâsûdi and our chronicler, Osorio, tells us of the race of Cain and of the tombs of Adam and Eve in this island; and let us see how the origin of the legend is explained in mythology.

The myth of the horse of the hero and that of the divine footprints are myths that are related. But the horse of the hero, which defends him, counsels him, even beats down and conquers the enemies of the hero, represents force, rapidity, energy, light, in a word life; the divine footprints are the traces of mysterious feet which are not known, which no one sees, and which scarcely leave impressed the testimony of his visit after the disappearance of the divinity. Among the Gnostics the soles of feet engraved in stone represented *death*.[91]

The last rays of the sun, traversing space, and as if lighting with the force which draws the luminous god the pyre which devours him, the last *pâdas*, that is, the last "rays," gilding the summits of the mountains, and as if emerging from the abyss, are the *pâdas*, that is, the "feet" of this god, whose tunic is the twilight, which is put off when he is about to die. And in the midst of these *pâdas*, "feet and rays," of these *pâdas* of light, is seen even in the last moments the solar disc, through the impression which the retina retains. His vermilion-hued heart is like the bleeding wound of a cruel torment. These feet even converge one towards the other, are superimposed, and the god of the large footprints, the god of the three footprints, becomes the god of one single footprint, and the god of one single foot, whose ankle is not seen, or, as the Siamese explain it, whose ankle is in the middle of his foot, and whose toes are united like those of a *jâlapâda*, those of a palmipede.

This conception, so singular, of the foot of the god, is of great value, if we compare it with the conception by which the Chakravartin has his neck immovable, independently of his body, and looks always forward, always in the same position, and has to turn his whole body when he turns his face.

It is undoubtedly the anthropomorphic conception of the sun.[92]

The complication of myths, says my teacher in Paris, M. Bergaigne, and of rites which are their image, results from the combination of natural observations with the idea of the cult in its simplest form. The Vedic ritual is the reproduction of the Vedic mythology; and the domain of Vedic mythology includes earth and heaven. The mythologist, consequently, cannot explain the Vedic mythology either by the heaven alone or by the earth alone.

And, in fact, the ritual represents the phenomena of the celestial world, and the celestial world only preserves its order by the order of sacrifice. The liturgical order and the cosmogonic order are interdependent.

Adolpho Coelho told me, some time ago:—"The mythologist must never forget that the heaven, the earth, and the sea are confounded when the uncultivated man explains the phenomena of nature; what is on the earth is in the sea, and what is in the sea is on the earth, and what is in the heaven is on the earth and in the sea."

Starting from this principle, of which I have already made use in this essay, I shall attempt to give another explanation of the divine footprints on the summit of mountains.

On the mound of earth, the altar raised in the place of Vedic sacrifice, and to the east, was called *vêdi*. The *uttara-vêdi*[93] is the superior, culminating *vêdi*, the *vêdi* of fire. In the middle was a cavity which was called *nâbhi*, that is, "navel," where were thrown the pieces of flesh and the *sôma*, the drink of the gods and of the sacrificers, fermented, combustible, on the flames of the sacrificial fire.

This extinguished, Agni dead, there were

[90] Apud Sp. Hardy, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

[91] C. W. King, *The Gnostics and their Remains.* London, 1864.

[92] Cf. with the whole of this explanation Sénart, *Essai sur la Légende du Buddha.*

[93] *Kauśika-sûtram*, 137, apud *Sanskṛit Wörterbuch.*

scarcely the traces in the place where he reposed, there was the *nâbhi*, the hole opened on the top of the highest mound, like a single footprint of this god, who there became extinct.

Thus hymn 164 of Maṇḍala I of the *Ṛigvêda* says in *Ṛich* 34:—"I ask thee for the farthest extremity of the earth; I ask thee where is the navel of the world; I ask thee for the seed of the horse; I ask thee for the highest heaven of the voice." And in *Ṛich* 35 it is answered:—"This *vedi* is the farthest end of the earth; this sacrifice is the navel of the world;[94] this *sôma* is the seed of the horse; this Brâhmaṇ is the highest heaven of speech."

My professor in Munich, the late Dr. Martin Haug, the Orientalist who has best explained this hymn, so beset with thorny difficulties and mysterious problems, does not say, in the study devoted to the hymn and published by him shortly before his death under the title of *Vedische Räthselfragen und Räthselsprüche*,[95] what is the horse. But this is no loss. It is the cloud which by its rains brings fertility to the earth, and hence the horse of Agni or Agṇi himself, the celestial messenger fire of the sacrifice or conductor of the gods over the altar of sacrifice.

It is prolific, because to the celestial fire the ray succeeds the *seed*, that is, the rain which makes the earth suitable for production, and which raises the fire, as is mentioned in different passages of the *Vêdas*, in the bosoms of the plants.

The highest heaven of the voice is the Brâhmaṇ, says *Ṛich* 35. And Dr. Martin Haug explains:—"The Brâhmaṇ treated of here is probably the Brâhmaṇ presiding at the sacrifice; in him are combined all the sacred sacrifice, all the hymns, sentences, &c., which only he with his voice can chant and cause to be heard."

I may, however, add to this explanation that the Brâhmaṇ presiding at the sacrifice was the highest heaven of the voice only as representative on the earth of the god who made his voice heard on the earth. This voice is the *vâgâmbhṛiṇi*, the "voice of the cloud," sung in hymn 125 of the Maṇḍala X of the *Ṛigvêda*, and in hymn 30 of the *Kâṇḍa* IV of the *Atharvavêda*.[96] It is the voice which announces the will of the gods, it is the messenger of heaven, the inspirer by whom is revealed the sacred word, the divine messenger of whom the Ṛishis, the Vedic poets, speak, and also Homer; it is the one who proclaims the law of universal order, both cosmogonic and liturgic.[97] It is like the voice from the burning bush, terrible and threatening; but yet soft and magic as the sound of the flute of the Maruts and of Yama. It is that which makes itself heard, descending to the earth, from the height there, from the *dêva-sadanam*, the "abode of the gods," to which ascended the mortals who had become immortal, and where *sôma* runs in floods, and where echo the songs and melodies of the divine flute of Yama, where is the tree of shining leaves.[98]

And if we record finally that in mythology (Aryan, at least), tree, mountain, and altar are synonyms and expressions almost identical, the connection will then be plainly seen of the horse of the hero and of the footprints of the god on the top of mountains, symbols almost inseparable in the Buddhist religion.

Notes by the Translator.

I. The Cloud-horse Jâtaka.[99]

"Those who will not carry out the advice." Thus spake the Teacher, while dwelling in Jetavana, concerning a certain unhappy monk. This monk having been asked by the Teacher: "Is it true that you are unhappy?" replied: "It is true!" When asked, "Wherefore?" he said: "On account of having looked with desire upon a beautiful woman." Then the Teacher said to him: "O monk, these women who allure men by their form, voice, odour, taste, and touch,[100] and also by

[94] Compare the Greek conception by which the temple of Delphos was the centre of the world. The Buddhists thought, however, that the centre of the world was strictly marked by the sacred tree of the temple near Buddha Gaya.

[95] It is a *Separatabdruck* of the *Sitzungsberichten der philosophischen und historischen Klasse der Königlich baierischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München*, and has the subsequent title of "*Übersetzung und Erklärung des Dirghatomás Liedes, Ṛigv.* I. 164—München, 1876."

[96] See the magnificent translation of Whitney in the *Essays of Colebrooke*, vol. I, p. 113.

[97] *Ṛigvêda*, I, 151, 4, 6, with 1, 3, 3.

[98] Cf. *Ṛigvêda*, X, 14, with X, 135.

[99] Ante p. 36*b* and note 40. "Cloud-horse":—Pâli *valâhassa*, a compound of *valâha* and *assa*, but *valâha* is not recorded by Childers, though he gives *valâhaka*, cloud. Dr. Morris says *valâha* means "horse," and it occurs, with the meaning of "mare," apparently, further on in this *Jâtaka*; but in the title of the *Jâtaka valâha* seems to stand for *valâhaka*, cloud.

[100] "Women who allure men by their form," &c. See *Aṅguttara Nikâya, Ekanipâta Vagga*, I, ed. by Morris for the Pâli Text Society, 1883, pp. 1-2 and 86-91.

the charm of female fascination,[101] getting them into their power, and knowing that they have attained their wish, through loss of (men's) purity and wealth, are, on account of their sinfulness, called Yakkhinîs, for in former days also Yakkhinîs approached a company of men by means of female artifice, and having fascinated the merchants and got them into their power, seeing other men also, brought about the destruction of them all and devoured them, crunching[102] them, with the blood flowing from both sides of their jaws." He then related the story:—

In former times there was in the island of Lankâ a Yakkha city called Sirîsavatthu. Therein dwelt Yakkhinîs. These, when a shipwreck took place, were accustomed to go to meet the merchants in splendid clothing, surrounded by slaves, carrying children on their hips, and offering food and drink. That they might think, "We have come to an abode of men," they would show here and there men ploughing and tending cattle, and so forth, herds of cattle, dogs, &c., and approaching the merchants they would say: "Drink this rice gruel, partake of this rice, eat this food." The merchants unawares enjoy the things given by them. Thus having eaten and enjoyed, while resting they exchange friendly greetings. They ask: "Of what place are you inhabitants, whence do you come, whither are you going, on what business have you come hither?" And they answer: "We have come hither having been shipwrecked." Responding: "Well, sirs, our husbands also, three years ago, went on boardship and went away; they must be dead; you are also merchants, we will be your wives," they enticed those merchants with female blandishments, and leading them to the Yakkha city, the first men being captured, having bound them as it were with supernatural chains,[103] they hurry them into the abode of destruction. If they do not obtain shipwrecked men near their own place of abode they wander along the seashore, as far as Kalyâṇî on the further side and Nâgadîpa on this side, and this is their custom. But one day five hundred merchants crossed over to their city. The females, approaching them, enticed them, and bringing them to the Yakkha city, binding the men whom they first captured as with supernatural chains, they hurried them into the abode of destruction, and made them their husbands, the chief Yakkhinîs, the chief merchants, the others, the remainder, and so the five hundred Yakkhinîs, the five hundred merchants. But that chief Yakkhinî in the night time, when the merchants had gone to sleep, rising, goes to the abode of destruction, and killing men, eats their flesh, and returns. The others also do likewise. When the chief Yakkhinî had eaten the human flesh, on returning her body was cold.[104] The chief merchant having embraced her knew that she was a Yakkhinî, and thought: "These must be five hundred Yakkhinîs; we must escape." On the morrow, in the early morning, on going to wash his mouth, he told the other merchants: "These are Yakkhinîs, not human beings; they will devour us after making us their husbands, as they have done in times past to other shipwrecked men; let us now flee." But two hundred and fifty[105] said: "We are unable to leave them; you go; we shall not flee." The chief merchant, having persuaded the two hundred and fifty by his advice, fled, terrified at the females. Now at that very time Bôdhisatta was born from the womb of a mare; he was pure white, black-headed,[106] muñja-haired,[107] possessed of supernatural power, being able to go through the air. Rising through the air from the Himavanta, he went to the isle of Tambapanni, and having eaten paddy produced spontaneously in the lakes and ponds of Tambapanni he went on, and thus proceeding said compassionately three times in a well-modulated human voice: "Does any person wish to go? Does any person wish to go?" They hearing the speech came near with folded hands, and said: "Sir, we folk wish to go." "Then get upon my back," said he. Then some got on his back, some seized his tail, but some stood with folded

[101] "Female fascination." The Pâli is *itthikuttaṁ*, the latter part of which is not given in Childers' *Dictionary*. It occurs three times in this *Jâtaka*, and is also found, as L. C. Wijesinha Mudaliyar kindly points out to me, in the *Takkajâtaka*, p 296, vol I, of Fausböll's edition. As to this word, which Dr. Morris does not explain, Mr. Wijesinha writes that he does not recollect meeting with it in any other Pâli books but the *Jâtaka*, where it is almost synonymous with *lîlhaṁ*. He points out the resemblance to the Tamil *kûttu*, dance, and suggests that it is of Dravidian origin, which is not improbable.

[102] "Crunching." The Pâli is *murumurâpetvâ*, from *murumurâpeti*, an apparent causative of *murumurâyati*, an imitative word, not found in Childers' *Dictionary*. Dr. Morris, however, considers the word not a causative but a "denominative verb of onomatopoetic origin, like our words *munch, chump, crunch*, &c." The verb *murumuru*, to murmur, is given in Winslow's *Tamiḷ Dictionary*.— The Sans. verb *maḍamaḍa* in a similar sense occurs in the beginning of the IVth Act of *Uttararâmacharita*.

[103] "Supernatural chains": Pâli *devasankhalikâya*, where, as Mr. Wijesinha points out, *deva* can hardly be translated *divine*; he suggests a corrupt reading for *tadaheva*, but as the word occurs twice, and Fausböll gives no alternative reading, I have let it stand.

[104] "Her body was cold." I have not elsewhere met with this characteristic of Yakkhinîs.

[105] "Two hundred and fifty": Pâli *addhateyyasatâ*, literally two-and-a-half hundred.

[106] "Black-headed." "Pali *kâkasîso*, i.e., "crow-headed."

[107] "Muñja-haired": *muñja*, according to Childers, is "a sort of grass, *saccharum munja*, from the fibre of which the Brahmanical string is made," also "a sort of fish." No doubt the first meaning applies here. According to the *Rgya-Tch'er-Rol-Pa*, quoted further on, the horse's hair is plaited.

hands. Bôdhisatta by his own supernatural power conveying all the two hundred and fifty merchants, even those standing with folded hands, placing each in his own place, returned to his own abode. But the Yakkhinîs, when the time of the others had come, killed the remaining two hundred and fifty men and ate them.[108]

The Teacher, addressing the monks, said: "O monks, as those merchants went to the dwelling of the Yakkhinîs and met with their death, while those who obeyed the word of the cloud-horse king were placed every one in his own place, even so monks and nuns, laymen and laywomen, not fulfilling the advice of Buddhas, experience great sorrow, through hundreds of misfortunes, by means of the five sorts of bonds, deed, action, condition, and so forth; but those who fulfil the advice obtain the three noble sampattis, the six Kâma heavens, the hundred Brahma worlds, and such-like conditions, and experiencing the great nibbâna of immortality enjoy great happiness." The Perfectly Enlightened then, having said this, spoke these verses:—

1. "Those men who will not carry out the advice preached by the Buddha will obtain misfortune as the merchants by the Râkshasîs.

2. "And those men who will carry out the advice preached by the Buddha will reach the shore safely as the merchants by means of the horse."

The Teacher, having thus set forth this discourse, illustrating the doctrines, connected the *Jâtaka* (at the end of the teaching the unhappy monk was established in the fruit of *sotâpatti*, and many of the rest obtained the fruits of *sotâpatti, sakadâgami, anâgâmi,* and arahatship):—"Those two hundred and fifty merchants who followed the advice of the cloud-horse king were the followers of the Buddha, and I was that cloud-horse king."

II. *The mythical horse* (*ante*, p. 41*a* and note 65).

The Portuguese word is *pigarço*, which I cannot find in the dictionaries, but Lacerda gives *picarso*, which he translates, "having the colour of salt and pepper mixed together." The word used by Foucaux (*Rgya-Tch'er-Rol-Pa*, p. 17) is *gris*, grey, and he says in a note "literally 'bluish, of a black-blue.'" In the *Foĕ Kouĕ Ki*, p. 133, the horse is thus described:—"The *purple horse*, also called the *strong and rapid wind*. This horse is of a tint between red and blue. The blessed king of the wheel having come early in the morning to his palace, there suddenly appears to his sight a horse of a violet colour. His hairs are threaded with pearls, which fall when he is washed and combed, and are instantaneously reproduced fresher and more brilliant than before. When he neighs, it is heard at the distance of a *yôjana*. He has strength sufficient to fly. When the king mounts him to traverse the world he departs in the morning and returns in the evening without experiencing any fatigue. All the atoms of dust that touch the feet of this horse are converted into grains of gold." With regard to the solar myth explanation of the horse, I translate what Sénart says (*Essai sur la Légende du Buddha*, 2nd ed., pp. 19-22):—"The Mahâbhârata (I, 1095) calls Uchchhaiḥśravas '*mathyamânê 'mṛitôjâtam aśvaratnam anuttamam*;' thus the Brâhmaṇ mythology speaks expressly of an '*aśvaratna*,' which is no other than the solar steed Uchchhaiḥśravas.[109] On the other hand, the *Lalita Vistara* gives the horse the name of Valâhaka, which means *cloud*[110] and is the designation of one of the steeds of Vishṇu. He receives the same epithets as the Elephant; whilst Uchchhaiḥśravas is of a dazzling whiteness, he is of a dark-blue (*nîlakṛishṇa*), and the Chinese enumeration calls him the 'purple horse,' or the 'strong and rapid wind;' he thus resembles in a curious manner those horses of Indra whose hair has 'the bluish reflections of a peacock's plumage,'[111] and still more those steeds of the wind (*vâtasya aśvâ*), red (*ṛijra*, *R̥. V.* I, 174-5; *aruṇa, rôhita*, I, 134, 3), who also draw Indra.[112] (*R̥. V.* X, 22, 4-6), considered (X, 168, 2) as 'the king of all this universe.' Like the horses of the Walkyries which shake from their hair the rain and the dew, our steed has 'its hairs threaded with pearls (*lightning*), which fall when he is washed (*the rain*) and combed, and are instantaneously reproduced fresher and more brilliant than before';[113] 'when he neighs, it is heard at the distance of a *yôjana*,' for his neighing is nothing but the thunder;[114] if, finally, 'all the atoms of dust that touch his feet are changed into grains of gold,' we recognize there the old image of the thunderbolt conceived as the

[108] On Ceylon as the island of demons, see Sénart's *Essai sur la Légende du Buddha*, p. 231 et seq.

[109] So also the *Râmâyana*, ed. Gorresio, I. 46, 29.

[110] Especially the stormy cloud. Cf. *Mahâbhârata*, I. 1289, where Indra is thus invoked; *Tvam vajram atulam ghoram ghôshavâms tvam Valâhakaḥ*. Cf. also *Lal. Vist.* 341, 6, &c.

[111] For the quotations cf. Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, V, 85.

[112] Elsewhere, X, 49, 7, Indra traverses the sky, drawn by the horses of the sun, which proves the essential identity of both.

[113] Grimm, *Deutsche Mythol.*, quoted by Kühn, *Herabk. des Feuers*, p. 132. Other traces of the same mythological idea, preserved in the Brahmanic cult, and to which we shall return, fully warrant such a clear agreement. Cf. also *R. V.* V, 83, 6, where the Maruts are prayed to make abundant the waters of the fecund horse (*vṛishṇô aśvasya*).

[114] Cf. Agni, that is, the Agni of the atmosphere, the thunder, compared to a neighing horse, for example, *R. V.* I, 36, 8. Likewise, when they neigh, the steeds of Indra are streaming with ambrosia, *R̥. V.* II, 11, 7, quoted by Gubernatis, vol. I, p. 286.

shoe of the cloud-steed. We do not see why we should be surprised to find in the horse of our legend this symbolic meaning; for it is that which he usually has in the Indian mythology.[115] He appears with this meaning on several occasions as the direct expression of the sun, and in the case of Uchchaiḥśravas, the white horse, which can be seen at the dawn of day,[116] and in that verse (*R. V.* VII, 77, 3) which describes to us 'the good Ushas bringing the eye of the gods, leading the beautiful white steed . . .,' in many legends, also, from among which I will refer only to those which relate to the Digvijaya and the Aśvamêdha; I shall speak further on of this. This is no reason for separating widely the aśvaratna Uchchaiḥśravas and the *aśvaratna* Valâhaka;[117] the former himself, in the voice of thunder[118] from which he derives his name, and in that black tail which the Serpents, sons of Kadrû,[119] treacherously form for him, has preserved traces of another meaning. This fusion of different symbolisms in a single type might easily suggest various explanations. However, if we consider that in the narrations where the solar god appears actually in the form of the horse,[120] as in the case of Purusha,[121] as in the myth of Vivasvat and of Saraṇyû, it is chiefly with the intentional signification of a disguise, of a metamorphosis; if we remember that the elephant, the primitive symbolism of which should not be doubtful, has nevertheless come in certain narrations to be identified with the solar hero, we shall, I think, be inclined to consider that the office of horse as representing the cloud answers closely to its probably oldest meaning. Its luminous signification would be only the secondary, as well as ancient, development; it is natural to confound the star with the vapours which conceal it or appear to carry it.[122] The horse may, in like manner, very well represent the lightning which bursts from the cloud. From its central signification a sort of double radiation would be produced; the fact is sufficiently well expressed by the acts which make of the sun, the eye, and of the lightning, the foot of the atmospheric steed. This will explain how the horse properly solar has left in cognate mythologies so few evident traces; how, even in Indian mythology, it only appears mixed with other elements. As to our Buddhist *aśvaratna* in particular, it is certain that if, in the picture which is drawn of it, the primary signification is evidently manifest, its office of carrying the Chakravartin, whom it takes round the earth, leaving in the morning, and returning in the evening, is a very clear expression of the second."

SANSKRIT AND OLD-CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo. C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

(*Continued from Vol.* XII., *p.* 272.)

No. CXXXVIII.

The original plates[1] containing the inscription now published were found, with four other sets and a sixth set which has been lost sight of, suspended by their rings on an iron bar across the mouth of a large pot which was discovered in digging the foundations of a wall at 'Chicacole' in the 'Ganjam' District of the Madras Presidency. The grants were purchased by Mr. W. F. Grahame, C.S., and were presented by him to the Madras Museum, where they now are. They were obtained by me, for the purpose of editing them, through the kindness of Mr. R. Sewell, C.S.

The present grant consists of three plates, each about 7¼" long by 1¾" broad. They are quite smooth, the edges of them being neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims. The inscription, however, is in a state of very good preservation throughout, almost the only letter that is lost, through corrosion of the plates, being the *r* of *pra*, the penultimate syllable of line 2. The ring, on which the plates are strung, is about ¼" thick and 3⅜" in diameter;

[115] Cf. especially the struggle of Kṛishṇa with the horse Kêśin, in the *Vishṇu Purâṇa*, ed. Hall, vol. IV, p. 339 f.

[116] *Mahâbhârata* I, 1205.

[117] All the less that *Ṛ. V.* VIII, 1, 11, makes a close agreement between Etaśa, the steed of the sun, and the winged and rapid horses of Vâta.

[118] Kuhn, *Herab. des Feuers*, p. 251.

[119] *Mahâbhârata* I, 1223 and fol. Cf. *Ṛ. V.* I, 32, 12, Indra transformed into a horse's tail to deliver the imprisoned waters.

[120] I see nothing in the passage (*Ṛ. V.* I, 132, 6) quoted by M. Kuhn, *Zeitschr. für vergl. Sprachl.* IV, 119) to prove precisely that we must understand thereby a *horse's* head.

[121] If, as M. de Gubernatis asserts (*Zool. Myth.* I, 302), *badavâmukha* (*Râm.* ed. Gorresio, IV, 40, 50), applies to Vishṇu, which, considering the state of the text, is very doubtful, this passage would furnish another argument for the ideas expressed here; and this horse's head would recall very forcibly the very clear meaning of the head of Dadhyañc, on which Cf. Schwartz, *Sonne, Mond und Sterne*, p. 126ff.

[122] So Târkshya, the solar bird, gets the epithet of *arishtanêmi* (*Ṛ. V.* I, 89, 6; X, 178, 1); it is then, in fact, distinguished from solar *wheel*, exactly as Etaśa, the steed of the sun, always represented as *bearing the wheel*. (Cf., for example, Kuhn, *Herabk. des Feuers*, p. 62 and fol.) Mr. Kuhn (*Zeitschrift*, vol. I, p. 528 and fol.), formerly gave expression to observations which seem to me very similar to these, but his idea was not explicit enough for me to shield myself with his authority.

[1] No. 155 in Mr. Sewell's published List of Copper-plate Grants. Noticed by me, *ante* Vol. X. p. 243, No. 1.

KALIÑGA GRANT OF NANDAPRABHANJAÑAVARMÂ.

I.

IIa.

IIb.

III.

From the original plates.

it had not been cut when the grant came into my hands; but the first plate had been broken in such a way, from the ring-hole to the edge, that it could, if desired, be separated from the others without cutting the ring; it is quite plain, however, that there has been no confusion, and that this is the proper first plate of this grant. The seal on the ring was originally rectangular, about 2″ long by 1″ broad; but a good deal of it is now broken away. It had originally a legend, in relief on a countersunk surface; but the letters have been so destroyed by rust, that I am unable to say what the legend is, except that it does *not* seem to contain the name of Nandaprabhañjanavarmâ, the maker of the grant. The weight of the three plates is 11½ tolas, and of the ring and seal, 26¼ tolas,—total, 37¾ tolas. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit throughout.

The grant is one of the *Mahârâja*[2] Nandaprabhañjanavarmâ, the lord of Kaliṅga, and is issued from (*the city of*) Sârapalli. And it records the grant of the village of Ḍeyavâṭa, or possibly Aḍeyavâṭa or Âḍeyavâṭa, to the *charaṇas* or branches of the Dêvarâta *gôtra*, for the benefit of a Brâhmaṇ named Hariśchandrasvamî. I am not able at present to suggest any identification of either the city whence the charter was issued, or the village that was granted.

The grant is not dated; but, judging by the standard of palæography, it is decidedly ancient, and is probably pre-Chalukyan. Among the published grants, the one the letters of which show the nearest resemblance to the letters of this grant,—making allowance for the contrast between the upright and the sloping styles of engraving,—is the Pallava grant of Vijayabuddhavarmâ, No. LXXIV., *ante* Vol. IX., pp. 100ff. Until, however, we obtain some further mention of the name of Nandaprabhañjanavarmâ, it is impossible to make any definite suggestion as to the date of this grant.

Text.[3]

First plate.

[1] Svasti[4] Vijaya-Sârapalli-vâsakât[5]=parama-bhâgavatô mâtâpitṛi-pâd-â-
[2] nuddhyâ(dhyâ)tas=sakala-Kaliṅg-âdhipati[ḥ*] Śrî-mahârâja-Nandap[r[6]]bha-
[3] ñjanavarmmâ Ḍeyavâṭê[7] kuṭumbinam=âjñâpayati [|*] Viditam=a-
[4] stu Aksha[8]tâgraharîya-brâhmaṇa-Haṇi(ri[9])śchandrasvâminê uda-

Second plate; first side.

[5] ka-pû[r*]vvêṇa a-karaṁ bhara-vâṇa-varjjam puṇy-âyu[r]-yyaśasâm=abhivṛiddhayê
[6] â-chandra-dâ(tâ)rak-ârka-pratishṭhitam=agrâhâraṁ kṛitvâ sarvva-kara-parihâ-
[7] raiś=cha parihṛitya Dêvaṁrâtra[10]-gôtra-charaṇêbhyô(bhyaḥ) pradattaṁ [|*] Êvaṁ
[8] jñâtvâ yushmâbhiḥ pûrvv-ôchita-maryyâdayâ sarvv-ôpasthânaṁ karttavyaṁ

Second plate; second side.

[9] mêyaṁ hiraṇy-âdyaṁ ch=ôpanêya[ṁ] [|*] Bhavishyataś=cha râjñô vijñâpayâmi
[10] dharmmaṁ[11]-krama-vikkra(kra)mâṇâṁ[12]m=anyatama-yôgâd=avâpyam=anuśâsatâṁ
[11] pravṛittakam=idaṁ dânaṁ sva-dharmmam=anupaśyadbhi[ḥ*] stadatitiv=â-[13]
[12] yam=agrahârâ(rô)=nupâlya[ḥ*] [||*] Api ch=âtra Vyâsa-gîta-ślôkân=udâha-

Third plate.

[13] rishyâmi || Bahubhir=vvasudhâ dattâ râjânaḥ[14] vasudh-âdhipaiḥ[15] yasya
[14] yasya yadâ bhûmi[ḥ*] tasya tasya tadâ phalam [||*] Sva-datt[â*]ṁ para-

[2] On the use of this and other similar technical titles, see note 18 below. [3] From the original plates.

[4] In the original, this word is in the margin of the plate,—not strictly at the commencement of the first line.

[5] The marks before this *t* are perhaps a *visarga* that was engraved and then cancelled.

[6] The plate is here eaten quite through by rust. But the end of this *r* is just discernible to the upper left of the hole.

[7] Or we may read °*varmm=Âḍeyavatê*.

[8] *Ksha* is what we should expect here: but, from the way in which *kkra* is formed in *vikkramâ*, line 10, we may also interpret this *akshara* as *kkra*. Both the *aksharas*, however, are rather anomalous ones.

[9] The propriety of this correction can hardly be questioned. And it is easy to see how the engraver, whose work throughout is not as accurate as it might have been, was led into engraving *ni* instead of *ri*.

[10] Correct into *Dêvarâta*.

[11] and [12] In each case the *anusvâra* is a mistake.

[13] Correct into *sva-dattir=iv=â* &c.

[14] Correct into *râjabhiḥ*.

[15] The usual reading is *Sagar-âdibhiḥ*.

[15] datt[â*]ṁ vâ yatnâd=raksha Yudhishṭhiraḥ[16] mahîmatâ[ṁ*]=chhrêstha(shṭha) dânâ-
[16] ch=chhrêyô=nupâlanam=uttamaṁ[17] [||*] Shashṭiṁ varsha-sahasrâṇi svarggê môdati bhû-
[17] mi-da[ḥ*] âkshêptâ ch=ân[u]mantâ cha tâny=êva nâ(na)rakshê(kê) vasêt ||

Translation.

Hail! From (*his residence*) situated at the victorious (*city of*) Sârapalli, the *Mahârâja*[18] Śrî-Nandaprabhañjanavarmâ, —the most devout worshipper of the holy one; he who meditates on the feet of his parents; the supreme lord of the whole of Kaliṅga,— issues his commands to the *kuṭumbî*[19] at (*the village of*) Ḍeyavâṭa:[20]—

(L. 3.)—"Be it known! For the benefit of the Brâhmaṇ Hariśchandrasvâmî of the *agrahâra* of (?) Akshata,—having, with libations of water, (*and*) for the increase of (*my*) religious merit and duration of life and fame, made an *agrahâra*-grant (*of this village*), free from taxes, (*and*) with the exception of . . . .,[21] (*and*) constituted to continue as long as the moon and the stars and the sun may last, and having exempted (*it*) with remission of all the taxes, it has been given (*by me*) to the *charaṇas* of the Dêvarâta *gôtra*. By you, knowing this, in accordance with former custom all the respectful service is to be performed, and that which is to be measured out, consisting of gold, &c., is to be tendered.

(L. 9.)—"And I make this request to future kings,—looking upon this grant, which is the perpetual business[22] of (*all*) those who protect that which may be acquired by any of the means of religion or succession (*of inheritance*) or prowess, as their own act of religion, this *agrahâra* should be preserved by them, just as if it were their own gift.

(L. 12.)—"And I will instance on this point the verses sung by Vyâsa:—Land has been given by many kings, lords of the earth;[23] he who for the time being possesses the earth, to him at that time belongs the reward (*of the grant that has been made*)! O Yudhishṭhira, best of kings, carefully preserve [land*] that has been given, whether by thyself or by another; the preservation (*of a grant*) is better than making a grant, (*and*) is the most excellent (*of all acts*)![24] The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (*but*) the confiscator (*of a grant*), and he who assents (*to such confiscation*), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell!"

TWO EASTERN CHALUKYA COPPER-PLATES.

BY S. M. NAṬÊŚA ŚÂSTRÎ PAṆḌIT.

The following transliterations and translations show the contents of two Eastern Chalukya copper-plate grants now in the Madras Central Museum. They were discovered by a man, while ploughing, in the *Mukhâsa* village of Îḍêru, near Âgîrîpalle in the Nûzivîḍu zamîndâri of the Kṛishṇâ District, Madras Presidency, and were presented to the Museum by the zamîndâr.[1]

[16] This *visarga* is a mistake.

[17] There is one syllable in excess of the proper number for the metre here. The usual reading is *mahîṁ mahîmatâṁ śrêshṭha dânôch=chhrêyô=nupâlanaṁ*.

[18] It is customary to translate this word,—by 'great king.' But the large mass of epigraphical records that is now available for examination, shows that, in all except very early inscriptions, such titles as *râjan*, 'king,' *adhirâja*, 'superior or supreme king,' and *mahârâja*, 'great king,' and perhaps even *râjâdhirâja*, 'supreme king of kings,' by no means convey the idea of our English word 'king,' but, unless coupled with other titles indubitably designative of supreme sovereignty, indicate only subordinate, though undoubtedly high, rank and power. They are, in fact, technical titles which, like *Sâmanta*, *Mahâsâmanta*, *Mahâsâmantâdhipati*, *Maṇḍalêśvara*, *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara*, *Daṇḍanâyaka*, *Mahâdaṇḍanâyaka*, *Râshṭrakûṭa*, *Vishayapati*, *Balâdhikṛita*, *Sandhivigrahî*, *Mahâsandhivigrahî*, *&c.*, it is much better, if only for the sake of uniformity and consistency, to use untranslated, than to attempt to render into English by terms which always vary according to the idiosyncrasies of the translators, and which never suffice to give a faithful and literal idea of what the original words mean.—The only title that properly and fully corresponds to our idea of 'king,' is *mahârâjâdhirâja*, 'supreme king of *Mahârâjas*': and it is almost, if not absolutely, always coupled with two other titles,—*paramêśvara*, 'supreme lord,' and *paramabhaṭṭâraka*, 'most worshipful one.'—The connection of the three titles was so universal, that a Rêwâ grant of Trailôkyamalla, dated Saṁvat 1297, considers it unnecessary to give all three titles, and contents itself with describing him as *paramabhaṭṭârak-êty-âdi-râj-[â*]valî-tray-ôpêta-mahârâya*, 'the *Mahârâya* who is possessed of the three kingly titles (*lit.* succession) commencing with *paramabhaṭṭâraka*.'

[19] 'Householder; cultivator.' This word usually occurs, in such passages as the present, in the plural,—*kuṭumbinaḥ*; and, as we have the plural *yushmâbhiḥ* in line 8, perhaps the plural may have been intended here also by the drafter of this grant. If the singular be correct, it seems to point to the selection of one particular *kuṭumbî* to represent all the householders or cultivators of the village in official matters, after the fashion of the *Gauda* or *Pâṭîl* of the present day.

[20] Or possibly Aḍeyavâṭa, or Âdeyavâṭa; see note 7 above.

[21] The meaning of *bhara-vâṇa* is not apparent.

[22] *Pravṛittakam*, 'that which shall roll forward,'—*i.e* 'which ought always to be an object of attention.'

[23] See note 15 above. [24] See note 16 above.

[1] Very rough translations were published by the Madras Government in their Order No. 367, dated 7th

No. I.

This grant is on five plates, joined by a ring with a beautifully-preserved seal. The plates measure 9¼" by 4¼" and have their edges turned up to preserve the inscription thereon. They are in excellent preservation.[3] The seal has on it a boar, three elephant-goads, and the legend :—*Śrî-Tribhuvanâṁkuśa.*

Transliteration.

Plate I.

[1] Sarvâkâram=aśêshasya jagataḥ sarvadâ śivam gô-brâhmaṇa-nṛipânâṁ ścha(cha) śivaṁ bhavatu sarvadâ |

[2] Svasti Śrîmatâm sakala-bhuvana-samstûyamâna-Mânavya-sagôtrâṇâṁ Hârîti-putrâṇâm Kau-

[3] śiki-vara-prasâda-labdha-râjyânâṁ mâtṛi-gaṇa-paripâlitânâṁ Svâmi-Mahâ-sêna-pâd-ânu-dhyâtâ-

[4] nâṁ bhagavan-Nârâyaṇa-prasâda-samâsâdita-vara-varâha-lâṁchchhan-êkshaṇa-kshaṇa-va-

[5] śîkṛit-ârâti-maṇḍalânâṁ aśvamêdh-âvabhṛita(tha)-snâna-pavitrî-kṛita-vâpushâm Chalukyâ-

[6] nâm kulâm=alaṁkarishṇuḥ || Satyâśraya-Vallabhasya bhrâtâ Kubja-Vishṇuvarddhnô='shtâda

[7] śa varshâṇi | Tat-putrô Jayasiṁhavallabhas=trayas-triṁśat-varshâṇi | Tat-bhrâtur | Indra-râja-na-

[8] ndanô Vishṇuvarddhanaḥ nava varshâṇi | Tat-putrô Maṁgi-yuvarâjaḥ paṁcha-viṁśati-saṁvatsarân |

[9] Tat-sûnur=Jjayasiṁhas=trayôdaśa-samvatsarân | Tad-[d*]vimâtur=ânujaḥ Kôkkiliḥ

Plate II, first side.

[10] shaṇ=mâsân | Tad-agrajô Vishṇurâjas=svânujam udvâpya sapta-triṁśat-saṁvatsarân Ta-

[11] t-putrô Vijayâditya-bhaṭṭârakaḥ ashṭâdaś-âbdân | Tan=nandanô Vishṇuvarddhanaḥ shat-triṁśa-

[12] d-abdân | Tat-putraḥ Gaṁggaraṭṭa-balais-sârddhân-dvâdaś-âbdân-aharnniśam bhuj-ârjita-bala-

[13] padga-sahâyô nayavikramaiḥ ashṭôttaram yuddha-śataṁ yuddhvâ Śaṁbôr-mahâ-

[14] layân tat-saṁkhyay=âkarôd vîrô Vijayâditya-bhûpatiḥ kṛitvâ râjyam sa Gaṅgiśa

[15] chatvâriṁśat-samân | chatur-uttara-saṁkhyâtân yayau sakhyam Śachîpa-

[16] têḥ Tat-sûnur=nayavân-vîraḥ Kalyâdir=Vishṇuvarddhanô | Vêṁggî-nâthas-samastânâm-âyudhâ-

[17] nâṁ karshâkṛitî varṇ-âśrama-stiti-niyôjana-rakshâ-śikshâ-parar-para-puraṁ jaya-sa-

Plate II, second side.

[18] kta-bâhuḥ nityam tri-varga-parivâhana-tantra-mantrî saṁvarddhit-âkhila-dharâtala-la-

[19] bdha têjaḥ gaja-vâji-yuddha-kuśalas=sârddha-samvatsaram patiḥ babhûva râjyê jayavi-

[20] d-abhishiktaḥ kulônnatêḥ | Tat-sutô='jani samasta-bhûbṛitâm śâsakas-sakala-sampadâm pa-

[21] tiḥ dhairya-dâna-dhṛiti-dharmma-nirmmala-śrî-pratâpa-dhara-mûrti-viśrutaḥ | samara-ni-

[22] rat-ârâti-vrâtân-anêka-dharêśvarân | Prakṛiti-bala-saṁpannaḥ têjas-tati-krama-

[23] ṇ-ônnatiḥ | vilasad-asinâ jitvâ sûryam pratâpa-yaśômayair=jjagati Vijayâdi-

[24] tyô nityam guṇaiś=cha jigâya saḥ | Gaṁggânâṁ gaja-vairi-śaktir=asamân | Raṭṭêśa-saṁchôditô

[25] jitvâ Maṁgi śirô=harat yudhi mahâ-bâhv=âpta-vîryâryamâ | Kṛishṇam saṁkilam-aṁ-

Plate III, first side.

[26] kitô-khila-bala(?)-prâpt-ôru-sad-vikramô | bhît-ârttân-atha vihâya tat-puram araṁ yô

[27] nirddadâha prabhuḥ | Sa samasta-bhuvanâśraya-Śrî-Vijayâdityaś=chatuś=chatvâri-

[28] ṁśad-varshâṇi | Tad-anu savitaryy=astaṁgatê timira-paṭalê nava-Raṭṭa-dâyâda-balê-

[29] n-âbhivyâptam Vêṁgî-maṇḍalam | Tad-anuja-Vikramâditya-sûnuś=Chalukya-Bhîmâ-

[30] dhipô Drôhârjun-âpara-nâmâ sva-vikram-aika-sahâya-taravâri-prabhay-âvabhâ-

[31] sy-âdhipatir=abhût-kila || Dîn-ânâtha-nagna-nata-gâyaka-dharmma-dhvaja-vṛittînâm pitarâv=i-

April 1873, but they are, for all practical purposes, useless.

[3] *Archæological Survey of Southern India, Lists,* vol. II, pp. 25-26.

[32] va sakhaiva gurur=iv-âbhilashitam vistîrya kalpa-taru-pratimaś=chatâmsi (?) dânêna saṁt-
[33] rpya trimśad-varshâṇi | Pâlayitv-âtma-guṇaiḥ Purandaram-ânandayann-iva tat-sakhyam-
agamat

Plate III, second side.

[34] Tat-putrô Vijayâdityaḥ śaiśavâl=labdha-sampadô sarva-bhôg-âdi-râjyâṁga-bala-ratnô-
[35] gha-viśrutaḥ | jîvaty=êva pratâpat pitari bhuja-bala-dhvasta-tad-vairi-varggaḥ paśchâj=jitv-
âri-varggân=
[36] nnijamajita-mahâ-śakti-saṁpan-narêndra-prajñâ-chakrêṇa bâhyâm ripu-samitam-api svârtta-
[37] bhôgaiḥ kṛitârtthô râjy-âśîl-labdha-têjaḥ-samadalam-adhipô jêtum=Indram prayâ-
[38] taḥ | Tat-sûnur=Udyâditya-iva-Amma Râja-Mahêndr-âpara-nâmâ ripu-timi-
[39] ram-ârân-nihatya prakṛiti-sapatna-paksha-nikshipta-sâmanta-kubja-kuṭila-manôbha-
[40] ṁga-karaṁ karavâlam-utkṛitya śakti-traya-sampanna-pratâp-âvarjita-pitri-pitâmaha-
[41] prakṛiti-balaḥ prajñayâ Sura-guruṁ têjasâ Bhânum antamkshmayâKsh mâm-Ama-

Plate IV, first side.

[42] ra-girim vividha-budha-samâśrayatay-ânukurvan | sarva-lôk-âśraya-Śrî-Vishṇuvarddhana-ma-
[43] hârâjaḥ sva-râjy-âbhishêka-kṛita-kalyâṇaḥ siṁhâsan-ârûḍhaḥ Kaṇḍêruvâṭi-vishaya-
[44] nivâsinaḥ sarvân=kuṭumbinas=samâhûy-êtham âjñapayatisma | Asmat-kula-kalyâṇa-pa-
[45] ramparâ-niyôg-âdhikṛita-Paṭṭavarddhini-vaṁśâgraṇyâ | kôṭa (?) kampaiti viśrutê-
[46] na Kubja-Vishṇuvarddhan-ânucharêṇa samgrâmê tad-anujñayâ | dur-dharsha-balaṁ
Daṭṭara-nâ-
[47] mânaṁ vinihatya ta=chchinhâni yêna jagṛihirê | Tat-kula-prasûta-Sômâdityasya sûnur=a-
[48] nêka-yuddha-labdha-pratâpaḥ Pṛitivîya Râjaḥ | Tat-sûnus=sakalârâti-mada-chchhêda-karâ-|
[49] yudhaḥ sêvakô Vijayâditya-kalîyatyâṁka-bhûbhujaḥ âbhaishur=Bhaṇḍanâdityam dṛishṭvâ

Plate IV, second side.

[50] prîtim=upârjanaṁ | Prâptam=ujvala-gaṇṭâkam yam parê yama-sannibham | Yô hi | Śatrûṇâṁ
[51] tumulêshu · vîra-paṭahaṁ samśrâvya jitvâ balam Kuntâditya iti śrut-âṁkita-mahâ-
[52] kîrti-pratâp-âlayaḥ | Mat-chittam paritôshya bhṛitya padavîm labdhvâ prasâda-gaṁtaḥ-
sphît-â-
[53] nêka-bal-âri-bhûpa-vijayî Śrî-janma bâhunnatîḥ | Tasmai | Sadvâdaśa grâmâdhikê|
[54] Gôṁṭûru-nâma-grâmaḥ sarvâkâra-parihârikṛity-âsmâbhir=dattamiti | viditam-a-
[55] stu vô='smâbhiḥ || Asy-âvadhayaḥ | Pûrvataḥ Gôṁguva | Dakshiṇataḥ Gaiṇayûru|
Paśchimata-
[56] ḥ Kalucheṛuvulu | Uttarataḥ Maḍapalli | Êtêshâm madhya-vartinaḥ kshêtra-sîmânaḥ|
Pûrvataḥ
[57] Pôtuṛâyu | Âgnêyataḥ | Peṭṭakôyilamu | Dakshiṇâtaḥ Kuṛuvachôṭi Nairititaḥ Pe-

Plate V.

[58] ṛuvâtîkuṛuva | Paśchimataḥ Pâlaguṁṭṭapaḍumatîkaṭṭa | Vâyavyâtaḥ Pailaku-
[59] ṁgôṇṭamainadurga-bhagavatî | Uttarataḥ Madapallupaṛṛu | Îśânataḥ | Châmiṛênigum-
[60] ṭṭa | Asy=ôpari na kênachit-bâdhâ kartavyâ yaḥ karôti sa paṁchamahâpâtakô bhava-
[61] ti Tathâ cha Vyâsên=ôktam Bahubhir=Vasudhâ dattâ bahubhiś=ch=ânupâlitâ yasya
[62] yasya yadâ bhûmiḥ tasya tasya tadâ phalaṁ || Sva-dattâṁ para-dattâṁ vâ yô ha-
[63] rêta vasuṁdharâm shashṭi-varsha-sahasrâṇi vishṭhâyâm jâyatê kṛimiḥ

Translation.

May prosperity abound in all things in all the world for ever! And prosperity to cows, Brâhmaṇs and kings! Hail! The brother of Satyâśrayavallabha, who was an ornament to the family of the Chalukyas,—who are of the kindred of Mânavya that is praised over all the world, who are the sons of Hâriti,[3] who had obtained (*their*) kingdom by the favour of the boon granted by Kauśikî, who are protected by the Mâtṛigaṇa, who are ever contemplating the feet of the god Mahâsêna, who have had all kings easily made subject to them by the excellent sight

[3] The more correct form is Hâritî (see vol. XII, p. 93, n. 9). She is spoken of by I-tsing, the Chinese pilgrim, as 'the mother of the demons' and one of the principal of the retinue of 'the four kings,' Kubêra or Vaiśravaṇa, Virûdhaka, Virûpâksha and Dhṛitarâshṭra. See Beal's *Buddhist Rec. of the Western World*, vol. I, p. 110f.—ED. *I. A.*

of the sign of the Boar which they acquired by the sight of the holy N â r â y a ṇ a, who had their bodies purified by the closing bath[*] of the horse-sacrifice,—K u b j a-V i s h ṇ u v a r d h a n a (*ruled*) 18 years. His son, J a y a s i ṁ h a v a l l a b h a, 33 years. V i s h ṇ u v a r d h a n a, son of his brother I n d r a r â j a, 9 years. His son, M a ṅ g i, the Y u v a r â j a, 25 years. His son, J a y a s i ṁ h a, 13 years. His brother by his step-mother, K o k k i l i, 6 months. His elder brother, V i s h ṇ u r â j a, after driving out his younger brother, 37 years. His son, V i j a y â d i t y a b h a ṭ ṭ â r a k a, 18 years. His son, V i s h ṇ u v a r d h a n a, 36 years. His son, the powerful king V i j a y â d i t y a by the valour of his arms and by the assistance of his infantry, after fighting 108 times in $12\frac{1}{2}$[5] years with the just and powerful armies of the Gaṅgas and Raṭṭas built the same number of temples to Śambhu. That lord of G a ṅ g â,[6] after ruling the kingdom for 44 years, acquired the friendship of the husband of Ś a c h î (Indra, *i.e.* he died). His son, the just and valorous V i s h ṇ u v a r d h a n a, who had, prefixed to his own, the name of K a l i (*Kali-Vishṇuvardhana*), who was lord of V ê ṅ g î, whose form was such that he could wield all weapons, who was skilful in giving proper work (*to men*)—and in protecting and training them according to their caste, period of life, and position of life, whose hands were ever engaged in conquering the cities of his enemies, who had a minister that knew all the rules for carrying out the three pursuits of life, (*religion, pleasure and wealth*), whose splendour in this world was increasing, and who was skilful in battling with elephants and horses, being consecrated as king for the prosperity of the family, was lord for a year and a half. To him was born a son, who was ruler of all kings, who was lord of all wealth, who was pure, possessing boldness, gifted, resolute and charitable, who was renowned for his (*stalwart*) frame, bearing fame, who caused many hostile kings to be slain in battle, who had united in himself the elements of a good constitution, who shone in excess of unparalleled glory after conquering the sun by the fame and splendour of his glittering sword and by his good qualities, who was known as V i j a y â d i t y a,—and who, at the instigation of the lord of the R a ṭ ṭ a s, after conquering the king of the G a ṅ g â countries who was famous for his unequalled array of elephants, cut off the head of M a ṅ g i in battle, and thus obtained honour by his great prowess; . . . . after leading away the terrified and the afflicted, he the lord totally burned his enemy's city. He—the refuge of the whole world—the prosperous V i j a y â d i t y a (*ruled*) 44 years. Afterwards when that sun set in darkness (*when he died*), the V ê ṅ g î kingdom was pervaded by the army of the kinsmen of the new R a ṭ ṭ a. Then the lord C h â l u k y a B h î m a—the son of his (*Vijayâditya's*) younger brother V i k r a m â d i t y a —otherwise named D r ô h â r j u n a, shining with the splendour of his scimitar, the only friend of his valour, became king. To the indigent and the helpless, to the naked, to dancers and singers, to religious beggars, he behaved like a father and like a teacher; and making them reveal their desires, like a *Kalpa*-tree he pleased them by unequalled donations. After protecting them for 30 years as if pleasing P u r a n d a r a (Indra) by his good qualities, he obtained that deity's friendship (*i. e.* died). His son, V i j a y â d i t y a, who had obtained fortune even from his childhood, who was famous for his possessing, united in himself all the enjoyments of strength and money which make the limbs (*or parts*) of a constitution, who, while even his father was alive by the fame of the strength of his arms destroyed hosts of his enemies, and obtained by his own valour the reward of unconquerable greatness. Even in intellectual supremacy he deprived the hosts of his surrounding enemies of their enjoyments, and thus attained fame. Having obtained splendour by the blessings of his kingdom and becoming lord of the level ground (*this world*) went to conquer Indra (*died*). His son, A m m a, otherwise called R â j a M a h ê n d r a, who soon destroyed the darkness of his enemies like a rising moon, who cut by his sword, that was causing terror to all crooked minds, the neighbouring kings who placed themselves on the side of his old enemies, who

[*] *The closing bath of the horse-sacrifice*, or *Avabhṛithasnâna*, as it is called, is the bath which the sacrificer (*Yajamâna*) has to undergo as ablution after a sacrifice.

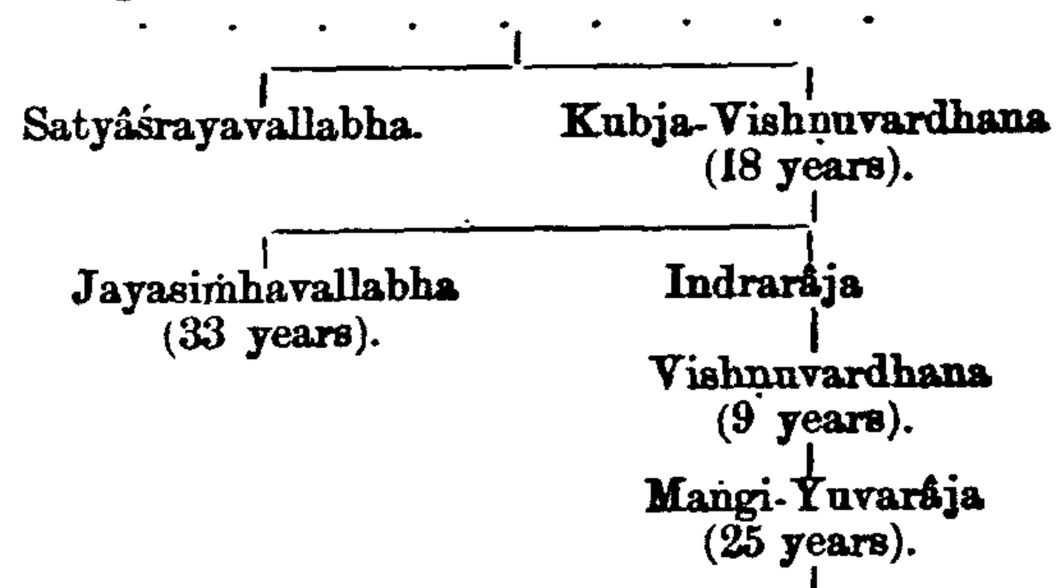
[5] See Mr. Fleet's transliteration and translation of this passage, *ante*, vol. XII, p. 218.

[6] Vijayâditya is here called the lord of Gaṅgâ, a poetical name of the Gôdâvarî River.

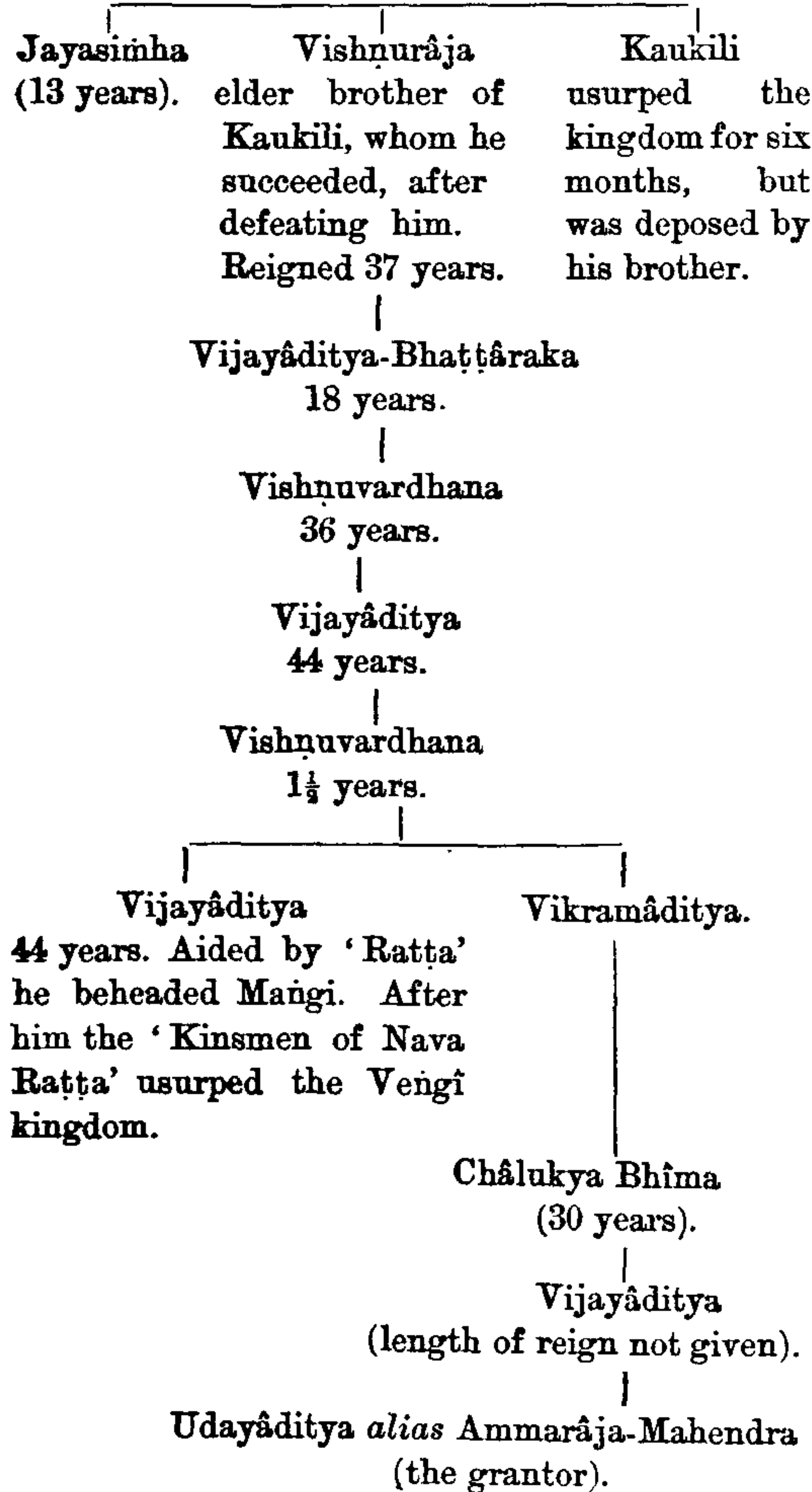
had joined in himself the three *śaktis*,[7] who had beat by his fame the strength of the subjects of his father and grandfather, who was making himself the teacher of the gods (*Vâchaspati*) by his memory, the sun by his splendour, the earth by his patience, the mountain of the gods by his being resorted to by the learned men, and who was the refuge of the whole world—Vishṇuvardhana, the great king, who was consecrated in his kingdom, sitting on his throne, summoning all the *kuṭumbis*, living in the country of Kaṇḍêru-vâṭi, thus ordered :—

"By him, the foremost of the Pattavarddhinî family—which is always placed in the position of being able to secure the constant prosperity of our family—who was known as Kôṭa (?) Kampa, and who was the follower of Vishṇuvardhana, the killing of our enemy Daṭṭara of unapproachable army in battle, and the taking away of his emblems, was accomplished agreeably to the command of Vishṇuvardhana. Pritivîyarâja, who had obtained fame in many battles, was the son of Sômâditya, who was born in that family. His son, who holds his hand like a weapon to cut away the pride of his enemies, who is the servant of king Kali-Vijayâditya (?), is Bhaṇḍanâditya. The friendship of that Bhaṇḍanâditya, equal to Yama in battle, of shining bells, and seeing whom the enemies feared, was sought by us. And he in the crowd of enemies making his victorious war-drums to be heard above all, conquered the army, and thus becoming the temple of great fame and honour, has been distinguished by the name of Kuntâditya. He, after delighting my mind, and after conquering many hostile but admiring kings, has obtained the place of a servant under me. He has long arms which are the origin of prosperity. To him the village named Gômṭûru, which is more than 12 villages, is given by us in the act of atoning for all our sins. Let this be known to you all. The boundaries of the village (are) :—To the east Gômguva, to the south Gaiṇayûru, to the west Kalucheṟuvulu, to the north Maḍapalli. The boundaries in the (*four*) villages that border on the village given :—To the east Pôtuṟâyu, to the south-east Peṭṭakoyilamu, to the south Kaṟuvachôṭi, to the south-west Peṟuvâṭikuṟuva, to the west Pâlagumṭṭapaḍumaṭîkaṭṭa[8] to the north-west Pailakumgoṇṭamainadurga-bhagavatî, to the north Maḍapallupaṟṟu, and to the north-east Châmirêniguṁṭṭa. No injury should be done to this (*charity*) by any one. He who does (*injury*) becomes guilty of the five great sins. Thus it has been said by Vyâsa :—Lands have been given by many and have been preserved (*in grant*) by many ; he, who for the time being possesses land, enjoys the benefit of it. He who appropriates land that has been given, whether by himself or by another, is born for the duration of sixty thousand years as a worm in ordure.

Mr. Sewell in his note on this grant says, "this is an extremely handsome and well preserved grant of five plates, joined with a ring having the clearest and best seal I have yet met with. The document evidences the charitable donation of a village by Ammarâja I, of the Eastern Chalukya dynasty. It must have been executed, therefore, between the years A.D. 918 and 925, the period of that king's reign. The grant was found at the close of the year 1871 buried in the ground in a field in the village of Êḍêru, near Âkiripalle in the Kistna District, 15 miles north-east of Bezvâḍa, a village belonging to the present zemindari of Nûzivîḍu, and therefore in the heart of the Eastern Châlukya country. The plates were presented, along with other two, to the Madras Museum by the then Zemindar, since deceased. The seal has the Châlukya boar over the legend *Śrî-Tribhuvanâṁkuśa*, with sun, moon and three elephant goads. Below is a lotus. Above, something that looks like a triple umbrella, or it may be a crown. The grant bears no date of any kind. It commences with the usual Châlukya titles and gives the following genealogy[9] :—



[7] *i. e.* wealth, power and influence.
[8] The western bund of the tank of Pâlagumṭṭa.
[9] This genealogy was traced in a version of a set of plates given in the *Mackenzie MSS.* and also in Sir W. Elliot's "Numismatic Gleanings," in *Jour. Mad. Lit. Soc.* vol. VII, pp. 193-211, and in Burnell's *S. Ind. Palæog.* p. 21.—ED. *I. A.*



"The document states that Ammarâja granted the village of Goṁṭûru to Kuṇḍâditya, son of Pṛithvîja Râja, who was son of Somâditya, of the family of Paṭṭavardhana, which was very loyal during the days of Kubja Vishṇuvardhana. The grant was made in the presence of the principal families (*kuṭuṁbîs*) of the district of Kaṇṭeruvâṭi. There is no subscribed signature of *Kaṭaka Râjah* as in some grants of the period. The genealogical table corresponds with that given by Dr. Burnell on p. 21 of his *South-Indian Palæography*, with the following exceptions:—To Jayasiṁhavallabha 33 years are given, corresponding with four of the plates noted by Dr. Burnell, as well as with Nos. 1 and 2 of this series. Seven grants therefore give 33, to two which give 30 years. This grant declares Maṅgi's son, Vishṇu Râja, to be elder brother to the usurper Kaukili, while Dr. Burnell makes him younger. In this respect Dr. Burnell's Plates, C, D, and Nos. 1 and 2 of this series agree with the plate under discussion, while No. 2 adds that Kaukili was Jayasiṁha's 'half-brother.' We thus have five plates which make Kaukili the younger. Only one out of the nine plates yet noted give 16 years to the reign of Vijayâditya Bhaṭṭâraka, the rest agreeing in giving 18. As to the latter's successor, Vishṇuvardhana, Dr. Burnell's C, D, F, Nos. 1 and 2 of this series, and this plate (six plates in all) give him 36 years. One, Dr. Burnell's B, gives 30 years. Dr. Burnell's E mentions 26, which is probably a mistake. To his successor Vijayâditya Bhûpati or Vijayâditya-Narendra-Mṛigarâjâ, six grants give 48 years, one 40, and this one 44. To Vijayâditya's son, Vishṇuvardhana, one grant (Dr. Burnell's F) gives 6 months; the rest give him 1½ year. Vishṇuvardhana's son, Vijayâditya, is given 40 years by one grant (Dr. Burnell's F) and 44 by all the rest including this one. The usurpation of the sovereignty by some Raṭṭa chiefs for a period not defined is especially to be noted here, as, if true, it may upset previous calculations on the earlier chronology.

As to the village of 'Goṁṭûru,' I have tried to identify it, but at present without success. The boundaries are given in considerable detail, and it may be that the village intended is Gunṭûru, one of the most important towns in the Kistna District; but the surrounding places must be identified before this point can be decided. The boundaries given are—'east, Goṁguva; south, Gaiṇayûru; west, the Kalu Tanks (*Kalucheruvulu*); north, Maḍapalle.'"

No. 2.

This grant is on three plates, joined by a ring bearing a seal having the design of a lotus surmounted by the sun and moon, with three daggers and the legend *Śrî-Tribhuvanâṁkuśa*.

Transliteration.

Plate I.

[1] Svasti Śrîmatâm sakala-bhuvana-samstûyamâna-Mânavya-sagôtrâṇâm Hârî-
[2] ti-putrâṇâm Kauśiki-vara-prasâ(da)-labdha-rajyânâm bhagavan-Nârâyaṇa-prasâda-sâm-â-
[3] sâdita-vara-varâha-lâñchan-êkshaṇa-kshaṇa-vaśîkṛit-ârâti-maṇḍalânâm aśva-
[4] mêdh-âvabhṛita-snâna-pavitrî-kṛita-vapushâm Chalûkyânam kulam-alaṁka-
[5] rishṇôr=vividha-yuddha-labdha-vijaya-siddhê(n ?) bhuvana-manôbhirâma-Vikramârâ-
[6] masya-pautraḥ pratâp-âvanata-para-maṇḍala-nṛipati-maṇḍalasya Śrî-Vi-
[7] shṇu varddhana-mahârâjasya priya-tanayaḥ nija-bhuja-niśit-âsi-dhâ

Plate II.—first side.

[8] râ-praśamita-para-chakra-vikramaḥ śakti-tray-âlaṁkṛitô kshîra-sâgara
[9] iva Lakshmî-prabhavô dina-kara iva satata-rakshita-padmaḥ śaśadha-
[10] ra iva kumuda-vana-priyô Dharmmaja iva nija-dharmma-nirmmalô
[11] Dharmmajânuja iva Duśśâsana-kshaya-karaḥ Mêrur=iva sthira-sthi-
[12] tir=atula-tulâ-dhṛita kaṅka dhauta dhauta durbala malinaḥ para-
[13] ma-brâhmaṇyô ¯ Vishṇu iva jishṇuḥ samasta-bhuvana(â ?)-śraya-Śrî-Vija
[14] yâditya-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêśva(ra ?)-bhaṭṭârakaḥ Kaṇḍeṟuvâ

Plate II.—second side.

[15] ṭi-vishayê vana . . . . . va grâmasya ku . . . . . ka pramukhân
[16] kuṭuṁbinas=sarvân-itham-âjñâpyati viditam=astu vô='smâbhiḥ
[17] Minamini-vastavyâya Kâśyapa-gôtraya Âpastaṁba-sûtrâya Taitri-
[18] ya-brahmachâriṇê Turkavarmma-trêdi-pautrâ(ya ?) vêdâṁga-vi-
[19] dê shaṭ-karmma-niratâya Drôṇa-śarmma-dvi-Vêdi-putrâ(ya ?) brâhmaṇa-gu-
[20] ṇa-gaṇ-âlakatâya Pa-(dma ?)-bhaṭṭârakâya sûryya-grahaṇa-ni-
[21] mitê(ttê) asminn=êva grâmê dvâdaśa-vêṇḍika-kôdrava-bîja-saṁsthitaṁ

Plate III.

[22] . . . . âvâsanaṁ sarvva-kara-pari . . . .
[23] pûrvataḥ Koṟṟupaṟu-sîmaḥ dakshiṇataḥ Taṟu?kaḥ paśchimataḥ Ṛu-
[24] 'mâti Uttarataḥ Rêṇvuvaṭi-bauha-rêṇvuvaṭi . . . . chaturavadhi
[25] Âjñaptir=asya dharmmasya nirmmalô dharmma-saṁgrahaḥ bâdhamânamalê
[26] kasvat(kaśchit ?) puṇya-vittô narôttamaḥ || Bahubhir=vasudhâ dattâ bahubhiś=ch=ânu-
[27] pâlitâ yasya yasya yadâ bhûmiḥ tasya tasya tadâ phalam sva-dattâ(ṁ ?)
[28] para-dattâ(ṁ) vâ yô harêta vasumdharâm shashṭi-varsha-sahasrâṇi vishṭâyâm jâyatê kṛimiḥ ||

Translation.

Hail: The grandson of Vikramarâma, who was a delight to the mind of the people, who had won success in many battles, who was an ornament to the family of Chalukyas, who are of the kindred of Mânavya, that is, praised over all the world, who are the sons of Hâriti, who had obtained (*their*) kingdom by the favour of the boon granted by Kauśikî, who have had all kings made easily subject to them by the excellent sight of the sign of the boar which they acquired by the favour of the holy *Nârâyaṇa*, who had their bodies purified by the closing bath[10] of the horse-sacrifice. The affectionate son of the great king Śrî-Vishṇuvardhana, who had hosts of kings from other countries bowing down before him by his valour, was the great king, the supreme king, the supreme lord, Śrî-Vijayâditya, who had subdued the valour of hostile kings by the sharp edge of the sword that he carried in his hand, who was adorned by the three constituents of regal power[11] who was the origin of prosperity (*Lakshmî*), like the milk ocean, who ever protected Padmâ (*the goddess of prosperity*), like the creator of the day (*the sun*), who took delight in protecting the world and making it happy, as the moon protects the forest of lilies, who was pure by his own charitable acts like the son of Dharma (*Yudhishṭhira*) who did away with bad rulers (*Duśśâsana*) like the younger brother of Dharma (*Bhîma*), who had one firmness of resolution (*sthiti*) like Mêru,[12]* who had washed away and reduced his sins by getting himself many a time weighed with gold in the scales, who was a good Brâhmaṇ, and who was victorious like Vishṇu. He in the country of Kaṇḍeṟuvâṭa . . . . thus orders the (*kuṭumbîs*) heads of the families.

"Be it known to you (*that*)—The grandson of Turkavarmâ, who was learned in the three *Vêdas*, who was an inhabitant of Minamina, who was of the family of Kâśyapa, who belonged to the line (*sûtra*) of Âpastambha, and who was a religious student of the *Taittiriyaśâkhâ* portion of the *Vêda*; the son of Drô-

[10] *See* above, p. 53, note No. 4.

[11] *i. e.* king, minister and energy—*Prabhu-mantra-utsâha.*

[12] *Ślêshas* or puns are so freely used here that it is altogether impossible to retain the beauty of the original in the translation.

ṇa śarmâ, who was learned in two *Vêdas*, who knew also the six branches,[13] (*Aṅga*) of the *Vêda*, and who practised the six acts or duties[14] enjoined to Brâhmaṇs; was Pa(dma?)-Bhaṭṭâraka, who was adorned with all the good qualities of Brâhmaṇs. To him, during the occasion of a solar eclipse, in this very same village (*are given*) lands in which 12 *Vêṇḍikas* of *Kôdrava* seed could be sown . . . . on the east Korṛuparu boundary, on the south (Taṛu?) kaḥ, on the west Rumâṭi, on the north Reṇvuvaṭi-bauha-reṇvuvaṭi . . . . the four limits. The commanding (insinuation) for this charity is (*the same as*) the gathering pure charities; and only some of the best men in this (*world*), which is troubled with sins, have the wealth of charity. Lands have been given by many kings from Sagara downwards. He who for the time being possesses land enjoys the fruit of it. He is born a worm in ordure for sixty thousand years who confiscates land given, whether by himself or by another."

Mr. Sewell's note on this plate is as follows:—

"A grant in three small plates, very roughly executed. It professes to be a Chalukyan document and has a Chalukyan seal, with sun, moon and lotus, and the legend *Śrî Tribhuvanâṁkuśa*. It commences with the usual Chalukyan glorification (*Mânavyasa gotrânâm*, &c.......), but only mentions three names, Vijayâditya, called *Mahârâjâdhirâja parameśva* (*ra*) *bhaṭṭâraka*, son of Vishṇuvardhana, and grandson of Vikrama Râma. If the grantor be the sovereign usually styled 'Vijayâditya Bhaṭṭâraka,' we here have a new name, 'Vijaya Râma,' for the sovereign Maṅgi surnamed the 'Yuvarâjâ.' But the point is doubtful. By this document a village is given to a Brâhmaṇ during a solar eclipse. The plates were sent with (other two) to the Museum by the zemindar of Nûzivîḍu in the Kistna District."

MIRZAPÚR FOLKLORE.

Auspicious and inauspicious signs most commonly observed.

The following things are considered auspicious if found, met or observed (specially if brought from the opposite direction) within a hundred steps or nearer from the starting-point by a person bound on some business or a journey:—

(1) A pot full of water, (2) any fruit, (3) a Brâhmaṇ (particularly with his forehead marked and a book under his arm), (4) a cow, (5) an unmarried girl, (6) a mother with her child in her lap (particularly with her forehead and parting of the hair coloured with vermilion or Indian lead), (7) a horse or elephant, (8) milk or coagulated milk, (9) a peacock, (10) a mongoose, (11) a corpse, but with no one crying after it, (12) fish, (13) a washerman with clothes washed, (14) arms, (15) an empty pot, if brought from behind.

The undermentioned things under similar circumstances are thought inauspicious, and the superstitious put off their journey to some future occasion, if they happen to meet or observe any of the following things or descriptions of men:—

(1) A one-eyed or blind man, (2) a widow, (3) oil or an oilman, (4) leather, (5) bone, (6) a man with his mustaches shaved, (7) a eunuch, (8) a mendicant with his clothes dyed in Indian red, (9) a person maimed or affected with any disease, (10) a cat or jackal if it cross the path of the traveller, (11) a beggar, (12) the braying of the ass, crying of the jackal, or sneezing of a person, if heard by the traveller when starting.

The following days are inauspicious for journey in the directions detailed:—

Saturday and Monday	East.
Friday and Sunday	West.
Tuesday and Wednesday	North.
Thursday	South.

Saturday and Wednesday are thought unlucky for going to a physician or sending for him for the first time.

Wednesday is the most inauspicious for commencing any trade or engaging in a work calculated to bring gain. It is called *khâli diṅ* (empty day).

[13] The six accompaniments of the *Vêda* or *Vêdâṅgas* are:—(1) *śikshâ*, the science of proper articulation; (2) *chandas*—"*metre*;" (3) *vyâkaraṇa*—linguistic analysis of grammar; (4) *nirukta*—explanation of *Vêdic* words; (5) *jyôtisha*—astronomy; (6), *kalpa*—ceremonial precepts.

[14] The six duties of Brâhmaṇs are:—(1) *teaching the Vêdas*; (2) *holy study*; (3) *offering sacrifices*; (4) *conducting sacrifices for others*; (5) *giving gifts*; (6) *accepting gifts*.

For wearing new clothes, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday and sometimes Sunday are considered auspicious, and the rest inauspicious.

Shaving on Saturday is most strictly prohibited.

The mewing of a cat or whining of a dog if heard for a time by a sick person confined to bed is thought a sure sign of his death.

Dreams.

(1) Dreaming one's self on horse-back, (2) finding one's self in a situation higher than the ground, (3) finding one's self dead or unwell are considered auspicious.

(1) Riding on an ass, (2) going to the south, (3) dreaming one's self being married, are inauspicious.

Dreams when forgotten are supposed to carry no effect.

The white lizard if it falls on one's forehead is a lucky sign, and if it falls to the left side is reckoned unlucky.

Feeling the right palm itchy portends gain, and feeling the right sole itchy is a sign of a journey.

The palpitation or convulsion of right eyelid, right eyebrow, and right muscles are auspicious to man and inauspicious to woman. The palpitation of the left eyelid, eyebrow, and muscles are auspicious to woman and inauspicious to man.

Houses.

A house with its front part wider and higher than the hinder part is inauspicious, and that of a contrary construction is auspicious.

A house with its main gate or door to the east or north is auspicious, and the same with its main entrance towards west or south is inauspicious.

Crying, quarreling, calling out the names of wild animals or that of a miser, and seeing the face of an ugly man or woman or that of a miser is prohibited, when one is just out of his bed in the morning.

W. G. J.

MISCELLANEA.

KANHPKI—KANISHKA, &c.

On the coins of the Turushka kings, we find legends in corrupt Greek, such as—

PAONANOPAO KANHPKI KOPANO,
„ OOHPKI KOPANO,
„ BAZOΔHO KOPANO,

and on an allied coin we find—HIAOY ΣAKA KOΠANOY (or KOΠANOY), TYIANNOYNTOΣ and on another PΠAΛIPICOY for *Σπαλιρισου* (Spalirisasa).[1] On the Manikyâla inscription we have—*Mahárájasa Kanishkasa Gushanava*[ṁ] *śasaṁvardhaka.* This shows that KOPANO is equivalent to *Gushana*, or *Kushána*—as indicated by Chinese writers; and we know that KANHPKI and OOHPKI are identical with Kanishka and Huvishka.

We see that in both the first two words of the 4th legend I is used for the Greek ρ, and this has led numismatists to read the last word as *Κοιρανου*: probably however it is only intended for KOPANO, *i e.* Kushâna. In the last we have P used for Σ (perhaps pronounced as ष). Now the Greek alphabet has no letter for the *ś* or *sh* of the Indian languages, and hence there would arise a difficulty in representing their sounds The Baktrian letter Π = *ś* may have been used in KOΠAOY on Heraos's coin, to supply the want, but we have Z for *ṣ* in that of Bâsudêo or Vâsudêva's, while it appears twice to represent *y* in the legend XOPANCY ZAOOY KOZOΛA KAΔAΦEC, which is equivalent to the Baktrian—*Khushanasa Yauasa Kuyula Kaphsasa*;—where also *sh* is again represented by P. Why Þ (or P) should have been employed for the sound of *sh*, and why I or Γ was used for ρ in *Hĕraou* and *turannountou*, is not quite clear. The form Þ, employed on the coins, bears a close resemblance to the Baktrian Þ = *s*,—was it then intended for *s* and not at all for *r*? Whatever the explanation, it would appear that in these quasi-Greek legends, the Yuei-chi or Turushkas did use Þ and sometimes Π (or Π) for *ś* or *sh* and occasionally for *s*, and that I or Γ took the place of ρ.

Will this help us to explain such Skythian terms as PAONANOPAO, APOOACΠO, YPKΩΔOY, OKPA, &c.?

J. B.

LIST OF CHOLA KINGS.

The following list of Chôḷa kings was sent me by the late Dr. Burnell about four years ago. It is from the *Brihadîśvara Máhátmya*, or legend of the great temple at Tanjor. Dr. Burnell said he put no confidence in it, "though some of the names are, no doubt, real ones."

1. Kulôttunga.
2. Dêva-Chôḷa.

[1] Von Sallet, *Die Nachfolger Alexanders*, p. 155.

3. Śaśiśêkhara.
4. Sivalinga-Chôḷa.[1]
5. Karikâla-Chôḷa; built the Tanjor temple!
6. Bhîma-Chôḷa.
7. Râjarâjêndra.
8. Vîramârtanḍa.
9. Kîrttivardhana.
10. Jaya-Chôḷa.[2]
11. Kanaka-Chôḷa.
12. Sundara-Chôḷa.
13. Kâlakâla-Chôḷa.
14. Kalyâna-Chôḷa.
15. Bhadra-Chôḷa.[3]

"Apparently there should be 16, but I am not sure, for the MS. I have to refer to is corrupt, and there are clearly omissions in parts.

"It seems impossible to make this list correspond with the results gathered from the inscriptions.[4]

"This *Mâhâtmya* is said to be from the *Bhavishyottara-Purâṇa*; it was probably written about 1500 A.D. to stir up the piety and liberality of the Vijayanagara kings."

To this it may be added that we learn from the copper-plate grants of the Eastern Chalukyas collected by Sir Walter Elliot, that Vimalâditya of that dynasty, who ascended the throne about S. 937, married Kûndavâ, a daughter of Râjarâjâ, of the Sûryavaṁśa, and younger sister of Râjêndra-Chôḷa. His successor, Râjarâja of the Chandravaṁśa (Ś. 944) married Iramonangâ (?) daughter of Râjêndra-Chôḷa, and their son, Râjêndra-Chôḷa, the first Chôḷa ruler in Vengi, succeeded in Ś. 985, and defeated the Pânḍiyan king. His successor was Vikramadêva Kulôttunga-Chôḷa, about Ś. 1034. Then came Râjarâja-Chôḷa about Ś. 1049 and Vîradêva Kulôttunga-Chôḷa, about Ś. 1054.

This apparently gives us the following Chôḷas:—

Râjarâja Chôḷa I, (cir. Ś. 910).
Râjêndra Chôḷa I, (cir. S. 930).
Râjarâja II, or Narêndra Chola Ś. 944-985.
Râjarâjêndra II. 985-1034, whose *abhishêka* was performed in S. 1000
Vikramadêva Kulôttunga Chôḷa, Ś. 1034-1049.
Râjarâja Chôḷa III, 1049. and
Vîradêva Kulôttunga Chôla, Ś. 1054 to perhaps 1078.

Dr. Burnell, in *S. Indian Palæography*, p. 40, places Kerikâla Chôḷa about S. 870. And after a break in the genealogy (which he gives only from Râjarâja II, of the above list to Viradêva Kulottunga), he adds "Vikramadêva reigning in A.D. 1235 (Ś. 1156)."

For other lists see Buchanan's *Journey in Mysore*, &c. vol. III, p. 472; Wilson's *Mackenzie, MSS.* vol. 1, pp. xc, and 181; *Jour. As. Soc. Ben.* vol. VII, pp. 371, 389, 507, 512; Taylor's *Catalogue Raisonnée*, vol. III, pp. 391, 440, 518, 522; Rice's *Mysore and Coorg Gazetteer*, vol. I, p. 212, and Foulkes in *Salem District Manual*, p. 39; which have been engrossed in R. Sewell's *Sketch of the Dynasties of So. India*, pp. 14-20.

EDITOR.

TWO TAMIL COPPER-PLATE GRANTS.

In the Library of the University of Leiden are two fine Tamiḷ Śâsanams. The one consists of three plates, held together by a strong ring, bearing a large seal, in the centre of which are the following emblems:—Two fishes upright; to the right of them an animal seated, dog-fashion, the head of it somewhat injured; above, in the middle, a *chhatri* with a *châmara* on each side of it, also somewhat defaced. On each side the area is an object resembling a tall lamp with a ribbon or cloth knotted round the middle of it. These are enclosed in a raised circle, on the area round which, beginning on the left side, is the following Inscription in old Chôḷa-grantha characters:—

श्रीकुलोत्तुङ्गराजकेसरिवर्म्मणः (विचो) पुरायक्षोणीश्वरसभाचूडारत्नाधिशासनम्

that is:—"The supreme order of Śrî Kulôltunga-râjakêsarivarmâ, which is the head-jewel of the assembly of the charitable lords of the earth (*of all directions?*)"

This Inscription runs round the margin, but the syllables—°*tuṅgarâja kêsarivarmmanah*—are written under (*vicho?*) *punyakshôṇîśvara*—over the upper and part of the right side of the seal. Outside the Inscription is another slightly raised circle, and the margin is ornamented by 29 knobs.

The other grant consists of 21 plates, and has a still larger seal, with 16 knobs at slight distances from one another round the margin. The central field contains on the left two fishes, scales, fins, eyes, gills, and mouths, all distinctly expressed; and, on the right, an animal seated as before, and perhaps intended for a tiger, the Chôḷa symbol—with its tail drawn forwards and upwards against the nearest of the fishes. Over it is a *chhatri* with a *châmara* on each side, the handles resting on the heads or capitals of two small pillars resembling

[1] This agrees with Prinsep's list so far, but after Śivaliṅga he has "Vîra Chôla? 918 A.D." Buchanan and Taylor respectively assign 18 and 15 years to Kulattunga, and place after him Râjêndra, 11 (or 9) years and then Tiramuda Kanda, 13 (or 18) years, then Karikâla 21 years, after which their lists differ entirely from this.

[2] Prinsep has Vijaya Chôḷa.

[3] Prinsep adds here Pattira Chôḷa? 1407 A.D.

[4] See *S. Ind. Palæography* (2d. ed.) p. 40.

lamp-stands, each with a cloth knotted round the middle of it. The tops of these resemble candle flames. A-well raised circle, double at the bottom, surrounds this. Outside it is the legend, in well-raised Chôḷa-grantha characters, apparently of rather an older type than those on the other seal, and not quite so distinct in some places. It apparently reads:—

(श्री)राज्रेन्द्रचो(ल्को ?) परकेसरिवर्म्मणः राजन्द्र-ज्रे(लिम ?) आभि श्रेणिरमो (?) शासनम्

That is—"The order of (Śrî) Râjêndra Chô(*ḷa ko* ?)parakêsarivarmâ Râj(ê ?)ṇdra. . . . . row of light . . . ."

We are not aware that these plates have ever been published. They evidently belong to the great Chôḷa dynasty of Southern India, and they may throw light on obscure points in their little known history. EDITOR.

THE PROVERBS OF ALI BIN TALEBI.

Translated by K. T. Best, M.A., M.R.A.S., Principal, Gujarat College.

Ali was the son-in-law of the Prophet Muḥammad and was the fourth successor of the prophet according to the traditions of the Sunnis and the first Khâlif or Imâm according to the belief of the Shiahs of Persia. The proverbs or rather the 'sayings' of Ali form, in their completed shape, one of the most popular books of the Shiah divines, who look upon these dicta of their adored leader much the same as the Sunni Muḥammadans do upon the *mirkals* or traditions of the prophet himself. Ockley in his *History of the Saracens* gives a fully told life of Ali. He lived in the seventh century.

1. Religion gives strong protection; the world betrays.

2. Truth is a cutting sword.

3. Envy is the chief of vices.

4. Behind prosperity sits adversity.

5. Fasting is a most useful medicine, abundance multiplies diseases.

6. The ascent to excellent virtues is difficult, the descent to vices easy.

7. To be occupied with what is past is a waste of time.

8. Religion is patience in adversity and gratitude in prosperity.

9. A fellow-feeling on religious matters causes the firmest friendship.

10. Take care not to praise any one on qualities which he does not possess, for his work will show whether you have rightly described him.

11. That which is incorrect is corrected by learning.

12. Rewards are obtained by work not by idleness.

13. Submit yourself to your master and he will exalt you; approach God with the obedience due to Him and He will come near to you.

14. Look attentively before you apply your mind to anything; and consult with another before you proceed with it; and arrange the mode of acting before you enter on the business.

15. The folly of a man is seen by two things, viz. when he speaks of a thing with which he has nothing to do, and when he replies to something of which he has not been asked.

16. The fruit of carelessness is penitence and the result of sin disgrace.

17. The liberality of a poor man makes him illustrious, but the avarice of a rich one makes him vile.

18. Seriousness is the ornament of a man.

19. Obedience is the ornament of a servant.

20. The folly of a counsellor is the destruction of him who seeks advice.

21. The harm done by a speech is greater than that of a wound.

22. Associate with the learned and wise and frequent their assemblies, for if you are ignorant they will teach you and if you are learned you will increase in knowledge.

23. Elegance of manners is half of religion.

24. Good government makes an empire lasting.

25. The love of the world is the source of all evil.

26. The love of the world corrupts the mind and makes the heart deaf, so that it does not listen to wisdom.

27. The sweetness of another life takes away the bitterness of this.

28. The sweetness of victory obliterates the bitterness of patience.

29. Piety cannot reside in a mind which is saddened on account of earthly things.

30. The best praise is that which flows from the tongue of the good.

31. The best thing about alms is their secrecy.

32. The best man is he who is liberal and grateful in his prosperity, and has patience and a noble mind in adversity.

33. The companionship of worldly people disgraces religion and weakens faith.

34. A heart without religion is filled with vain delights of the world.

35. The prosperity of a liberal man displays his virtues, but the prosperity of a miser shows his vices.

36. Silver which profits is better than gold which destroys.

37. With God the silver of a poor man is brighter than the gold of a rich one.

38. The house of retribution (*i.e.* Paradise) is not without generous men, but there is no miser there.

39. Treat men kindly, and you will be secure from evils which they might bring on you, and safe from snares which they might lay for you.

40. Let alone that which does not refer to you, and occupy yourself with your own more serious affairs which tend to your salvation.

41. The remembrance of God heals sick minds, and drives away diseases and miseries.

42. It is better to lose one's eyes than to look at that which disgraces religion.

43. Leave that which is little in favour of that which is much, and what is scanty for what is ample.

44. One who is fond of equity and justice is beloved when he is a master, and praised when he is a servant.

45. Give up prodigality; for the liberality of a prodigal will not be praised, nor will his poverty meet with compassion.

46. A step in rank, though it be high like a mountain which winds do not shake, does not make a noble possessor of the honour insolent, but a step in rank easily makes an ignoble person insolent, like the dry grass which the passing wind disturbs.

47. Those who are liable to commit faults like to publish the faults of others, in order that their own may be more easily excused.

48. The remembrance of God enlightens the eyes and pacifies the mind.

49. Leave off extravagance by keeping to the happy mean, and to-day remember to-morrow.

50. No one reaches the height of perfections unless he actively wages a sacred war.

51. The chief part of wisdom is to cling to truth and justice.

52. The chief of faults is secret hatred.

53. The height of virtue is to control anger and lust.

54. Sometimes there is destruction hidden under the thing we seek.

(To be continued.)

ASIATIC SOCIETIES.

The *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, Part II, No. 2, for 1883, opens with a series of Folktales from the Upper Panjâb, by the Rev. C. Swynnerton. The stories in this series of thirty-two are generally very short, and mostly in the form of fables. They have been translated for the writer, not by him, and while doubtless preserving the original form of the stories we could have wished to have seen them produced in simpler phrase with more of pure Anglo-Saxon vocables.

The next paper, by Ch. J. Rodgers, on "The Rupees of the months of the Ilâhî years of Akbar," is a very interesting one. It is well known that some of the coins of the Ghazni dynasty have the name of the month as well as the number of the year on them, and in a previous paper, "On the copper coins of Akbar," Mr. Rodgers gave examples bearing the names of six of the months of the Ilâhî year. He mentions six coins of Jahângîr struck at Lâhor, and one at Qandahâr, all of the same year, bearing the names of seven of the months. Of Akbar's 49th Ilâhî year he has two rupees struck at Tatta, three at Lâhor, one at Aḥmadâbâd and one at Burhânpûr—all seven being of different months, and from other years he has coins of the remaining five months. On some square coins of Jahângîr, weighing from 210 to 217 and 219 grains, are couplets into which are woven the Persian names of the Ilâhî months. The paper is illustrated by two plates, on which are figured 24 coins.

Mr. Rodgers enters a strong protest against the "curiosity" collecting propensities of educated Europeans, and those who make scarce coins into sleeve-links, bracelets, &c., and the constant working up of both gold and copper coins by native workmen. So many coins have disappeared from the cabinets of our Indian Asiatic Societies' Museums, however, that we cannot join him in the desire to get back to India what are now safe in public Museums in England. They are far more accessible there for Orientalists than they would be even in Calcutta.

Mr. R. Roskell Bayne contributes "Notes on the remains of portions of Old Fort William, discovered during the erection of the East Indian Railway Company's Offices," illustrated by five plates, in which he discusses and illustrates the positions referred to by Holwell and Orme, and fixes with satisfactory exactitude the position of the Black Hole, of horrid memory.

Mr. G. A. Grierson has a long paper on Behâri declension and conjugation, to which Dr. Hoernle adds several pages of remarks.

The last paper is on the temples of Vaidyanâtha at Deoghar in the Santal Parganas, by Dr. Râjêndralâla Mittra. This is a long paper in which numerous well-known Hindu myths are given at length, many of them related of a score of other places as well as of Vaidyanâtha;—the deception of Râvaṇa by Vishṇu, for example, in which the latter in the disguise of a Brâhmaṇ undertakes to hold for a little the *jyôtirliṅga*, which Râvaṇa had obtained, and then dropped it in the sand, is also told of the Gôkarṇa *liṅga*.

The list of the *jyôtirliṅgas* as given from the *Vaidyanâtha Mâhâtmyam* is—"1, Sômanâtha in Saurâshṭra; 2, Mallikârjuna at Śrîśaila; 3, Mahâ-

kâla at Ujjain; 4, Oṁkâra at Amarêśvara" (on the Narmadâ); "5, Kêdâra on the Himâlaya; 6, Bhîmaśaṅkara at Ḍâkinî" (*i.e.* at the source of the Bhîmâ in the Dakhan, north from Puṇâ); "7, Viśvêśvara at Bânâras; 8, Tryambaka on the banks of the Gautamî" (Gôdâvarî); "9, Vaidyanâtha at Chitâbhûmi; 10, Nâgêśa at Dwârakâ, (*sic*); 11, Râmêśa at Sêtubandha, and 12, Ghusṛiṇêśa at Śivâlaya;"—surely the last is for Ghṛishṇêśvara at Elurâ. In this list, it will be observed, that the Dwârakâ shrine is substituted for that of Nâganâtha in the Nizam's territory to the east of Aḥmadnagar, but which has for a considerable time fallen off greatly in popularity, whereas Vaidyanâtha has risen greatly within the last century. Throughout the paper no opportunity is lost of correcting the statements of Dr. W. W. Hunter, Mr. Beglar, or General Cunningham, but the author illustrates his paper with a plan, the "location of the different temples" on which he allows is "not absolutely correct." We are at a loss to understand the use of publishing such a plan, where the walls of a well are represented of the thickness of the diameter of the well itself, and where none of the pillars of the temple of Lakshmînârâyaṇ are within 5 feet of the enclosing wall, though in the text (p. 180), it is admitted that one of the pillars is embedded in the eastern enclosure wall; and in this case this plan is the more especially useless, as Mr. Beglar had published one in the *Reports of the Archæological Survey*, vol. VIII, with the account which the Bâbu seems so eager to pick faults in, but which, plan, he says, he did not know of while preparing his own. The wood-cut, too (p. 173), said to be "copied, and from a photograph," is so incorrectly executed that it is almost unintelligible.

The *liṅgam* of Vaidyanâtha—"the presiding divinity," as the author calls it—"is of a cylindrical form, five inches in diameter, and rising about four inches from the centre of a large slab of basalt shaped like a *yôni* and pointing towards the north. . . . The top is broken and has an uneven surface, one side being a little higher than the other side. The fracture is attributed by the Hindu legend to the assault of Râvaṇa." The place is frequented for the cure of diseases, and the author naïvely remarks that, "Of course there can be no statistics to show the percentage of cures, and it must be comparatively small, perhaps not more so than at Lourdes and other places in Europe, but it is sufficiently large to keep up a constant stream of pilgrims submitting to the fast."

There seems to be little of note architecturally about the temple or its surrounding shrines. The inscriptions give their dates from Śaka 1518 (A.D. 1596) when Pûraṇa-malla, chief of Gidhaur, claims to have 'speedily built' the central temple of Vaidyanâtha, till A.D. 1810-23 when the temple of Ânandabhairava was erected. Dr. Râjêndralâla, however, contends strongly on *à priori* grounds that the first temple is many hundreds of years older than Pûraṇa-malla's time, and that he only built the porch. The same sort of argument, without any inscriptional or architectural support would equally apply to any of the other eleven shrines of the class, as well as to many others of less note, of which we have the clearest evidence that the present buildings are comparatively modern. Such arguments are calculated only to mislead and retard scientific investigation.

Among the lesser shrines is one to Vagalâdêvî or Nagalâmukhî,—one of the ten forms of Durgâ called Mahâvidyâ—who, according to some *Tantras*, has four hands, according to others two. "Her *dhyâna* pictures her as a female of grave appearance, excited with wine, bright as gold, four-handed, three-eyed, amorously disposed, holding a short club and a lasso in her right hands, and a tongue and a thunderbolt in her left hands, arrayed in a yellow garb, and decorated with golden earrings, her breasts hard and close, and she is seated on a golden throne." (*Śabdakalpadruma*, Supplt., p. 1258). The temple of Sûrya, built about the same date (A.D. 1792-3), of materials apparently from an old shrine "for on the architrave of its porch there is an inscription in the old Lâṭ character," and the image "is that of the Buddhist Padmapâṇi, 2 feet in height, and there is on the base of it an inscription beginning with the words *Dêya dharmôyam* in the Kuṭila character." With pains perhaps the rest of this inscription might be made out; it consists of two lines, and perhaps 25 or 30 syllables. We could have wished for more details about this supposed figure of Padmapâṇi, for the Bâbu's ideas of Buddhist mythology are not always satisfactory. (See *ante*, vol. IX, p. 115). Another small temple he describes as "the sanctuary of Sandhyâ-dêvî, the goddess of Vesper. She is also called Sâvitrî-dêvî, the wife of the sun. Her first name was Târâdêvî, a name well known among the Buddhists. Her image, as seen in the temple, is that of a fierce-looking female seated on a car drawn by horses, but the car and horses are broken and smudged." What authority have we for identifying Târâdêvî with Sâvitrî? The latter is at least quite as old a name as the other, and one is reminded here of the author's old error (*Buddha Gayâ*, pl. xxxi, fig. 1), in mistaking the Buddhist figure of Vasudhârâ for this same Sâvitrî-dêvî. (*Ante, ut sup.*).

Translations are added of the inscriptions found

on the different temples, but in No. 5 he omits the style of the era, which is Śaka, while those preceding are in Saṁvat, and among other misprints we have (on p. 108), "the Saka year 1734 = A.D. 1612," where the figures ought to be Ś. 1634 and A.D. 1712.

BOOK NOTICES.

ESOTERIC BUDDHISM, by A. P. Sinnett, Author of *The Occult World* (London: Trübner & Co. 1883).

This book is not the study of a lifetime. The author candidly confesses that the information it contains, if the wild theories in it can be called information—which is very doubtful, has been acquired within the last two years. The book may fairly be classed with those of Joseph Smith and Swedenborg. Like all prophets, Mr. Sinnett is nothing if not dogmatic, his *ipse dixit* is assumed to be enough: the oracle has spoken, let the world hear and believe. It strikes us that the world would not have lost much if the arcana of occult wisdom had never been unclosed. When men have anything worth telling, the world will be grateful to those who confer the boon of making it known. Otherwise, the trespassers on the patience and good sense of thinking people must not be surprised if they are roughly handled. Mr. Sinnett in this work has treated men as if they were knaves or fools; for only a person of either of these classes could be supposed to accept his incredible statements. No doubt there are credulous persons who will look upon the ravings of Occult Buddhism as the highest wisdom, and there may be knaves who will adopt this creed for their own purposes.

A wiser than Mr. Sinnett has, in an old Book whose statements have had a longer testing-time than this latest of all crazes, said that "There is nothing new under the sun." Mr. Sinnett says there is, and here we traverse his doctrine. Millions and millions of years are but short periods in Mr. Sinnett's eyes. But ages of fabulous antiquity are no new thing to the writers of mythology. The simplicity of Mr. Sinnett is in one sense charming. He seems to think he has got "a great revelation" to make known, and, with the proverbial generosity of an Englishman, he is unwilling to deprive others of the treat he has himself received. Hence the incredible myths of his Thibetan preceptor are paraded before an unsympathetic world. Possibility, probability or proof are not needed. In the oracular form assertion is great and prevails. As we have just said, there is nothing new under the sun, so we make bold to say with regard to this "new revelation"—it is not on new lines. It is the old, old mythology—it is a wild theory to explain the existence of the world and of sin, and a still wilder theory of the past and of the future. Mr. Sinnett, beginning with man, like Hindu philosophers, analyses him and tabulates the analysis. His philosophy does not abandon the beaten tract. We find at the basis of it metempsychosis, the passing through heavens and hells, the evil of matter, and the methods of getting free from it.

There is a common creed at the basis of all Indian philosophies. From one root there are almost endless divergent ramifications; so that there is unity and at the same time endless variety. One of these variations we have in this Esoteric Buddhism, but no more bizarre, no newer, and no better, than the others.

Man, according to Mr. Sinnett, is a sevenfold compound, though the principles of his constitution, he affirms, are not yet fully developed. The elements are:—

(1) *Rûpa*, the body; (2) *Prâṇa* or *jîva*, Vitality; (3) *Liṅga śarîra*, Astral body; (4) *Kâma Rûpa* Animal soul; (5) *Manas*, Human soul; (6) *Buddhi*, Spiritual soul; and (7) *Âtma*, Spirit.

Mr. Sinnett, having a knowledge of the correct and severely logical method of Western thought, is aware that he will here be charged with the fallacy of illogical division. He therefore admits that these principles could not, by the most skilful professor of occult science, be exhibited as separate and distinct. In this way, by a skilful manœuvre, he strives to place them beyond the scalpel of the logician. The transcendental *rôle* suits him here.

But here, as indeed all through his book, Esoteric Buddhism is not the great revelation which Mr. Sinnett makes it out to be; for the common creed of Hinduism proceeds on exactly the same lines. The soul and body, according to it, are composed of several principles. There are, for example, the (1) *Parmâtman* and (2) *Jîvatman*. This common creed believes in (1) an Exterior body and (2) an Interior body. To these the Vêdânta adds a third or causal body. The mental powers are also composite. They are:—*Buddhi*, or perception; *Ahaṅkâra*, or self-consciousness; *Manas*, or volition, to which again the Vêdânta adds a fourth division, viz. *Chitta*, or Reason. Thus we have man considered as a being who may be analysed and looked on in seven different lights without the aid of occult light. It is true that the different systems of Oriental philosophy, such as the Nyâya, the Sâṅkhya, the Yôga and the Vêdânta, have their own peculiarities. Take for

instance, the Nyâya; we find its inquiries arranged in a sevenfold analysis, *e. g.*—(1) substance; (2) quality; (3) act; (4) generality; (5) particularity; (6) co-inherence; (7) non-existence. Sevenfold classifications are anything but rare. No doubt all that Mr. Sinnett has related came to himself as a revelation, but the merest tyro in Oriental philosophy could have disillusioned him concerning the novelty of it had he been anxious to enquire.

It appears to us that all the statements made in the book may be placed under three heads, viz. (1) the Eternity of matter, (2) Evolution of life from it; (3) Transmigration of souls.

According to Mr. Sinnett Buddha comes from time to time into this world. He came as Gautama and again reappeared as Śaṅkarâchârya, and to those who can read between the lines he is in the body again. The strange thing, however, is that in each incarnation he contradicts what he did in his previous one. As Gautama he was an atheist, as Śaṅkarâchârya he is a believer in God, and in this 19th century one of the most credulous of incarnations. Consistency, however, is not a doctrine of Esoteric Buddhism. God, according to Śaṅkarâchârya—the re-incarnation of Buddha—is the "Supreme Soul of the universe. He is omniscient; from him every soul is evolved: to him every soul returns. He is light (*jyôtis*). He is the life and breath of life (*prâṇa*). He to the external world is what yarn is to the cloth, what milk is to curds. He is both creator and creation, actor and act. He is existence, knowledge and joy, without parts, unbound by qualities, without action, emotion or consciousness." The supreme being, according to this same authority, existed at the beginning, one without a second. In another place he says the lifeless world can proceed from Brahma, just as a lifeless hair can spring from a living man. Now this is the opposite of Buddhism, which denies the existence of God and evokes spirit from matter. Surely we have here good news for Tyndall, who has, without anything more to do in the way of experiment, only to apply to Mr. Sinnett, and he will show him how life originated. Here is the discovery. "The original nebula (wherever it came from) arranges itself (rather clever for nebula) in planetary vortices of evolution and develops worlds in which the universal spirit (wherever it came from) reverberating through matter, produces *form and life.*" (p. 181.)

The planetary spirit is a wonderful fellow. But though it is not a god, yet "it is concerned with the working of nature in an immeasurable space, from an immeasurable past, and all through an immeasurable future. The enormous areas of time and space in which our solar system operates is explorable by the mortal adepts of Esoteric science. Within those limits they know all that takes place, and how it takes place, and they know that every thing is accounted for by the constructive will of the collective host of the Planetary Spirits operating under the law of Evolution that pervades all nature."

Here the secret of Esoteric Buddhism is out. God is dethroned, and Olcott, Blavatsky, Sinnett, and Kuthumi Singh are placed in His stead. They learn from the planetary spirits. They become omniscient within the range of the solar system. Hence the confidence of those occult gods. They know everything, and therefore are the fit instructors of an ignorant world.

We are no longer at a loss to know why the book has assumed the oracular form. Here we have the gods over again, but this time speaking in a new tongue and to a new class of people. We fear they will yet have to descend to the position of ordinary mortals and submit to be criticised instead of worshipped. The inducement held out for falling down at the feet of those new deities is not a material world and the rule over it,—for they cannot say that that has been given to them,—but the promise of rank among the planetary spirits to those who fail not to cross the fifth round. Mr. Sinnett's apples of Sodom will not tempt many thinking Englishmen.

It does not require much thought to perceive the greatness of the revelation vouchsafed to the world by this occult prophet. The novelty, if there is any novelty in it, is not in the main principles of the book. These are as old as Oriental speculation. It is not a new thing to assert that there is no God. We read something about this in a Book which claims the respect of millions—"The fool hath said in his heart there is no God." The doctrine of metempsychosis, which is its main foundation, its Dêvachan and Avichi, are no new discoveries. These belong to the old mythology of the East. The only apparently new thing is the adoption by an Englishman of the wild theories of Oriental philosophy, and the hardihood with which he has ventured to parade them as secrets disembowelled from the haunts of the Planetary Spirits in the Himâlayas. It is possible that some shallow minds, of which there is no want in the present day, may be imposed on by the flowing sentences and bold oracular assertions of the author: thinking men will not give the book a second thought.

It need hardly be added that of Mr. Sinnett's Buddhism, neither ancient nor modern Buddhists knew almost anything; Gautama Buddha never contemplated such a system.

W. R.

A. Râshṭrakûṭa grant of Krishṇa III. of Bharûch, Śakasaṁvat 810.

PLATE I.

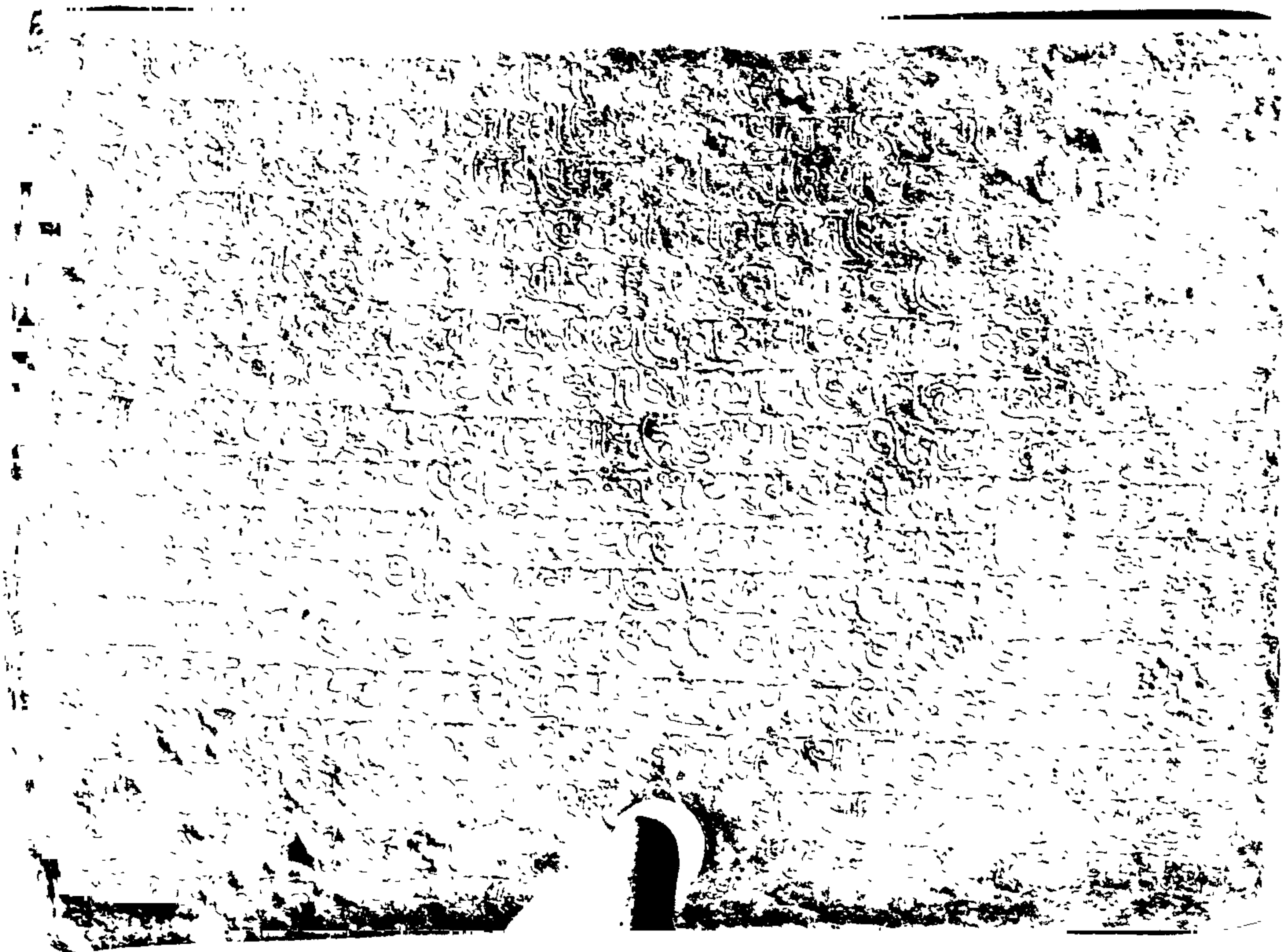


PLATE IIa.



RÂṬHOR GRANT No. IV.
A GRANT OF KṚISHṆA II OF ANKULEŚVAR, OF 888 A.D.

BY E. HULTZSCH, PH. D., VIENNA.

THE original of the subjoined grant of the Râshṭrakûṭa or Râṭhor dynasty was kindly lent to me by Professor Bühler. It was discovered at Bagumra, together with No. III.[1]

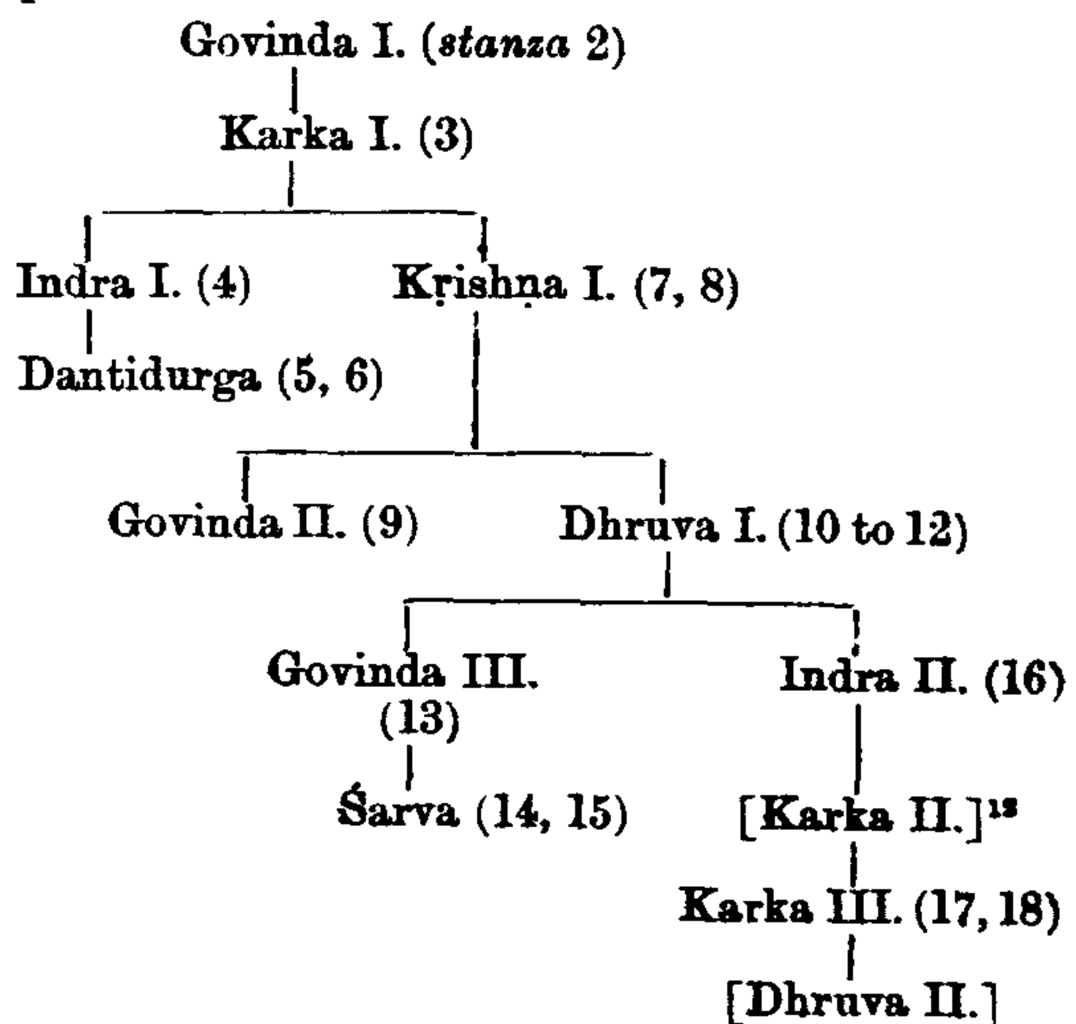
Like other Râshṭrakûṭa inscriptions, this one is engraved on three copper-plates, the first and third of which bear letters on the inner sides only, while the middle one is inscribed on both sides. The plates measure 11 by 8 inches, and are held together by a ring which is passed through holes in the middle of their bases and bears the seal of the Râshṭrakûṭas, a figure of god Śiva holding two snakes.[2]

The letters are well cut, and on the whole in a tolerably good state of preservation; but not a few of them have been damaged or entirely destroyed by verdigris. The characters resemble those of the published Râṭhor grants. The following peculiarities deserve to be noticed. The *Avagraha* seems to be expressed by a horizontal stroke,[3] and *ru*, which is usually written thus (रु), has twice[4] a different form with a similar stroke behind it (रु); in both cases, however, the horizontal line may be a casual and unmeaning addition to the preceding letter. The letter व has a peculiar shape (व) and is in some cases hardly distinguishable from प and च.

The language of the inscription is so full of mistakes of every description, that mere foot-notes would not have sufficed to correct them all. In order to save space, I have annexed to the transcript a revised version of the important parts of the grant.

The plates afford three instances of a well-known phonetic process which is one of the main characteristics of the Îrânian languages, but is also common in the Indian Prâkṛits, especially in Sindhî and Panjâbî,[5] viz. of the change of sibilants to ह. The palatal श has suffered this change in दह for दश[6] (plate II *b*, line 11), the lingual ष in शुह्क for शुष्क[7] (plate III, line 6), and the dental स in न्हात्वा for स्नात्वा[8] (plate II b, line 4).

The grant belongs to the Gujarât branch of the Râshṭrakûṭas, the same that issued the Bârodâ plates of Karka II, dated Śâka 734,[9] the Kâvî plates of Govinda IV, dated Śâka 749 (Râṭhor grant No. I.),[10] and the Bagumra plates of Dhruva III, dated Śâka 789 (Râṭhor grant No. III).[11] It opens with the usual benedictory stanza of the Râṭhor grants. The first 18 stanzas of the *Vaṁśâvalî*, which occur all among the first 29 stanzas of the *Vaṁśâvalî* furnished by No. III, describe the following princes:—



The name of the last prince has to be supplied at the end of the mutilated stanza 19 from the corresponding stanza (30) of No. III. Then follow fragments of at least three stanzas, the first of which contains the name Dantivar-

[1] *Ind. Ant.* vol. XII, p. 179.

[2] See the facsimile of one of Mr. Fleet's Râṭhor grants, *Ind. Ant.* vol. XI, p. 161.

[3] In ऽन्याद्देधसा, plate I, line 1.

[4] In रुचिर (plate I, line 6) and भुव (line 16).

[5] See Mr. Beames's *Comparative Grammar*, vol. I, p. 259.

[6] Prâkṛit दह. See *Vararuchi*, ed. by Cowell, II, 44; *Hemachandra*, ed. by Pischel, I, 262; *Chanḍa*, ed. by Hoernle, III, 14; *Ratnâvalî*, ed. by Cappeller, p. 292, l. 13. Literary Gujarâtî दस, but among the people दाह.

[7] Compare Pâli and Prâkṛit सुक्ख; *Hemachandra*, II, 5; Gujarâtî सूख or सूक.

[8] Pâli नहात्वा; Gujarâtî नहावुं.

[9] *Jour. As. Soc. Bengal*, vol. VIII, p. 292.

[10] *Ind. Ant.* vol. V, p. 144.

[11] *Ind. Ant.* vol. XII, p. 179.

[12] Karka II, as well as his younger brother Govinda IV, are left out.

man.[13] Stanza 23, which is again complete, states that some prince vanquished his enemies in Ujjayiui before the eyes of the Vallabha king. The prince who issued the grant was Kṛishṇarâja II, surnamed Akâlavarsha, and resided in Aṅkûleśvara.[14] On the new moon of Chaitra of Śaka Saṁvat 810, the day of a solar eclipse,[15] he granted to two Brâhmaṇas the village of Kaviṭhasâḍhi, which belonged to the province of Koṅkaṇa, and was bounded on its western side by the port of Variavi, on the north side by the village of Vasuhârika.[16]

The question arises what relation existed between the earlier Râshṭrakûṭas and this Kṛishṇa. *A priori*, he might have belonged to some new branch line, as he resided in Aṅkuleśvar, while the last two Gujarât Râṭhor princes of which we possess inscriptions dwelt in Bharoch (Bharukachchha or Bhṛigukachchha[17]). But if we take into consideration the shortness of distance between Bharoch and Aṅkuleśvar and the fact that the second of those two princes could dispose of a village far to the south of Aṅkuleśvar while their capital was situated to the north of it, it becomes evident that Kṛishṇa II, Akâlavarsha, must have been one of the direct successors of Dhruva III, and that since the latter's time Bharoch had ceased to be the capital of the Gujarât Râthors. Accordingly king Dantivarman, whose name is preserved in the fragment of stanza 20, and who may have been the father of Kṛishṇa II, must have ruled in the interval between Śâka 789, the date of No. III, and Śâka 810, the date of the present grant. The expedition against Ujjain which a Gujarât Râṭhor prince, probably Kṛishṇa II, himself undertook, would belong to the same period and perhaps still precede the accession of the Paramâras on the throne of Ujjayinî. The mention of the Vallabha king, who is introduced as spectator of the combat, shows that, like his predecessors, Kṛishṇa was a mere vassal[18] to some sovereign power, probably to the Râshṭrakûṭas of Mânyakheṭa or Mâlkheḍ.[19]

The numerous omissions and general incorrectness of the grant might lead one to consider it a forgery. As however Professor Jacobi of Münster has computed that a distinctly visible solar eclipse actually took place on the day when the grant was issued, its genuineness is proved beyond all doubts. The omissions are easily accounted for by the want of space, and the blunders by the scribe's lack of erudition.

Transcript of the grant.

Plate I.

[1] ओ ओ स्वस्ति - -[20]सो वो ऽव्याद्वेधसा धम-
यंन्नाभि[क]मलं कृतं ॥ हरश्च यस्य कां-
[2] न्तेन्दुकलया कमलकृतं ॥ [१][21] आसीद्विशति-
मिरमुत्यमण्डलाग्रो ध्वस्ति[न्नि]यंनभिमु-
[3] खो रणसर्व्वरीशु: [।] भूप: सुचिर्व्विधुरिवस्त-
दिगन्तकीर्त्तिग्गाविन्दराज [इ]ति राजसु राज-
[4] सिङ्घः [२] तस्यात्मजो जगति विश्रुतसुभ्रकीर्त्ति-
रार्त्तार्त्तिहारिहरिविक्रमधामधारी । भू-
[5] पस्त्रिविष्टपनृपानुकृति कृतज्ञः श्रीकर्कराज इ गोत्र-
मणिर्व्वभूव. । [३] तस्य पभिन्न-
[6] करटचुतदानदन्तिदन्तपहाररुचिरोल्लिखितान्स
पीठः [।]क्ष्माप क्षितौ क्षपितसत्रुरभू
[7] तभूजः सद्राष्ट्रकुटकनकादृरिवेन्द्रराज । [४]
तस्योपार्जितमहस तनयश्चतुरुदधिव-
[8] लयमालिन्या [।] भोक्ता भुव शतक्रतुशादृश
श्रीदन्तिदुर्गराजोभूत् । [५] काचीशकेरलनरा-
धिपचो-

[13] This was also a *Biruda* of Dantidurga, and the name of the earliest known Râshṭrakûṭa king; see Mr. Fleet's *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 32.

[14] The modern Aṅkuleśvar. The length of the vowel û found in the grant is no error of the engraver, but points to the old name of the town, which was Akrûreśvara as Professor Bühler informs me.

[15] This eclipse occurred on the morning of 15th April, 888 A.D.—J.B.

[16] I do not find these places on the maps at my disposal, but Professer Bühler informs me that Variavi is the modern Variâv, a large village on the Taptî near Surât, and Vasuhârika has been identified by Râo Sâheb Mohanlâl R. Jhavêri with the modern Vasvâri.

[17] No. I, plate IIb, line 20; No. III, plate IIb, line 18.

[18] The word महासामन्ताधिपति which must have ranged among his titles is corrupt on the grant (plate IIb, line 2).

[19] See Professor Bühler's remarks; *Ind. Ant.* vol. V, p. 145; and vol. XII, p. 180.

[20] The two *aksharas* left out in the transcript are doubtful; they look like पि: भ्रो.

[21] Stanzas 1, 2 = No. III, 1, 2.—Stanzas 3 to 6 = No. III, 5 to 8.—Stanza 5; भोक्ता looks like सेक्ता.—Stanza 7 = No. III, 10.—Stanza 8 = No. III, 13.—Stanzas 9 to 13 = No. III, 15 to 19.—Stanza 11; the ज of ज्ञ is only half-executed.—Stanzas 14, 15 = No. III, 22, 23.—Stanza 16 = first half of No. III, 24.—Stanza 17 = No. III, 27.—Stanzas 18, 19 = No. III, 29, 30; in the fourth *Pâda* of stanza 19 read ब[भूव] सूनु[र्ध्रुवराजनामा ॥].

[9] लगाडयश्रीहर्षवज्रटविभेदविधानदक्षः [।]कर्ण्णा-
टकं वलमश्चिन्त्यमजेयमन्यैः भृत्यैः किय-
[10] द्भिरपि यः सहसा जिगायः [६] तस्मि दिव
प्रयाते वल्लभराजेकृतप्रजवाधः [।] श्रीकर्क्क-
राजसू-
[11] र्म्महीपति कृष्णराजोभूत् ॥ [७] राहपमात्मभुज-
जातवलावलेपमाजौ विजित्य निशितासि-
[12] लताप्रहारैः [।] पालिधजवलिसुभामचिरेण जो हि
राजाधिराजपरमे[श्व]रतांम-
[13] वापः [८] येन श्वेतातपत्रप्रहतरविकरः व्राततता-
पास्तलिलंः जग्मे नासीरधूलीधव-
[14] लितासिर[स]। वल्लभाख्य सदाजौः [।]श्रीमद्गो-
विन्दराजो जितजगदतस्त्रैणवैधव्य-
[15] दक्षः तस्यासीत्सूनुरेक क्षणरणदलितारातिमत्ते-
कुभः [९] तस्यानुज श्री-
[16] ध्रुवराजनामा [हा]नुभा[वो]प्रहतप्रतापः [।]
प्रशाधिताशेषनरेन्द्रचक्र
[17] क्रमेण वाला[र्कव]पुर्व्वभूवः [१०]

Plate IIa.

[1] याते जत्र च [राष्ट्र]कूटतिलके सद्भूपचूडामणौ
गुर्व्वी तुष्टिरथाखिलस्य
[2] जगतः सुस्वामिनि [प्र]त्यहं [।]
[स]त्यं सत्यमिति प्रशासति सति क्ष्मा
समुद्रान्ति-
[3] का आसी धर्म्मपरेः गुणामृतनिधौ सत्यव्रताधि-
ष्ठिते ॥ [११] रक्षिता येन निश्व[स] चतुर-
[4] म्भोधिसयुत । राज्यं धर्म्मेण लोकानां कृता हृष्टि
परा हृदि ॥ [१२] तस्येत्मजो जगति विश्रु-
तशुभ्रकी-
[5] र्त्ति गोविन्दराज इति गोत्रललामभूतः[।] त्यागी
पराक्रमधन प्रकटप्रताप संतापिताहितज-
[6] नो जंनवल्लभोभूत् ॥ [१३] तत्पुत्रोत्र गते गते
नाकंपितरिपुव्रजे। श्रीमहाराजसर्व्वाख्यः ख्या-
तो राजा-
[7] भवद्गुणैः [१४] अर्थिशु यथार्थता यः समभिष्ठ-
फलावाप्तिलब्धतोशेशुः [।] वृन्धि निन्नाय
परमाममोघ-
[8] वर्षाभिधानस्य ॥ [१५] राजाभू तपितृव्या रिपु-
भवविभवोद्भूत्यभाविकहेतुःर्लक्ष्मीमानिन्द्रराजो
गुणि-

[9] नृपनिकरन्तश्चमत्कारकारीः [१६] श्रीकर्क्कराज
इति रक्षितराज्यभार सार कुस्य तनयो नय-
शालिशौ-
[10] [र्ये]ः [।] तस्याभवद्विभवनंदितवधुसार्थः
पार्थ सदैव धनुशि प्रथम शुचीनां [१७]
श्वेत्छाग्रिहीतविष-
[11] यो दृढसंघभाज प्राद्वृतदृप्ततरशुल्किकराष्ट्रकूटा[।]
उत्खातखड्गनिजवाहुवलेन जित्वा
[12] योमोघवर्षमचिराश्वपदे व्यधत्तः [१८] पुतृयत-
स्तत्य माहानुभाव कृती कृतज्ञ कृतधीर्यवी-
[13] [र्यः।] वशीकृतशेशनरेंद्रचृदो व सूनु [१९]
श्रीदन्तिवर्म्म[ण] तस्य सुत प्रवलप्रतापः
[२०] यस्यानेकन-
[14] [रेन्द्र]वृन्दविनुतस्यपूहूपद्मद्वयः प्रोत्खातासिल-
तहतादलतद्दिदन्तिकुम्भस्थलः सू-
[15] र सज[नव]त्छलः सुसरल [२१] पीतमथो
यसश्च ॥ [२२] येन [ख]ड्गद्वितीयेन वलभ-
नृपस्य पस्यतः [।]
[16] उज्जयन्या रिपू जित्वा दूरमुत्तम्भितं यसः।
[२३] तेनेदमनि[लवि] ध्रुचञ्चलम[लो]क्य
[जी]वि-

Plate IIb.[22]

[1] तमसार [।] [क्षि]तिदानादपरमपुण्य प्रवर्त्तितो
धर्मदायोयंः [२४] स च समधिरातशेषसहा-
शब्द-
[2] माहामह [¯ ।म]धिपतिश्रीमदकालवर्षश्रीकृष्ण-
राज्ञ सर्व्वानेव समनुवोधयत्यस्तु व संविदि-
[3] तं यथा मया श्रीअंकुलेस्वरावस्थिन मातापित्रोरा-
त्मनश्चैहिकामुष्मिकपुन्ययसोभिवृध
[4] नर्मदाय भगवथीर्थे न्हात्योदकातिस्वर्गेणः श्रीव-
रिअविवस्तव्यतत्रैविद्यसामान्यकुडीनसगो-
[5] ्[त्र]अध्वर्यसव्रह्मचारिव्राह्मणश्रीअजवासावकसु-
ताय श्रीतणुअवासावका श्रीगुहेस्वरभ्रातरे
[6] [द्द]यो प्रतिपादितंः श्रीकोङ्कणविशयविनिर्गतव-
रिअविसोडसोत्तमध्याकविठसाढिभिधान-
[7] ग्रम यस्याघाटनानि पूर्व्वत वलछग्रामसीमा। द्र-
क्षिणत उत्तरपढवणकग्रामसीमा। पाश्चिमत व-
रिअ-

[22] Plate IIb, line 1; म of °समधिरात° has not been finished and looks like a modern ग.—Line 3; the *anusvâra* over the अ of श्रीअंकूलेस्वरा° is obliterated.—Line 5; the ह्म of °सव्रह्मचारि° has not been finished.—Line 6; to the अ of °वरिअवि° a flourish has been attached which makes it look like an archaic आ.—Line 16; in परिपन्थना, the engraver had at first written an ि instead of the first प and has corrected this mistake afterwards.

[8] विपटनसीमा । उत्तरत वसुहारिकग्रामसीमा । एवं चतुराघाटनोपलक्षित सोद्रंङ्ग सपरिक-
[9] र ससीमापार्यन्त सवृक्षमालाकुल सदन्डदशाप-राधः सधान्याहिरन्यादेयोचाटभटप्रवेस्य वाते-त्तरी-
[10] यः सर्व्वराजकीयानामहस्तप्रक्षेपणीयो आचन्द्रा-कार्ग्णवक्षितिसारिपर्व्वतममकालीनः पूर्व्वद-त्तदे-
[11] वदायव्रह्मदायरहितोभ्यन्तरासिध्या सकनृपकाला-तीतसवत्छरशतेंस्वष्ठसु दहोतरेषु चैत्रे अमावा-
[12] स्या सयग्रहणपर्व्वणिः स्नात्योदकातिसर्गेण वलि-चरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रानुष्टानादिकृयोत्छर्पणार्थं
[13] प्रतिपादितस्तदसुतया व्रह्मदायथित्या भूञ्जतो भोजयत कृशतो कर्षयत प्रतिदिशतो वा न केनापि
[14] परिपंथना कार्याः तथागामिनृपतिभिरष्मद्वशजैर-न्येर्व्वा सहस्नमेकेन पालनीयो द्रंमोश्च
[15] तृभि स्कन्धके देया प्रथमं भाद्रपदे द्वितीयं कार्तिके तृतीय माघेः एभि स्थित्या सर्व्वराजकी-
[16] ये पालनीयः न केनापि परिपन्थना कार्याः आगामिनृतिभिरष्मद्वश-

Plate III.[23]

[1] जैरन्यैर्व्वा सामान्य भूमिदानफलामित्यवधार्य वि-द्युलोलान्यनैत्यैस्त्वर्याणि तृणाग्रलग्नज-
[2] लविन्दुचंञ्चलं च जीवितमाकलज्य स्वदायनिर्व्वि-शेसो अष्मदायोनुमन्तव्य पालयित-
[3] व्यश्चः यश्चाज्ञानतिमिरपटलवृतमतिराच्छिदा-त्छिद्यमानमोदेतः स पन्चभिर्महापातकैरुप[प]-
[4] तकैश्चः सयुक्त स्यः उक्तं च भगवाताा वेदव्या-सेन व्यासेन [॥] षष्टिर्व्वर्षसहस्त्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमि-
[5] द [।] आच्छत्ताः चानुमत्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेः [॥] अग्नेरपत्य प्रथम सुवर्ण्णं भूर्व्वै-ष्णवी सूर्यसुताश्च गावः [।] लोक-
[6] त्रयं तेन भवेधि दत्तं य कान्चनं गान्च महिन्च दद्यात् [॥] विद्ध्याटवश्वतोयासु शुष्का-कोटरवासिन [।] कृष्णाहयो हि जा-
[7] यन्ते भूमिदायं हन्ति येः [॥] कन्यामेकं [गव]-मेकं भूम्यामप्येकमंगुलं । हरं नरकमायाति यावदाहूतसप्लवंः [॥]
[8] यानीह दतानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि धर्म्मार्थयशस्क-राणिः [।] निर्म्माल्यनिष्ठीवसमानि तानि तानि को नाम साध्धु
[9] पुनराददीतः [॥] स्वदता परदतां वा यत्नाद्रक्ष नराधिप [।] मही महिभूजां श्रेष्ट दाना श्रे-योनुपालनंः [॥] वहु-
[10] भिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभि सगरादिभि [।] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमि तस्य तस्य तदा फलंः [॥] इति कमदलांवुविन्दुलोलां
[11] श्रीयमनुचिन्त्य मनुश्यजीवितं चः [।] अतिवि-मलमनोभि[रात्म]नीनैन्न हि पुरुशै परकी-र्त्तयो विलोप्या [॥]
[12] दूतकोत्र महत्तमसर्व्वाधिकारि व्राह्मण अल्लैयक नान्माः लिखितं चैतन्मया महासन्धिविग्र-
[13] [ह]ाधिकारी श्रीजज्जकेन श्रीकलुकसूनुना इतिः ॥ स्वहस्तोयं मम श्रीमद-
[14] कालवर्षश्रीकृष्णराजस्यः ॥

Corrected transcript of the parts important of the grant.

[Plate IIa, line 13 :]

श्रीदन्तिवर्मण...... तस्य...... सुत...... प्रबल-प्रतापः॥ २० ॥ [24]

यस्यानेकनरेन्द्रवृन्दविनुतस्यापू[र्वे] – – ⏑ –
– – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – – [भं]हूिपद्मद्वयः ।
प्रोत्खातासिलता[प्रहार]दलितद्विड्दन्तिकुम्भस्थलः
शूरः सज्जनवत्सलः सुसरलः – – ⏑ – – – ⏑ – ॥ २१ ॥[25]

......पीतमथो यशश्च ॥ २२ ॥ [26]

येन खड्गद्वितीयेन वल्लभनृपस्य पश्यतः ।
उज्जयिन्यां रिपूञ्जित्वा दूरमुत्तम्भितं यशः ॥ २३ ॥[27]

तेनेदमनिलविद्युच्चञ्चलमालोक्य जीवितमसारम् ।
क्षितिदानपरमपुण्यः प्रवर्तितो धर्मदायोयम् ॥ २४ ॥[28]

स च समधिगताशेषमहाशब्दमहा[सामन्ता]धिपति-श्रीमदकालवर्षश्रीकृष्णराजः सर्वानेव........समनुबोधयत्यस्तु वः संविदितं यथा मया श्रीअङ्कुलेश्वरावस्थि[ते]न मातापित्रोरात्मनश्चैहिकामुष्मिकपुण्ययशोभि-

[23] Plate III, line 5, भू° badly executed.—Line 6, °कोटरवासिन has been corrected by the engraver from °कोटरावासिन.

[24] The metre of this fragment seems to have been *Vasantatilakâ*.

[25] Metre of the fragment *Śârdûla*. The beginning of the first and third *pâdas* reminds of stanza 21 of No. III.

[26] These seven syllables must have belonged to a stanza in *Upajâti* or *Vasantatilakâ*.

[27] Metre of stanza 23 *Anushṭubh*. The second *pâda* is irregular.

[28] Stanza 24 = No. III, 43.

A. Râshtrakûta grant of Krishna III. of Bharûch, Śakasamvat 810.

PLATE IIb.

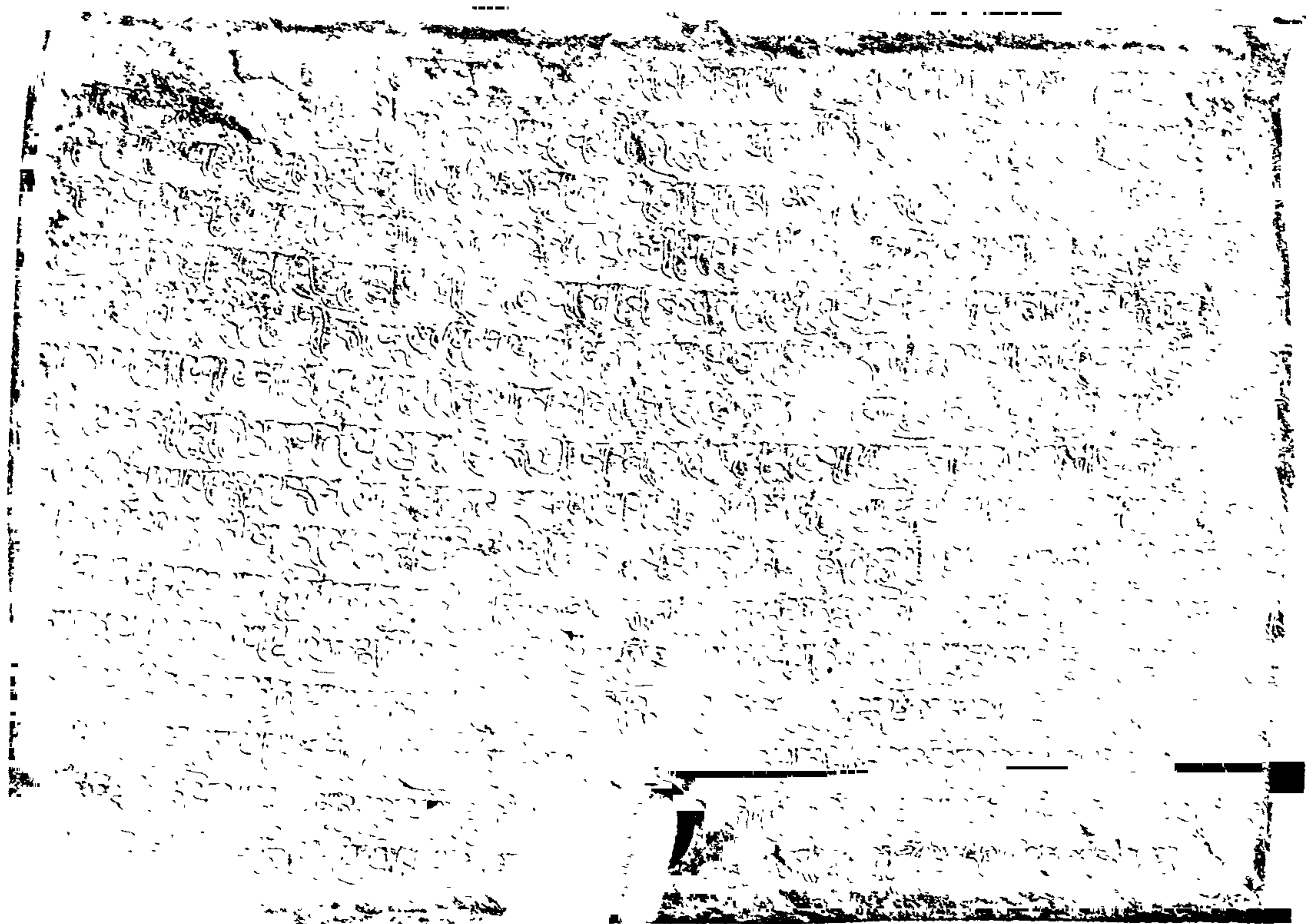
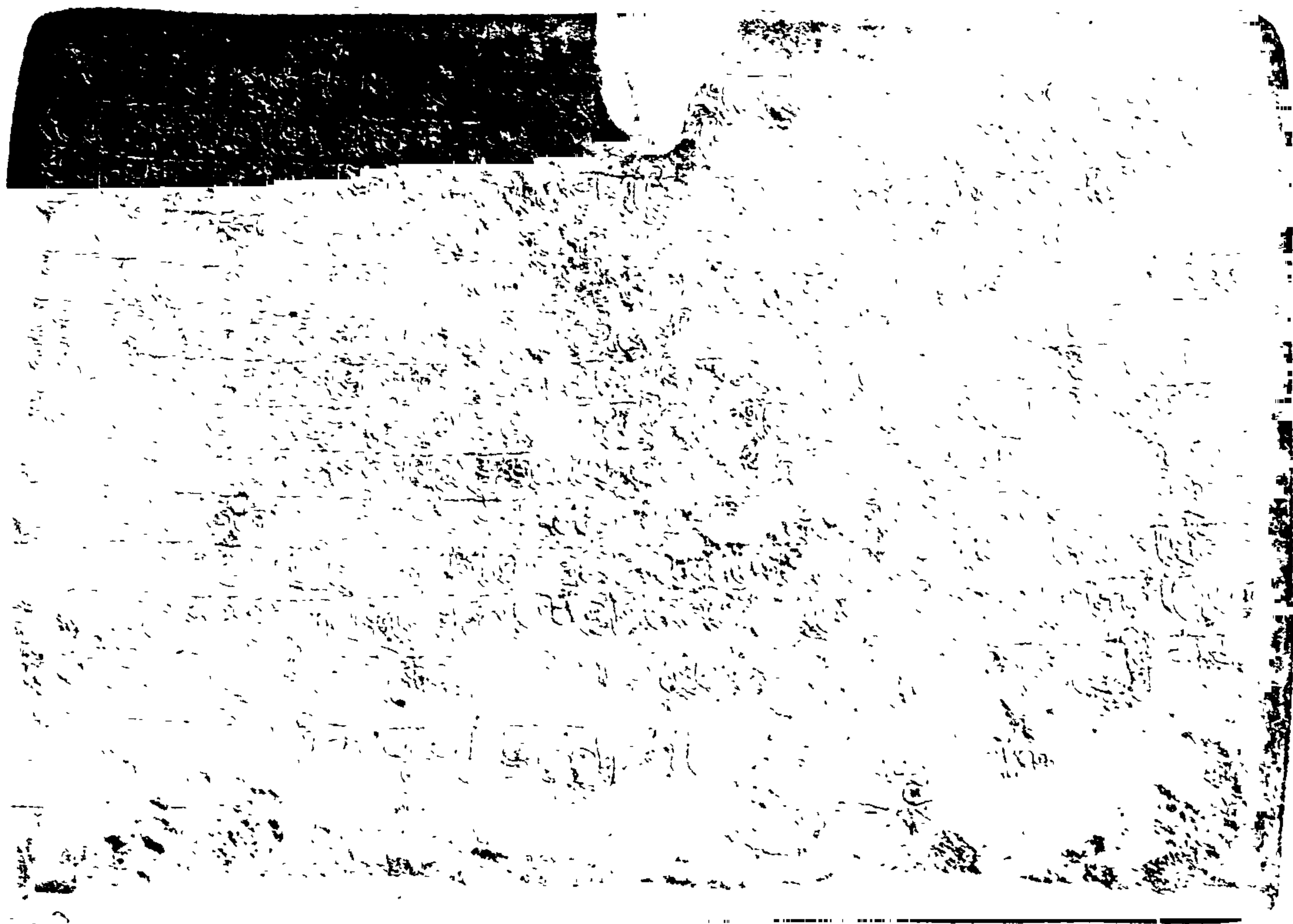


PLATE III.



Photozinko. Max Jaffé, Vienna.

वृद्ध[ये] नर्मदायां भगवत्तीर्थे स्नात्वोदकातिसर्गेण श्रीवरिअविवस्तव्यतत्त्रैविद्यसामान्यकुण्डिनसगोत्राध्वर्युसब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणश्रीअजवासावकसुताय श्रीतणुअवासावका[य] श्रीगुहेश्वरभ्रात्रे द्वाभ्यां[29] प्रतिपादितः श्रीकोङ्कणविषयान्तर्गतवरिअविषोडशोत्त[रग्रामशत] मध्य[वर्ति]कविठसाढ्यभिधानग्रामो यस्याघाटनानि पूर्वतो वलछग्रामसीमा । दक्षिणत उत्तरपढवणकग्रामसीमा । पश्चिमतो वरिअविपट्टनसीमा । उत्तरतो वसुहारिकग्रामसीमा । एवं चतुराघाटनोपलक्षितः ....

[Plate II *b*, line 11:]

शकनृपकालातीतसंवत्सरशतेष्वष्टसुद शोत्तरेषु चैत्रेमावास्या[यां] सूर्यग्रहणपर्वणि स्नात्वोदकातिसर्गेण बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रानुष्ठानादिक्रियोत्सर्पणार्थं प्रतिपादितः ॥

[Plate II *b*, line 14:]

द्रम्माश्च त्रिभिः स्कन्धकैर्देयाः । प्रथमं भाद्रपदे द्वितीयं कार्त्तिके तृतीयं माघे ॥

[Plate III, line 12:]

दूतकोत्र महत्तमसर्वाधिकारी ब्राह्मणोल्लैयको नाम्ना । लिखितं चैतन्मया महासंधिविग्रहाधिकारि[णा] श्रीजज्जकेन श्रीकलुकसूनुनेति ॥ स्वहस्तोयं मम श्रीमदकालवर्षश्रीकृष्णराजस्य ॥

Translation.

20. The majestic . . . . . son . . . . . of this . . . . . illustrious Dantivarman.

21. From him who was praised by a large crowd of kings . . . . . (*sprang*) he whose lotus-feet . . . . . he who split the temples of his enemies' elephants with the blows of his impetuously drawn sword, who was brave, kind to virtuous people, very upright . . . . .

22 [*seems to have described a banquet celebrated in honour of some victory, when the warriors*] 'quaffed liquor and the glory of their foes at the same time.'[30]

23. He who established his fame in distant parts, when, sword in hand, he conquered his enemies in Ujjayinî before the eyes of the Vallabha king.

24. He, perceiving this worthless life to be unstable like the wind or the lightning, has made this pious gift, which is most meritorious because it consists of a grant of land.

And this illustrious Kṛishṇarâja (*surnamed*) Akâlavarsha, the lord of great feudal chiefs, who possesses all the great titles, proclaims (*the following command*) to all (*officials*):—

'Be it known to you that, for the increase of my parents' and my own spiritual merit and glory in this world and the next, I, residing in Aṅkûleśvara, have given, confirming the gift by a libation of water, and after having bathed in the Narmadâ at the bathing place sacred to Bhagavat, on the new moon of Chaitra, when an eclipse of the sun took place, after eight hundred and ten years from the time of the Śaka king had elapsed, to the two Brâhmaṇas Taṇua Vâsâvaka and his brother Guheśvara, the sons of Aja Vâsâvaka,[31] who live at Variavi, are among the Trivedins of that place, belong to the *Gotra* of the Kuṇḍinas, and study the *Yajurveda*, in order to defray the expenses of the performance of the *Bali*, *Charu*, *Vaiśvadeva*, *Agnihotra* and similar rites, the village called Kaviṭhasâḍhi, which ranges among the one hundred and sixteen villages connected with Variavi and belongs to the province of Koṅkaṇa. Its boundaries are:—to the east the village of Valachha, to the south the village of Uttarapaḍhavaṇaka, to the west the port[32] of Variavi, and to the north the village of Vasuhârika.' . . . . . 'And money (*drammâḥ*) is to be given (*to the grantees*) in three portions; first, in Bhâdrapada, secondly, in Kârttika, and thirdly, in Mâgha.' . . . . .

For this (*grant*) the royal messenger (*dûtaka*) is the very great prime minister, a Brâhmaṇa, Allaiyaka by name; and this (*grant*) has been drawn up by me, the great minister for peace and war, the illustrious Jajjaka, the son of Kaluka.

This is my sign-manual, of the illustrious Kṛishṇarâja (*surnamed*) Akâlavarsha.

[29] The original reads °भ्रातरे द्वयो[:].

[30] Compare *Raghuvaṁśa* IV, 42.

[31] *Vâsâvaka* is a Prâkṛit form of the term *Vâsâpaka* (Râṭhor grant No. III, plate II b, line 3) which designates some class of dignitaries;—see Professor Bühler's note on that passage.

[32] See Childers' *Pâli Dictionary* s. v. *paṭṭanaṁ*.

A NEW GURJARA COPPER-PLATE GRANT.

BY PANDIT BHAGWÂNLÂL INDRAJÎ, PHILOL. D (LEIDEN); HON. M.R A S.

The inscription which forms the subject of this paper is from a grant which, with several others,[1] has been entrusted to me for publication by Mr. Sheriârji Dâdâbhai Bharuch, Assistant Master in the Sir Kawasji Jahângir Readymoney Madrassa at Nausâri. They were found in excavating some foundations at Nausâri.

The present grant consists of two plates, each about 12″ broad by 9″ high. The edges of the plates are for the most part fashioned slightly thicker, with a depression running along inside them, so as to serve as rims to protect the writing. A small piece, containing the first *akshara* and part of the second, is broken away and lost at the commencement of the second plate. And, lower down on the same side of the same plate, a large triangular piece, its sides measuring about 4″, 3″ and 4¼″, has similarly been broken away and lost; but almost all the missing letters can be supplied. When the plates first came into my hands, they were covered with a coating of rust almost as thick as the plates themselves, and hardly a letter could anywhere be deciphered ; but I have succeeded in removing this entirely, and in making the inscription quite legible throughout. The inscription runs across the breadth of the plates. There are holes for two rings ; but the rings, and the seal that must have been on one of them, have been lost. The language is Sanskrit throughout. The characters, with the exception of the attestation in the last line, are like those of the Chalukya and Râshtrakûṭa grants of the seventh century that have been found in Gujarât. This type of characters is derived from the South-Indian alphabets of the fourth century, and differs considerably from the old Nâgarî characters of the same period. The characters of the attestation, however, in line 44, differ entirely from those of the body of the grant, and are the Nâgarî characters of the seventh century, which must probably have been the current-hand characters used in Gujarât at that time. We are led to this conclusion,—for Mahârâshṭra and Kâṭhiâwâḍ, as well as Gujarât,—by the facts, that several other grants from the same parts have been found to bear attestations in the same Nâgarî characters, and that inscriptions of dates later than the seventh century, from the same parts, are engraved in characters from which the modern Nâgarî characters have certainly been derived. And the reason why characters of the South-Indian type were used in grants up to the seventh century, is, I think, to be sought in the facts—that the kings of the south from time to time invaded, and established their power in, Mahârâshṭra and Kâṭhiâwâḍ, and brought with them men who did the work of engraving their grants according to their own alphabets ; and that the practice thus introduced was afterwards continued, and so, side by side with the current-hand characters of the country, there remained in use, for a considerable time, a totally distinct alphabet for formal official purposes. Even the characters used in the Valabhî grants are distinctly of South-Indian origin.

The present inscription furnishes the following short genealogy—

Dadda.
|
Jayabhata.
|
Dadda, or Bâhusahâya.
|
Jayabhaṭa.

It does not specify the dynasty to which they belonged. But, as we have, whether for the same or different individuals, precisely the same names of Dadda and Jayabhaṭa in the Kaira, Umêtâ, and Ilâô grants, coupled with specific mention of the Gurjara dynasty,—and as the same names have not been met with in the case of any other dynasty,—there can hardly be any doubt as to the persons named in the present inscription being of the same dynasty. And here the dynasty is said, for the first time, to be derived originally from the *Mahâbhârata* hero Karṇa, the elder half-brother of the Pâṇḍavas.

In respect of the first Dadda, this inscription furnishes an interesting item of information, the full importance of which I shall show

[1] Another of them is the Nausâri grant of the year 421 of Śîlâditya-Śryâśraya, of the Chalukyas of Gujarât; published by me in the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 1ff.

further on, in the statement that "there hung ceaselessly over him, with the grace of a white cloud, a canopy of glory gained by protecting the lord of Valabhî, who had been defeated by the great lord, the illustrious Harshadêva." I shall show below that the great lord thus mentioned must be Harsha or Harshavardhana of Thânêśwar or Kanauj; and that we are enabled by this mention of him to fix approximately the date of the grant.

The inscription furnishes no information of any importance with respect to the first Jayabhaṭa. Of the second Dadda, it gives Bâhusahâya, or 'he whose (*only*) helper was his arm,' as a *biruda*. This *biruda* was acquired by the strength of arm displayed by him "in the great wars waged with the kings of the east and of the west." But, as none of these kings are mentioned by name, the expression must be purely hyperbolical; and we cannot interpret it as referring to any but some of the minor chieftains of the neighbourhood. This inscription also adds that he was a *parama-mâhêśvara*, or worshipper of the god Śiva; which shows that, like the rulers of Valabhî, the Gurjaras were primarily Śaivites in religion.[2] It also gives him the attribute of *samadhigatapañchamahâśabda*, or 'he who attained the five great titles;' and this implies that he was not an independent king, but the feudatory of some other paramount sovereign. In respect of the second Jayabhaṭa, all the information given, of any importance, is that, like his father, he was a worshipper of Śiva, and had attained the five great titles.

The inscription is of the time of the second Jayabhaṭa. The charter is issued from the camp at Kâyâvatâra, which I am strongly inclined to look upon as the Sanskṛit name of Kâvî, in the Jambûsar Tâlukâ of the Broach District. And it records a grant by Jayabhaṭa of a field, measuring sixty-four *nivartanas*, in the village of Śamîpadraka, which was included in the Kôrillâ *pathaka* or 'subdivision.' Kôrillâ seems to be the modern Kôral, about ten miles to the north-east of Broach. I am not prepared at present to identify Śamîpadraka,—nor Gôlikâ, which is one of the villages mentioned in defining the boundaries of the field. Dhâhaddha, which is mentioned in the same connection, is perhaps the modern Dôhad near Gôdhrâ in the Pañch-Mahâls. Girinagara, which is mentioned as the original home of the grantee, is the modern Girnâr in Kâṭhiâwâḍ. The *agrahâra*-village of Śraddhikâ, which was his residence at the time of the grant, cannot at present be identified.

The grant was made on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon, on the fifteenth day of the bright fortnight, or the full-moon day, of the month Mâgha, in the year 456 of some unspecified era. And in line 43 the name of Monday (or of Tuesday) is recorded for the day on which the eclipse took place, the grant was made, and the charter was written. We have now to consider the question of the era to which this date is to be referred.

The first point that suggests itself is, that the second Jayabhaṭa of this Nausâri grant of the year 456 must be identical with the Jayabhaṭa of the Kâvî grant of the year 486.[3] There is a difference of thirty years between the two dates; but this is not at all unreasonable; and it simply goes to show that the Nausâri grant was made soon after the commencement, and the Kâvî grant towards the end, of the power of Jayabhaṭa. Unfortunately, the genealogy of the Jayabhaṭa of the Kâvî grant is lost. Also the name of the father of the writer of the Nausâri grant, and the names of both the writer and his father of the Kâvî grant, have been broken away and lost, thus depriving us of what would probably have been a very reliable means of identification. And the names of the *Dûtakas* differ in the two grants,—being Bâvulla in the Nausâri grant, and Kaṇḍakauaka in the Kâvî grant; this, however, is to be explained by the difference between the localities which are referred to in the two grants, and to which the charters had to be conveyed. But the characters of the two grants are of the same type and period; the wording is, *mutatis mutandis*, identical throughout; and the dates are expressed in precisely the same way in both grants, even including the use of the somewhat unusual word *nibaddham*. I consider, therefore, that it must be taken as certain that the Jayabhaṭas of the two grants are identical.

[2] Dadda I. and Dadda II., however (see the genealogy at p. 73 below), were worshippers of the sun, according to the Kaira grants.

[3] Published by Dr. Bühler, *ante* Vol. V. pp. 109ff.

In addition to these two grants, we have four others of the Gurjara dynasty;—the two Kaira grants, dated, like the Nausâri and Kâvî grants, in the years 380 and 385 of some unspecified era;[4]—the Umêtâ grant, dated specifically in the year 400 of the Śaka era;[5]—and the Ilâô grant, dated specifically in the year 417 of the Śaka era.[6] They give the following short genealogy—

Dadda I.
|
Jayabhaṭa, or Vîtaraga.
|
Dadda II., or Praśântarâga.

And, being all grants of Dadda II., they prove, if the Umêtâ and Ilâô grants are genuine, that the dates of the two Kaira grants,—and, consequently, also of the Nausâri and Kâvî grants,—must be referred to the Śaka era. The genuineness of the Umêtâ and the Ilâô grants, however, I now question.

The characters of the Kaira, Nausâri, and Kâvî grants, are all of precisely the same type, and as like each other as can possibly be in the case of inscriptions the actual engraving of which was done by different men. On the other hand, the characters of the Umêtâ and Ilâô grants are identical with each other, but differ entirely from those of the other four grants; and the wording of the formal parts of these two grants, and the method in which the dates are expressed in them, differ on the one side from the Kaira grants, which are from one original form of draft, and on the other side from the Nausâri and Kâvî grants, which are from another. The grant with which the Umêtâ and Ilâô grants are identical throughout, even and especially in their mistakes, is the Valabhî grant of Dharasêna II., dated in the Śaka year 400,[7] which both Dr. Bhau Dâji and Dr. Bühler have stamped as a spurious grant. If placed side by side, they will be seen at once to have been engraved by one and the same hand, in spite of the assertion to the contrary in the plates themselves, and at one and the same time, in spite of the asserted intervening difference of seventeen years in the dates. And, further,—in spite this time of the *difference* of the characters and style of drafting,—the Ilâô grant purports to be written by the same Rêva who wrote the two Kaira grants.

My opinion is that the Umêtâ and Ilâô grants are forgeries; and that they were probably got up by the same man who forged the grant of Dharasêna II. Possibly he got hold of genuine grants of Dadda II., dated, like the Kaira, Nausâri, and Kâvî grants, in an unspecified era; and then, not knowing what the era was, he made a guess and inserted the name of the Śaka era.

I reject therefore, the Umêtâ and Ilâô grants; and, with them, the theory, so far as it rests upon them alone, that the dates of the Kaira grants are to be referred to the Śaka era.

There remain the dates of the years 380 and 385 of some unspecified era for Dadda II. of the Kaira grants, and the dates of the years 456 and 486 of an unspecified era, but undoubtedly the same, for the second Jayabhaṭa of the Nausâri grant and the sole extant Jayabhaṭa of the Kâvî grant. It is at once plain that Dadda II. of the Kaira grants cannot be identified with the second Dadda of the Nausâri grant. In the first place, the *biruda* of the former was Praśântarâga, and of the latter Bâhusahâya. And, in the second place, a far more important obstacle exists in the fact that, if these two Daddas were identical, then the reigns of the father and his son,—of Dadda II. of the Kaira grants; and of the second Jayabhaṭa of the Nausâri grant, and the Jayabhaṭa of the Kâvî grant,—covered a period of at least one hundred and six years, from 380 to 486, which is an absolute impossibility. On the other hand, as we have the dates of 456 and 486 for the second Jayabhaṭa of the Nausâri grant, it is plain that his reign cannot have commenced much before 456. Taking 455 as the commencement, and calculating backwards at the rate of twenty-five years to a generation, we arrive at 380 as the date of the first Dadda of the Nausâri grant. And this is exactly the earliest of the two dates obtained for Dadda II. of the Kaira grants. I identify Dadda II. of the Kaira grants, therefore, with the *first* Dadda of the Nausâri grant, to whom

[4] See Mr. Fleet's Nos. CXXXIX. and CXL., pp. 81 ff. below.
[5] Published by Dr. Bühler, *ante* Vol. VII. pp. 61ff.
[6] See Mr. Fleet's No. CXLI., pp. 115 ff. below.
[7] Published by Dr. Bühler, *ante* Vol. X. pp. 277ff.

no *biruda* is allotted in this grant. And thus, from the four grants, I establish the following genealogy and dates :—

Dadda I.
(about the year 330.)
|
Jayabhaṭa I., or Vîtarâga.
(about the year 355.)
|
Dadda II., or Praśântarâga, 380 and 385.
|
Jayabhaṭa II.
(about the year 405.)
|
Dadda III., or Bâhusahâya.
(about the year 430.)
|
Jayabhaṭa III., 456 and 486.

The recurrence of only two names in a genealogy of six persons may appear odd, but is not at all impossible; and it is a common practice among the Hindus for grandsons to assume the names of their grandfathers. And, in the case of the rulers of Valabhî, we have even six sons in succession called Śîlâditya. The use of *birudas* was the expedient resorted to, in order to prevent confusion arising from this practice; and we find that two of the Daddas and one of the Jayabhaṭas in the above genealogy, have such *birudas* recorded for them.

The present Nausâri grant was issued from the *vâsaka* or 'camp' at Kâyâvatâra, which, as I have said above, I am inclined to look upon as denoting Kâvî, in the Jambûsar Tâlukâ of the Broach District; and, from the use of this word *vâsaka*, Kâyâvatâra must have been only an encampment temporarily occupied by Jayabhaṭa III. on a tour for administrative or offensive purposes. The name of the camp or city from which the grant of 486 was issued is lost, with the first plate of that grant. And the Umêtâ and Ilâô grants purport to be issued from the camp situated in front of the gate of Bharukachchha or Broach. In the two Kaira grants of Dadda II., however, the expression used is simply *Nândîpuritaḥ*, or "from the city of Nândîpurî;" and, on the analogy of the *Valabhîtaḥ* of the Valabhî grants, I agree with Dr. Bühler in considering that we have here a mention of the real capital of the Gurjara family. But I am inclined to think that it may be the modern Nândôd about 34 miles to the north-east of Broach,—an old town, and still the capital of the Râjpipla State under the Rêwa-Kântha Agency,—rather than according to Dr. Bühler's identification,[8] the old fort named Nândîpurî, just outside the Jhaḍêśwar gate to the east of Broach. The villages mentioned in the Gurjara grants are all in the present Broach District. And the Gurjara power, therefore, extended over this District and probably part of the Gaikwâḍ's territory.

As regards the *status* of the members of this family,—Dadda I. is called only a *Sâmanta* or feudal chief. Dadda II., in the Umêtâ and Ilâô grants, is called a *Mahârâjâdhirâja*; but I have given above my reasons for rejecting these grants as spurious. In the body of the present Nausâri grant, and also of the two Kaira grants, he is simply described as having attained the *pañchamahâśabda*; and, in the seals of the Kaira grants, he is called simply a *Sâmanta*. Dadda III. and Jayabhaṭa III., again, are described in the present grant as having attained the *pañchamahâśabda*; and the latter has also, in the Kâvî grant, the title of *Mahâsâmantâdhipati*, or lord over great feudal chiefs. This title, which is of constant occurrence in southern inscriptions, shows considerably higher rank than that of Dadda I.; but it still indicates subordination to some higher authority. The Gurjaras could not have been vassals of the rulers of Valabhi; for, Dadda II. gave protection to the lord of Valabhî when he had been defeated by Harshadêva; and, in the Kâvî grant, Jayabhaṭa III. prides himself upon having quieted in battle the impetuosity of the lord of Valabhî.[9] It was probably the Chalukya family, whether the Gujarât branch or the Vâtâpi dynasty, that the Gurjaras acknowledged as their supreme lords.

The most important historical item, in fact the only absolutely definite item of contemporaneous history furnished by these inscriptions, is the statement, in the Nausâri grant, that Dadda II. gave protection to the lord of Valabhî, when the latter had been defeated by the great lord or *Paramêśvara*, the illustrious Harshadêva. We meet with the same

[8] *ante* Vol. VII. p. 62.
[9] In the two Kaira grants, Dadda I. is mentioned as having uprooted the descendants of the Nâgas; but the statement is not explicit enough to be turned to any account at present.

name in the inscriptions of the Western Chalukyas, and their relatives of the Gujarât branch. Thus, in the Aihoḷe Mêguṭi inscription, No. LV. of Mr. Fleet's series in this *Journal*, Pulikêśî II. is described as causing the joy of Harsha, whose feet, which were like waterlilies, were covered with the rays of the jewels of the chiefs that were nourished by his immeasurable power, to melt away through fear;[10] in the Nirpaṇ grant, No. LXXVI. of the same series, he is described as defeating the glorious Śrî-Harsha, the supreme lord of the region of the north;[11] and in the Karnul grant, No. CXIX.,[12] the 'Togurshode' grant, No. XXIX.,[13] and others that follow the same form, he is described as acquiring the second name of *Paramêśvara* or 'supreme lord' by defeating Śrî-Harshavardhana, the warlike lord of all the region of the north. So, also, in an unpublished grant which I have of the *Yuvarâja* Śîlâditya-Śryâśraya of the Gujarât branch, Pulikêśî II. is described as acquiring the banner of victory in battle with Harshavardhana, the lord of the region of the north.

In the case of Pulikêśî II., whose date was from A.D. 610-11 to at least A.D. 634-35, this Harsha or Harshavardhana is admittedly the great monarch of that name, also called Śîlâditya, of Thânêswar or of Kanauj, who, according to M. Reinaud's calculations, reigned from A.D. 607 to about 648,[14] and whose court was visited by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang between A.D. 629 and 645.

This great king Harsha or Harshavardhana is well-known to students of Sanskrit literature; and the record of his life written by the poet Bâṇa and called the *Śrî-Harsha-Charitra*, is extant. This work, however, was composed in the early part of his reign, and does not contain all the events of his life. When Hiuen Tsiang visited his court, Harshavardhana was at Kanauj, performing religious duties. But, according to Bâṇa's work, his original capital was Sthânêśvara, or the modern Thânêswar in Northern India. According to the poet, he was of the Pushyabhûti dynasty. The Chinese pilgrim says he was of *Fei-she* class, thus leading Gen. Cunningham to think he was a Vaiśya by caste.[15] He was connected by marriage both with the kings of Mâlava and the rulers of Valabhî. And he established an era of his own, known as the Śrî-Harsha Saṁvat.

Hiuen Tsiang describes Harshavardhana as a powerful king, who subdued distant peoples and made the neighbouring nations fear him, and who carried his victorious arms from the east to the west, only failing to make his power acknowledged by the people of Mahârâshṭra, which was the kingdom of Pulikêśî II. And he further states that, not only did Harshavardhana and Pulikêśî II. meet and fight, but Harshavardhana in person marched out to punish the people of Mahârâshṭra,—*i.e.* he himself headed an invasion of that kingdom.

With so powerful and warlike a king of all the region of the north, invading distant kingdoms, and oppressing and overpowering all the neighbouring nations,—and with no other king of the same name who can be referred to the same period,—we need look no further for the great lord, the illustrious Harshadêva, after whose attack protection was given to the lord of Valabhî by Dadda II. We are in fact driven to identify him with this same Harshavardhana of Thânêswar or of Kanauj, who reigned from A.D. 607 to about 648.

If, now, we refer the earliest recorded and the latest probable dates of 380 and 405 for Dadda II. to the Śaka era, we obtain A.D. 458 and 483; the latest of which is more than a hundred years too early for him to have been the contemporary of Harshavardhana. Therefore, in connection with what I have already said as to the authority of the Umêtâ and Ilâô grants, I now finally abandon the theory of the Śaka era for their dates. If, next, we refer the same dates to the Vikrama era, to the Gupta-Valabhî era as commencing, according to Gen. Cunningham in A.D. 166 or according to others, in 190, or if we refer these dates to the Valabhî-Saṁvat that

[10] *ante* Vol. VIII. p. 244.
[11] *ante* Vol. IX. p. 125.
[12] *ante* Vol. XI. p 68.
[13] *ante* Vol. VI. p. 87.
[14] Professor Max Müller seems to prefer A.D. 610 to 650; *India: What can it teach us?* p. 290. But see Reinaud, *Frag. Arab. et Pers.*, p. 139; Bendall, *Cambridge Catalogue of Bud. MSS.* int. pp. xl.f.; Hall's *Vâsuvadattâ*, int. pp. 51f.; Beal's *Bud. Rec. of West. World*, Vol. I, p. 210.—ED. *I. A.*
[15] Mr. Beal supposes he was of a clan called Vaiss or Baiss.—*Bud. Rec. W. World*, Vol. I, p. 209.—ED. I.A.

commenced in A.D. 319, we obtain in each case results incompatible with Dadda II. being contemporary with Harshavardhana. It is plain, therefore, that we must discard all these eras, and find some other epoch for the era of the Gurjara grants.

There have lately come into my hands some grants of the Gujarât branch of the Chalukya family, which require to be now fully noticed.[16]

The first of them is the published Nausâri grant, of the year 421, of the *Yuvarája* Sîlâditya-Śryâsraya.[17] And another is an unpublished Surat grant, of the year 443, of the same person.[18] Taken together, they give the following genealogy and dates :—

Pulikêśivallabha, (Pulikêśî II.)

Vikramâditya-Satyâśrâya	Jayasiṁhavarmâ-Dharâśraya.
Vinayâditya-Satyâśraya	Śîlâditya-Śryâśraya. The years 421 and 443.

In both the grants the donor is Śîlâditya Śryâśraya, with the rank of *Yuvarája*.

And another of them is an unpublished Balsâr grant, noticed by me in my paper on the Nausâri grant, which gives the following genealogy and date :—

Kîrttivarmâ I.

Pulikêśivallabha (Pulikêśî II.)

Vikramâditya-Satyâśraya.	Jayasiṁhavarmâ.
	Vinayâditya-Maṅgalarâja. Śaka 653.

The difference of more than two centuries between the year 443 as the latest date of one son, and Śaka 653 as the date of another son, of Jayasiṁhavarmâ, shows that the dates we have for Sîlâditya-Śryâśraya cannot be referred to the Śaka era. And, taking into consideration the characters in which his grants are engraved, the model according to which they were drafted, and the method in which their dates are expressed, there can be no doubt that they are to be referred to the same era as those of the Kaira, Nausâri, and Kâvî Gurjara grants.

Now the Surat grant of the year 443 opens with the verse—

Narasiṁha-vikrama[ḥ*] stuta-
vimala-yaśâ jagati vijayatê vîraḥ |
sthirabala-Vinayâdityaḥ
Satyâśrayavallabhaḥ śrîmân ||

An eulogistic verse of this kind, at the beginning of an inscription, is usually in praise of the grantor's paramount sovereign. It follows, therefore, from this Surat grant, that, as Sîlâditya-Śryâśraya was still a *Yuvarája* in 443 as he was in 421, his father Jayasiṁhavarmâ was still alive in 443; and, further, that in 443 the head of the whole Chalukya family in Western India was Vinayâditya-Satyâśraya of the Western Branch, whose capital was at Vâtâpi or Bâdâmi.

There are, it is true, two Vinayâdityas mentioned in these inscriptions. But it is impossible to confound the two, and to understand the opening verse of the Surat grant as referring to the son of Jayasiṁhavarmâ, for the following reasons,—1, because of their different second names of Satyâśraya and Maṅgalarâja ;—and 2, because, even assuming Vinayâditya-Maṅgalarâja to be the *elder* brother of Śîlâditya-Śryâśraya, it is altogether unaccountable that he should be praised in the opening eulogistic verse, and yet should be entirely passed over in the genealogy, which does mention his cousin Vinayâditya-Satyâśraya. Unless the year 443 can be shown to be of later date than Śaka 653,—and this is impossible; since, setting aside all other reasons, I have another unpublished grant which gives the date of the year 490 for Pulikêśivallabha-Janâśraya, the younger brother of Vinayâditya-Maṅgalarâja ; and this shows clearly that Vinayâditya-Maṅgalarâja must have come between 443 and 490,—the truth is that Vinayâditya-Maṅgalarâja was the *younger* brother of Śîlâditya-Śryâśraya ; and the explanation of the omission of the

[16] To this same series belong the Kaira grant of Vijayarâja or Vijayavarmâ of the year 394, Mr. Fleet's Nos. XLVI. and XLVII., *ante* Vol. VII. pp. 241ff, and the Nirpaṇ grant of Nâgavardhana, Mr. Fleet's No. LXXVI., *ante* Vol. IX. pp. 123ff. But the former contains no mention of any of the Western Chalukyas of Vâtâpi, and the latter is not dated; and, consequently, they cannot be utilised in the present discussion.

[17] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. pp. 1ff.

[18] The dates of these two, and of the two mentioned below, do not contain any details, such as the names of the days of the week, that can be made use of for the purposes of calculations.

name of the latter in the Balsâr grant, is to be sought in the fact that he died during his long *Yuvarâja*-ship and did not actually become the head of the Gujarât branch of the family, and would, therefore, ordinarily be passed over in the genealogy.

Mr. Fleet has fixed the reign of Vinayâditya-Satyâśraya as extending from Śaka 602 or 603 to Śaka 618, or A.D. 680 or 681-2 to A.D. 696-7.[19] Now,—as the Surat grant shews that in 443 Vinayâditya-Satyâśraya was the head of the Chalukya family,—so also the Nausâri grant seems to shew that Vikramâditya Satyâśraya was in the same position in 421. Consequently the year 443, but not 421, fell somewhere between Śaka 602 and 618. Taking the mean of the two, we have Śaka 610. And, deducting 443 from this, we have Śaka 166 or A.D. 244-5 as the initial year, and Śaka 167 or A.D. 245-6 as the year 1, of the era in which the dates of the Nausâri, Surat, and other similar grants are recorded.

Applying this epoch to Śilâditya-Śryâśraya's earliest date of 421, the result is A.D. 665 or Śaka 587. And this is, as required, in sufficient accordance with the date of Vikramâditya-Satyâśraya, who, as Mr. Fleet has shown,[20] was actually reigning in at any rate Śaka 592 or 593, and may perhaps have begun to rule somewhat earlier.

And applying the same epoch to the year 380, the earliest recorded date for Dadda II. of the Gurjara family, it brings him to A.D. 624, or, as is required, well into the reign of Harshavardhana of Thâneśwar or of Kanauj.

This, therefore,—with a possible margin, to be determined hereafter of a few years either way,—is the epoch that I select for the commencement of the era in which the grants of the Chalukyas of Gujarât and of the Gurjaras are dated.

It is impossible at present to say to what event this era owes its establishment. But I would hazard the conjecture that it is the era of the Trikûṭakas, of which the two hundred and forty-fifth year is mentioned in Dr. Bird's Kaṇhêri plate.[21]

Note by J. F. Fleet, Bo.C.S., C.I.E.

This Nausâri inscription records a grant which was made, according to lines 30-31, on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon that took place on the 15th day of the bright fortnight of the month Mâgha. And it further records in specific words, in line 41, that the charter was written on the same day, in the year 456 of some unspecified era. Further, lines 42-43 record the date on which the charter was made *nibaddha* or 'assigned.' The date here is recorded in numerical symbols. The symbols for the year give 456, in accordance with the full verbal statement in line 30. The name of the month and the fortnight of it, and the symbols for the lunar day, are unfortunately broken away and entirely lost. But on the analogy of the precisely similar passages in the Kâvî inscription, we are justified in assuming that the charter was made *nibaddha* on the same day on which the grant was made, and therefore in supplying here, for what has been broken away, the 15th day of the bright fortnight of Mâgha. Finally, as in the case of the Kâvî grant, the name of a week-day is here connected with the date on which the charter was made *nibaddha*. The first part of the word has been broken away and entirely lost. And the *akshara* that preceded the syllables *vârê*, was broken at the same time. But enough of it remains to show that it was indubitably *ma*. And we are therefore restricted to reading either *Sômavârê*, 'on Monday,' or *Bhaumavârê*, 'on Tuesday,'—with, *primâ facie*, a preference for the former, since *Bhaumavâra*, though frequent enough, is not so usual an expression for Tuesday as *Maṅgalavâra* is.

Accordingly, the details available for calculation are the occurrence of an eclipse of the moon on Monday or Tuesday, the 15th day of the bright fortnight, *i.e.* the full-moon day, of the month Mâgha, in the year 456 of an era, the epoch of which is thereby to be determined.

On the grounds of contemporaneous historical allusions, Paṇḍit Bhagwânlâl Indrajî has shewn above that the era must commence within a few years either way of A.D. 245.

General Cunningham has been kind enough to calculate the above details, with the result,—

[19] *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 27.
[20] *id.* the same page.

[21] No. 10 of the separate publications of the *Archæological Survey of Western India*, pp. 57ff.

after the examination of many dates both before and after the approximate period of A.D. 245,—that the only epoch that agrees for both the eclipse and the week-day, is the year A.D. 249-50, with A.D. 250-51 as the year 1 of the era.

Adding 456 to 249-50, we obtain A.D. 705-6. And, as Mâgha corresponds with January-February, the date of this grant must be in the early part of A.D. 706. In that year, the full-moon of Mâgha fell on Tuesday, the 2nd February, on which day there *was* an eclipse of the moon.

Applying the same epoch to the date of the Kâvî grant, General Cunningham obtains Sunday, the 24th June A.D. 736, as corresponding with the Sunday, the tenth day of the bright fortnight of the month Âshâḍha, or June-July, in the year 486, as recorded in that grant.

With these two coincidences, we are plainly on firm ground. And the era thus obtained is, as General Cunningham points out, the Chêdî era or the era of the K a l a c h u r i s of Tripura, which he had already fixed[22] as commencing in A.D. 249 = 0, with A.D. 250 = the year 1.[23]

In accordance with Paṇḍit Bhagwânlâl Indrajî's suggestion that the Ilâô grant may contain a genuine date in the era used in the Nausâri and Kâvî grants, falsely referred to the Saka era,—General Cunningham has calculated the details of this date also, *viz.* the occurrence of an eclipse of the sun on the new-moon day of the month Jyaishṭha, or usually May-June, in the year 417. Adding 249-50, we obtain A.D. 666-67; and the month of Jyaishṭha belonged to A.D. 666. In that year, however, there was no solar eclipse till the 25th August, which is after the recorded date and will not suit in any way. But, in the preceding year, the new-moon of Jyaishṭha fell on the 21st April A.D. 665, on which day there was an eclipse of the sun, as required; to apply it to the date of the grant, however, assumes an error of one year in the recorded date.

Text.[24]

First plate.

[1] Svasti Śrî-Kâyâvatâra-vâsakât satata-Lakshmî-nivâsa-bhûtê |§[25] trishṇâ-santâpa-hâriṇi dîn-[â*]nâtha-vi-

[2] stârit-ânubhâvê |§ dvija-kul-ôpajîvyamâna-vibhava-śâlini |§ mahati mahârâja-Karṇṇ-ânvayê |§ kamal-âkara iva râ-

[3] jahaṁsaḥ prabala-Kalikâla-vilasit-âkulita[26]-vimala-svabhâvô gambhîr-ôdâra-charita-vismâpita-sakala-lôkapâ-

[4] la-mânasaḥ paramêśvara-Śrî-Harshadêv-âbhibhûta-Valabhîpati-pati(ri)trâṇ-ôpajâta-bhramad-adabhra-śubhr-âbhra-vibhrama-

[5] yaśô-vitânaḥ Śrî-Ḍaddas=Tasya sûnur=aśaṅkit-âgata-praṇayi-jan-ôpabhukta-vibhava-sañchay-ôpachîyamâna-manô-

[6] nirvṛitik(r)=anêka-kaṇṭaka-vaṅśa-saṁdôha-durllalita-pratâp-ânalô niśita-nistriṅśa-dhârâ-dârit-ârâti-kari-

[7] kumbha-muktâphala-chchhal-ôllasita-sita-yaśô-ṅśuk-âvaguṇṭhita-digvadhû-vadana-sarasijaḥ Śrî-Jayabhaṭas=Tasy=âtmajô ma-

[8] hâmuni-Manu-praṇîta-pravachan-âdhigama-vivêka-svadharmm-ânushṭhâna-pravaṇi[27] varṇṇ-âśrama-vyavasth-ônmûlita-saka-

[9] la-Kalikâl-âvalêpaḥ praṇayi-jana-manôratha-vilaya-vyatîta-vibhava-saṁpâdan-âpanît-âśêsha-pârtthiva-dân-â-

[10] bhimânô mada-vivaś-âṅkuś-âtivartti-kupita-kari-nivâraṇa-prathita-guru-gaj-âdhirôhaṇa-prabhâvô vipat-prapâta-

[11] patita-narapati-śat-âbhyuddharaṇa-nikhila-lôka-viśruta-par-ôpakâra-karaṇa-vyasanaḥ prâchya-pratîchy-âdhirâja-

[22] *Archæological Survey of India*, Vol. IX. p. 111.

[23] This epoch was first pointed out by Dr. Fitz-Edward Hall, in *Jour. Amer. Orient. Soc.* Vol. VI. p. 501; see *ante*, Vol. IX. p. 255.—ED. *I. A.*

[24] From the original plates.

[25] This mark of punctuation is unnecessary,—also all those that follow, down to line 22.

[26] The sense requires us to correct this into *vilasit-ânâkulita*.

[27] Correct into *pravaṇô* or *pravîṇô*.

[12] vijṛimbhita-mahâ-saṁgrâma-narapati-sahasra-parivâti(ri)t-ânêka-gaja-ghaṭâ-vighaṭana-prakaṭita-bhuja-vîryya-vi-

[13] khyâta-Bâhusahây-âpara-nâmâ |§ parama-mâhêśvaraḥ samadhigatapañchamahâśabda-Śrî-Daddas=Tasya sûnur=a-

[14] nêka-samara-saṁghaṭṭa-ghana-ghaṭita-gaja-ghaṭ-âpâṭana-paṭur=asahishṇu-vana-dâvânalô dîn-ânâth-â-

[15] tura-suhṛit=svajana-bandhu-kumudâkara-kaumudî-niśâkaraḥ Bhâgîrathî-pravâha iva vipaksha-kshôbha-kshamaḥ Śântanu-

[16] r=iva samudbhûta-kalakalâ-râva-mahâvâhinî-patiḥ âdi-varâha iva sva-bhuja-bala-parâkram-ôddhṛita-dha[raṇiḥ pa]-

[17] rama-mâhêśvaraḥ samadhigatapañchamahâśabda-Śrî-Jayabhaṭaḥ kuśalî |§ sarvvân=êva râja-sâmanta-bhô[gika-vi]shaya-

[18] pati-râshṭragrâmamahattar-âdhikârik-âdîn=samanudarśayaty=Astu vaḥ saṁviditaṁ | yathâ mayê mâtâpitrôt(r)=âtma-

[19] naś=ch=aihik-âmushmika-puṇya-yaśô-bhivṛiddhayê |§ Girinagaravinirggata-Śraddhik-âgrahâravâstavya-tachchâbhu(tu)rvvidyasâmânya-

[20] Shrâvâyana[28]sagôtra-Vâjasha(sa[29])nêyaMâdhyandinasabrahmachâri-brâhmaṇaDattaputra-[30] brâhmaṇa-Dêvasvâminê |§ asmat-kṛi-

[21] ta-prakâśanâma-Kallumbarâya |§ bali-charu-vaiśvadêv-âgnihôtr-âtithi-pañchamahâyajñ-âdi-kriy-ôtsarppaṇ-â-

[22] rtthaṁ |§ Kôrillâ-pathak-ântarggata-Śamîpadraka-grâmê |§ pûrvvôttara-sîmni chatush-shashṭi-bhû-nivarttana-pramâṇaṁ

Second plate.

[23] [kshê]tra[ṁ] |§ yasy=âghâṭanâni pûrvvatô Gôlikâ-grâma-sîmâ-sandhiḥ [|*] dakshiṇatô Yamalakhallar-âbhidhâ-

[24] na-taḍâkaṁ[31] |§[32] tathâ mahattara-Mahêśvara-satka-kshêtraṁ |§[33] nâpita-Dêvaka§ sa[t*]-ka-vâpaka-kshêtrañ=cha |§ aparataḥ Śamî-

[25] padraka-grâmâd=êva Dhâhaddha-grâma-yâyî panthâḥ |§ uttaratô Baruṭakhallar-âbhidhâna-taḍâkaṁ |§[34] tathâ

[26] Kôrillâ-vâsi-brâhmaṇa-Narmma-satka-brahmadêya-kshêtrañ=cha |§ êvam=idaṁ chatur-âghâṭan-ôpalakshita[ṁ*] kshêtraṁ |§[35] sôdraṅgaṁ |§ sôpa-

[27] rikaraṁ |§ sa-bhûta-pâ(vâ?)ta-pratyâyaṁ |§ sa-dhânya-hiraṇy-âdêyaṁ |§ sa-daś-âparâdhaṁ |§ s-ôtpadyamâna-vishṭî(shṭi)kaṁ |§ gṛiha-sthâvara-chala-

[28] ka-|§-rathyâ-|§-pravêśa-|§-nirggama-|§-sagara-|§-chatushpada-prachâra-|§-vâpî-|§-kûpa-|§-taḍâka-|§-padr-ôpajîvya-samêtaṁ |§ sarvva-râ-

[29] jakîyânâm=ahastaprakshêpaṇîyaṁ |§ pûrvva-pratta-dêvabrahmadâya-rahitaṁ |§ bhûmi-chchhidra-nyâyên=â-chandr-ârkk-ârṇṇa-

[30] va-kshiti-sarit-parvvata-samakâlînaṁ |§ putra-pautr-ânvaya-kram-ôpabhôgyam=adya Mâgha-śuddha-pañchadasyâṁ |§ chandr-ôpa-

[31] râgê |§ puṇya-tithâv=udak-âtisarggêṇa brahmadâyatvêna pratipâditaṁ |§ Yatô=sy=ôchitayâ |§[36] brahmadâ-

[32] ya-sthityâ bhuñjataḥ kṛishataḥ karshayataḥ pratidiśatô vâ na kaiśchid=vyâsêdhê varttitavyam=Âgâmi-bhadra-nṛi-

[28] Some correction or other is needed here; since, if the first syllable is *shrâ* (and the upper member of the compound consonant does resemble *sh* more than anything else), and the second is *vâ*, then the nasal of the fourth syllable ought to be *na*, not *na*. The nearest name that suggests itself is *Brâdhnôyana*.

[29] In the original, the engraver first omitted this *sa* altogether. He then inserted another *ja* between *vâ* and *ja*, and attempted to alter the original *ja* into *sa*; but, in doing so, he really converted it into *sha*.

[30] The engraver first formed *brâ* here, and then converted it into *tra*.

[31] The usual form is *taṭâkaṁ* or *taḍâgaṁ*.

[32], [33], and [34] In each case, the mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

[35] This mark of punctuation is unnecessary,—also all those that follow, down to the first mark in line 31.

[36] and [37] In each case, the mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

I

Gurjara Grant of Jayabhata III.—The year 456.

J. F. Fleet, Bo. C.S.

From the original plates

Scale ½ of the original.

PHOTOZINCOGRAPHED AT THE SURVEY OF INDIA OFFICES, CALCUTTA, MARCH 1884.

II

[33] patibhir=asmad-vaṁśyair=anyair=vv=âyam=asmad-dâyô=numantavyaḥ pâlayitavyaś=cha |§ Yaś=ch=âjñâna-timira-paṭal-â-

[34] vṛita-matir=âchchhindyâd=âchchhidyamânaṁ v=ânumôdêta |§[37] sa pañchabhir=mmahâ-pâtakaiḥ s-ôpapâtakaiḥ saṁyuktaḥ syâd=ity=U-

[35] ktañ=cha bhagavatâ vêda-vyâsêna Vyâsêna | Shashṭiṁ varsha-sahasrâṇi svarggê tishṭhati bhûmi-daḥ |§ âchchhêttâ ch=ânumantâ

[36] [cha] tâny=êva narakê vasêt || Vindhy-âṭavîshv=atôyâsu dhu(śu)shka-kôṭara-vâsinaḥ | krishṇ-âhayô hi jâyantê bhûmi-dâ-

[37] [naṁ ha]ranti yê || Bahubhir=vvasudhâ bhuk[t*]â râjabhiḥ Sagar-âdibhiḥ | yasya yasya yadâ bhûmis=tasya tasya tadâ phalaṁ ||

[38] [Agnêr=a]patyaṁ prathamaṁ suvarṇṇâṁ bhûr=vvaishṇavî sûryya-sutâś=cha gâvaḥ | lôkatrayaṁ têna bhavêt=tu dattaṁ yaḥ kâñchanaṁ gâṁ

[39] [cha mahîṁ cha] dadyât || Yân=iha dattâni purâ narêndrair=ddânâni dharmm-ârttha-yaśas-karâṇi | nirbhukta-mâlya-pratimâ-

[40] [ni tâni kô] nâma sâdhuḥ punar=âdadîta || Sva-dattâṁ para-dattâṁ vâ yatnâd=raksha Yudhishṭhira | mahîṁ matimatâṁ śrêshṭha

[41] [dânâch=chhrêyô=nu]pâlanaṁ || Saṁvatsara-śata-chatushṭayê shaṭ-pañchâśad-uttarakê Mâgha-śuddha-pañchadaśyâṁ likhitam=idaṁ

[42] . . . . bhôgika-putra-mahâbalâdhikṛita-Kêśavên=êti || Balâdhikṛita-Bâvulla-dûtakaṁ || Saṁ 400 50 6

[43] [Mâgha śu 10 5 Sô(?)]ma[38]vârê |§ nibaddham ||

[44] Sva-hastô mama Śrî-Jayabhaṭasya ||

Translation.

Hail! From the excellent camp of Kâyâvâtâra:—

(L. 1.)—In the great lineage of the great king Karṇa,—which became the perpetual abode of Lakshmî; which allayed the misery (*produced by*) desires; the dignity of which was amplified by (*giving relief to*) the poor and the helpless; (*and*) which possessed wealth that supported families of Brâhmaṇs,—(*there lived*), like a swan in a group of lotuses, the illustrious Dadda, whose pure mind was not agitated by the freaks of the mighty Kali age; who, by his wise and noble deeds, struck the minds of all kings with wonder; (*and*) over whom, with the grace of a white cloud, there hung ceaselessly a canopy of glory gained by protecting the lord of Valabhî who had been defeated by the great lord, the illustrious Harshadêva.

(L. 5.)—His son (*was*) the illustrious Jayabhaṭa, whose mental happiness increased as his stores of wealth were enjoyed by needy men coming (*to him*) without fear; the fire of whose valour was fierce enough to burn up numbers of inimical dynasties;[39] (*and*) who veiled the lotus-like faces of the women who were the distant quarters with the white cloth of (*his*) glory that shone out in the guise of the pearls from the temples of the elephants of (*his*) enemies, rent open by the edge of (*his*) sharp sword.

(L. 7.)—His son (*was*) the illustrious Dadda, who attained the five great titles,—who was proficient in the scriptures compiled by the great sage Manu, and in discrimination, and in the performance of his own religious duties; who destroyed all the arrogance of the Kali age by the proper management of the *varṇas* and *âśramas*; who abolished the arrogance about (*their*) charity of all (*other*) kings by acquiring (*again*) the wealth that had been spent (*by him*) in putting an end to the desires of needy people; whose valour in mounting mighty elephants was rendered famous by (*his*) holding in check infuriated elephants which were lost to all control through rut and which rebelled against the goad; whose habit of benevolence was famous among all people through (*his*) assisting hundreds of kings who were afflicted by misery; whose other name of Bâhusahâya[40] was made famous by the

[38] Enough of this letter remains on the broken edge of the plate to show indubitably that it was *ma*. It is, of course, a matter of conjecture whether the preceding *akshara* was *sô* or *bhau*; but *sô* is the more probable of the two. The preceding letters are supplied with the help of the passage in lines 30-31, and on the analogy of the corresponding passages in the Kâvî grant.

[39] The secondary meaning applies to a fire burning up thorns and bambus.

strength of (*his*) arm that was displayed in tearing through innumerable hosts of elephants that surrounded thousands of kings in the great wars waged with the great kings of the east and of the west; (*and*) who was a most devout worshipper of (*the god*) Mahêśvara.

(L. 13.)—His son, the illustrious Jayabhaṭa, who has attained the five great titles,—who is clever in tearing through the troops of elephants thickly arrayed in the clash of numerous battles; who is a very forest-fire to quarrelsome people; who is the friend of the poor and the destitute and the sick; who is a full-moon to the groups of lotus-like relations and friends; who, like the stream of (*the river*) Bhâgîrathî, is able to confound (*his*) enemies; who, like Śântanu, is the lord of a great army full of a buzzing and humming sound; who, like the pristine boar,[41] has raised up the earth (*from the power of evil kings*) by the might of his own arm; (*and*) who is a most devout worshipper of (*the god*) Mahêśvara,—being in good health, thus commands all kings, nobles, chiefs, lords of districts, headmen of subdivisions and villages, officers, &c.:—

(L. 18.)—"Be it known to you that, for the increase of the religious merit and fame, both in this world and in the next, of (*my*) parents and of myself, a field of the measure of sixty-four *nivartanas* of land in the north-east boundary in the village of Śamîpadraka which is included in the Kôrillâ *pathaka*,—the boundaries of which (*field*) are, on the east, the boundary of the village of Gôlikâ; on the west, the tank called Yamalakhallara,[42] and the field belonging to the headman Mahêśvara, and an irrigated[43] field belonging to the barber Dèvaka; on the west, the road that goes to the village of Dhâhaddha from the village of Śamîpadraka; (*and*) on the north, the tank called Baruṭakhallara, and the field which is a *brahmadâya* and belongs to the Brâhmaṇ Narma who lives at Kôrillâ,—this field, thus defined as to its four boundaries,—together with the *udraṅga* and the *uparikara* and the *bhûtavâtapratyâya*; with its income in grain and gold; with (*the proceeds of fines for*) the ten faults; with the right to forced labour: with the houses, immovables, movables, streets, entrances, exits, oceans (?), pasture for four-footed animals, step-wells, wells, tanks, and those who live on the skirts of the village;[44] not to be meddled with by any royal officer; exclusive of former grants made to gods and Brâhmaṇs; according to the familiar reasoning of the ground and the sky;[45] to continue as long as the moon and the sun and the ocean and the earth and the rivers and the mountains endure; (*and*) to be enjoyed in succession by sons, son's sons, and heirs,—has to-day, on the holy occasion of an eclipse of the moon on the fifteenth day of the bright fortnight of (*the month*) Mâgha, been given by me, as a *brahmadâya*, with copious libations of water,—for the purpose of performing the *bali*, the *charu*, the *vaiśvadêva*, the *agnihôtra*, the *atithi*, the five great sacrifices, &c.,—to the Brâhmaṇ Dêvasvâmî, familiarly called by Us Kallumbara, who came from (*the city of*) Girinagara; who is an inhabitant of the *agrahâra* of Śraddhikâ; who belongs to that community of *Chaturvêdis*; who is of the (?) Shrâvâyanasa[46] *gôtra*; who is a religious student of the *Vâjasanêya-Mâdhyandina* (*śâkhâ*); and who is the son of the Brâhmaṇ Datta.

(L. 31.)—"Wherefore no one should behave so as to obstruct him when enjoying (*it*), cultivating (*it*), causing (*it*) to be cultivated, or entrusting (*it to any one else*), in accordance with the proper conditions of a *brahmadâya*. (*And*) this Our gift should be assented to and preserved by future good kings, whether of Our lineage or others. And he shall incur the guilt of the five great sins, together with the minor sins, who, having (*his*) mind obscured by the thick darkness of ignorance, may confiscate (*this grant*) or assent to its confiscation!"

(L. 34.)—And it has been said by the holy Vyâsa, the arranger of the *Vêdas*:—The giver

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40 'He whose (*only*) helper was his arm.'

41 Vishṇu, in his incarnation as such.

42 *Khallara* seems to be a *dêśî* word, then in use, and meaning 'a pond.'

43 *Vâpaka* seems to mean a field which, by means of irrigation, yields a *rabi* crop of rice, &c., after the *kharif* crop has been gathered.

44 Some of these details can hardly refer to the field, but must have been inserted through carelessly adhering to the draft for the grant of some whole village.

45 *Bhûmichchhidra-nyâya*; the meaning is that the grant was to include everything below the soil, and everything above the ground up to the sky.

46 See note 28, p. 78 above.

of land dwells for sixty thousand years in heaven; (*but*) the confiscator (*of a grant*), and he who assents (*to such confiscation*), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! Those who confiscate a grant of land, are born as black snakes, dwelling in the dried-up hollows of trees, in the forests of the Vindhya (*mountains*), destitute of water! The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; he who for the time being possesses the earth, to him belongs at that time the reward (*of this grant that is now made*)! Gold is the first offspring of the fire; the earth belongs to Vishṇu; and cows are the daughters of the sun; he who bestows gold and a cow and land, by him the (*entire*) three worlds are given! Those grants, productive of religion and wealth and fame, which have been made here by former kings, are like garlands that have been used; what good man would take them back again? O Yudhishṭhira, best of the wise!, carefully preserve land that has been given, whether by thyself or by another; the preservation (*of a grant*) is better than (*making*) a grant!

(L. 41.)—This has been written by Kêśava, who is in charge of the great army, the son of the *Bhôgika* . . . ., in the year four hundred, increased by fifty-six, on the fifteenth day of the bright fortnight of (*the month*) Mâgha. It has for its messenger the military officer Bâvulla. Prepared in the year 400 (*and*) 50 (*and*) 6; [in the bright fortnight of Mâgha; (*on the day*) 10 (*and*) 5]; on (?) Monday.[47] (*This is*) the sign-manual of me, the illustrious Jayabhaṭa.

SANSKRIT AND OLD-CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo. C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

(*Continued from p.* 48.)

No. CXXXIX.

Three inscriptions of the Gurjara family have now been published in this Journal,—by Dr. Bühler, the Umêtâ grant of Dadda II., dated in Śaka 400, on the full-moon day of the month Vaiśâkha;[1] and the Kâvî grant of Jayabhaṭa III., dated in the year 486 of an unspecified era, on Sunday the tenth day of the bright fortnight of the month Ashâḍha;[2] —and by Paṇḍit Bhagwânlâl Indrajî, the Nausâri grant of Jayabhaṭa III., dated, in the same way, in the year 456 of an unspecified era, at the time of an eclipse of the moon on the full-moon day of the month Mâgha, and, apparently, also on Tuesday corresponding with the same day.[3]

And three inscriptions of the same family have been published elsewhere,—by Professor J. Dowson, the two Kaira grants of Dadda II., dated respectively in the year 380 of an unspecified era, on the fifteenth day of the bright fortnight, or the full-moon day, of the month Kârttika, and in the year 385 of an unspecified era, on the full-moon day of the month Kârttika;[4]—and by Professor R. G. Bhâṇḍârkar, the Ilâô grant of the same person, dated in the Śaka year 417, at the time of an eclipse of the sun on the new-moon day of the month Vaiśâkha.[5]

The last three grants require to be treated more critically than they have been; and I therefore now re-edit them in this Journal.

The two Kaira grants of Dadda II. were found about A.D. 1827, together with the grant of Vijayarâja or Vijayavarmâ of the Chalukya dynasty,[6] and one more, the details of which are not specified. "The river 'Watrua' runs close to the walls" of Khêḍâ or Kaira, "on the north-west side, and was the cause of the discovery, by washing down the walls and earth." The original plates appear to have been all presented by Dr. A. Burns to the Royal Asiatic Society, but only the grant of Vijayarâja is now forthcoming. I therefore

[47] See note 38, p. 79 above.

[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. pp. 61ff.—General Cunningham calculates the date as corresponding with Monday, the 3rd April, A.D. 478.

[2] *Id.* Vol. V. pp. 109ff.—With reference to the remarks that I have published in Vol. XII. pp. 292-93, Paṇḍit Bhagwânlâl Indrâjî assures me, from his personal examination of the plate, that the second numerical symbol is certainly 80, and not 90.

[3] *ante*, pp. 70ff.

[4] *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, N. S., Vol. I. pp. 247ff.—A mixture of these two grants was published before that, by Mr. James Prinsep, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VII. pp. 908ff. His division of the text follows the grant of 380 down to line 24 inclusive, but the grant of 385 from line 25 to the end, except that it gives the date of 380, not of 385. After the last word *Praśântarâgasya* || of the two grants, it adds *Sâmanta-Datta*(sic)*ḥ tasya putraḥ Vîtarâg-âpara-nâmâ Śrî-Jayabhaṭaḥ tasya putraḥ Praśâṅga*(sic)*râgaḥ brâhmaṇêbhyô bhûmiṁ dadau*; but there is no foundation for any such passage in the lithographs published with Professor Dowson's paper.

[5] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. pp. 19ff.

[6] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. pp. 241ff.

re-edit these two Gurjara grants from the facsimiles published with Professor Dowson's paper.

The first of these facsimiles shows two plates, each about $11\frac{1}{2}''$ long by $9\frac{3}{8}''$ broad. It does not suffice to show whether the edges of the plates were fashioned thicker or raised into rims to protect the writing, or not. At the lower right-hand corner, a largish piece is broken off the first plate; and, at the upper left-hand corner, a small piece is broken off the second plate. With these exceptions, the plates are well preserved, and the inscription is very legible. The facsimile is a good one, but shows many omissions and inaccuracies, which may be errors in the original, or may only be due to imperfections of the lithograph; being in doubt as to which cause they are to be attributed to, I have had to treat them for the most part as errors in the original. The plates have holes for two rings; but the facsimile shows one ring only. It is about $\frac{1}{4}''$ thick, and of irregular shape like the rings of the Valabhî grants. The seal on the ring is roughly circular, about $1\frac{1}{2}''$ in diameter; and it has, in relief on a countersunk surface, some device, the meaning of which is not apparent, but which may perhaps be some emblem of sun-worship, and, below this device, the legend *Sâmanta-Dadda*, in the same characters as the body of the grant.[7] The language is Sanskrit throughout.

The inscription is of the time of Dadda II., also called Praśântarâga. It is dated, in both words and numerical symbols, in the year 380 of an unspecified era, on the fifteenth day of the bright fortnight, *i.e.* the full-moon day, of the month Kârttika. The charter is issued from Nândipurî, which Dr. Bühler has identified with an old fort of that name, just outside the Jhadêśwar gate to the east of Broach,[8]—but which Paṇḍit Bhagwânlâl Indrajî prefers to identify with the modern Nândôd in the Râjpipla State;[9] and it records a grant of the village of Śirîshapadraka, in the *vishaya* or province of Akrûrêśvara. Dr. Bühler has identified Akrûrêśvara with the modern Aṅklêśwar or Aṅkulêśwar, the chief town of a Tâlukâ of the same name in the southern part of the Broach District.[10] And Śirîshapadraka would seem to be the modern 'Sisodra' in the Aṅklêśwar Tâlukâ.[11]

Text.[12]

First plate.

[1] Ôm Svasti Nândîpuritô [|*] Vividha-vimala-guṇa-ratna-sampâ(pa)d-udbhâs[i]ta-sakala-di[ṅ]mukhê paritrât-âś[ê]sha-sapaksha-[mah]â-mahîbhṛiti

[2] satatam=avilaṅghit-âvadhau sthairyya-gâ[m]bhi(bhî)ryya-lâvaṇyavati mahâ-satvatay=ât[i]-duravagâhê Gurjjara-nṛipati-vaṅśa-mah-[ô]dadhâ(dhau) Śrî-sahajanmâ Kṛi-

[3] shṇahṛiday-âhit-âspadaḥ kaustubha-maṇir=iva vimala-yaśô-dîdhiti-nikara-vinihata-Kali-timira-nichayaḥ sat-pakshô Vainatêya iv=âkṛishṭa-śatru-

[4] Nâga-kula-saṁtatir=utpattita êva dinakara-charaṇa-kamala-praṇâm-âpanît-âśêsha-durita-nivahaḥ sâmanta-Daddaḥ [|*] pratidinam=apêta-śaṅkaṁ yêna

[5] sthitam=achala-guṇa-nikara-kêsari-virâj[i]ta-vapushâ vinihat-âri-gaja-kumbha-vigalita-muktâphalô(la)-chchhala-pranî(kî)rṇṇa-vimala-yaśô-vitânêna rûp-ânu-

[6] rûpaṁ satvam=udvahatâ kêsari-kiśôrakêṇ=êv=ôpari kshitibhṛitâṁ [|*] yaṁ ch=âtimalina-Kaliyuga-timira-chandramasam=anu-divasam=any[ô*]nya-sparddhay=[ê*]v=â-

[7] yayuḥ kalâ-samûh-âdayô guṇâ vikram-ânîta-mada-vilâs-âlasa-gatayô=râti-gaja-ghaṭâḥ pra-madâś=cha [|*] yasya ch=âvirata-dâna-

[8] pravâha-prîṇit-ârtthi-madhukara-kulasya ruchira-kîrtti-vaś-âsahâyasya satatam=askhalita-padaṁ prasarataḥ sad-vaṅś-âhita-śôbhâ-gauravasya

[9] bhadra-mataṁgajasy=êva kara-ghâta-vinihata-kshitibhṛid-unnata-tanûruhasya Rêvâ-nir-jjhara-salila-prapâta-madhura-ninadasya bhag-ôdbha-

[7] In his paper on the Ilâô grant, Professor Bhâṇḍârkar has doubted the correctness of the facsimiles of the seals of the two Kaira grants, because they give the legend *Sâmanta-Dadda*, without the use of the honorific prefix *śrî*. But there appears to be no reason whatever for this doubt, as precisely the same reading *Sâmanta-Dadda* occurs, though in respect of Dadda I., in line 4 of the text of the same two grants.

[8] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 62.

[9] Page 73 above.

[10] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 113.—The name Akulêśvara, evidently denoting the same place, occurs in line 14 of the Ilâô grant, No. CXLI. below.

[11] *Postal Directory of the Bombay Circle*, p. 271.

[12] From the lithograph which accompanies Prof. J. Dowson's paper in the *Jour. R. A. S.*, N. S., Vol. I pp. 247ff.

[10] vâḥ samunnata-payôdhar-âhita-śriyô dayitâ iva mudê *Vindhya-nag-ôpatyakâ* [|*] yaś=ch=ôpamîyatê śaśini saumyatva-vaimalya-śôbhâ-kalâ-

[11] bhir=nna kalaṅkêna Śrî-nikêta-śôbhâ-samuday-âdhaḥkṛita-kula-kaṇṭakatayâ kamal-âkarê na paṅkajanmatayâ satv-ôtsâha-vikramair=mṛigâdhirâ-

[12] jê na kru(krû)r-âśayatayâ lâvaṇya-sthairyya-g[â*]mbhîryya-sthity-anupâlanatayâ mah-ôdadhô(dhau) na vyâl-âśrayatayâ sat-kaṭaka-samunnata-vidyâdhar-âvâ-

[13] satayâ Hima[â*]chalê na khasha(śa[13])-parivâratayâ [|*] yasya cha sad-bhâ(bhô)gaḥ Śêsh-ôragasy=êva vimala-kiraṇa-maṇi-śat-âvishkṛita-gauravaḥ sakala-jagat-sâdhâra-

[14] ṇô [|*] yasya prakâśyatê sat-kulaṁ *śîlêna* prabhutvam=âjñayâ śastram=arâti-praṇipâtêna kôpô nigrahêṇa prasâdaḥ pradânair=dharmmô dêva-dvijâ[14]ti-gu-

[15] ru-jana-saparyyay=êti [||*] Tasya sûṇu(nu)ḥ pratapta-ruchira-kanak-âvadâtaḥ kalpa-tarur=iv=[â*]viratam=abhika(ru)chita-phala-pradaḥ satatam=ṛitu-gaṇasy=êva

[16] vasanta-samayô vasanta-samayasy=[ê*]va pravik[â*]sita-nibiḍa[15]-chûtataru-van-âbhôgaḥ sarasa iva kamala-nivahaḥ kamala-nivahasy=êva

[17] prabôdhô mahâ-vishadharasy=êva maṇir=mmaṇêr=iva svachchha-târa-bhâvô mah-ôdadhêr=iv=âmṛita-kalaśô=mṛita-kalaśasy=êv=âmaraṇa-dâyitva-

[18] prabhâvaḥ kariṇaḥ iva madaḥ pramadâ-janasy=êva vilâsô vibhavasy=êva sat-pâtra-viniyôgô dharmmasy=êva kratuḥ kratôr=iva sva-da-

[19] kshiṇâ-kâlaḥ prêmṇa iva sad-bhâvaḥ śaśina iv=âmala-kalâ-samûhô niyatam=alaṁkâra-bhûtaḥ sakala-niśâkar-[â*]bhiru(rû)pa-

[20] vadanaḥ śaklô vadânyaḥ prabala-ripu-bal-ânîka-samara-samavâpta-vijaya-śrîḥ Śrî-Vîtarâg-âpara-nâmâ Śrî-Jayabhaṭaḥ [|*] Kali-

[21] pratipaksha-bhayâ[ch]=chharaṇ-ârtthina iva yam=[â*]śri(śri)tâḥ sa-vinayâ guṇâḥ [|*] sphurita-vimala-kîrtti-saudâmaṇi(ni)nâ yêna sakala-jîva-lô[k-â]-

[22] nanda-kâriṇâ kâla-valâhakên=êv=âvandhyê(ndhya)-phalaṁ garjjatâ praṇayinâm=apanî-tâs=tṛishṇâ-saṁtâpa-dôshâḥ [|*] yaś=cha śûrô=pi [satata]-

[23] m=ayaśô-bhi(bhî)rur=apagata-tṛîpṇô(shṇô)=pi guṇ-ârjjan-âvichchhinna-tarshaḥ sarvva-pra-dâṇâ-śîlô=pi para-yuvati-hṛidaya-dâna-par[â*]ṅmukhaḥ pa[tur=api para]-

[24] parivâd-âbhidhâna-jaḍa-dhîḥ [|*] yasya cha na virôdhi rûpaṁ śîlasya yauvanaṁ sad-vṛittasya vibhavaḥ pradânasya tri(tri)-vargga-sêvâ pa[raspar-âpîḍana]:

[25] sya prabhutvaṁ ksh[â*]ntêḥ Kali-kâlô guṇânâm=iti [||*] Tasya sûnuḥ sajala-ghana-paṭala-nirggata-rajanikara-kar-âvabôdhita-k[umuda-dhavala]-

[26] yaśaḥ-pratân-âsthagita-nabhô-maṇḍalô=nêka-samara-saṁkaṭa-pramukh-âgata-nihata-śatru-sâ-manta-kulavadhû-dra(pra)[bhâtasama]-

[27] ya-rudita-chchhal-ôdgîyamâna-vimala-nistriṁśa-prâtapô dêva-dvijâti-guru-charaṇa-na(ka)-mala-praṇâm-ô[dghṛishṭa-vajra]-

[28] maṇi-kôṭi-ruchira-dîdhiti-virâjita-mukuṭ-ôdbhâsita-śirâ dîn-ânâth-âtur-âbhyâgat-ârtthijan-âklish[ṭ]a-[paripûri]-

[29] ta-vibhava-manôrath-ôpachîyamâna-trivishṭap-aika-sahâya-dharmma-sa[ṁ]chayaḥ praṇaya-pari[kupita]-

[30] mâninîjana-praṇâma-pûrvva-madhura-vachan-ôpapâdita-prasâda-prakâśîkṛita-vidagdha-nâga-raka-

Second plate.

[31] [s]v[a]bhâv[ô] v[i]mala-guṇa-kiraṇa-paṁjar-âkshipta-bahala-Kali-timira-nichayaḥ samadhi-gata-pañcha-mahâśabdaḥ Grî(śrî)-Daddaḥ

[32] kuśalî sarvvân=êva râja-sâmanta-bhôgika-vishayapati-râshṭragrâmamahattar-âdhikârik-âdîn=samanubôdha-

[13] The reading is the same, *khasha*, in No. CXL. l. 13. Prof. Dowson suggested the emended reading *khaśa*, which I adopt.

[14] Here, and in the same word in l. 27, the *â* is attached, somewhat unusually, to the top stroke of the *j*, instead of to the middle stroke as in, for instance, *ajñâna*, l. 45, and *jâyantê*, l. 48 In the corresponding four cases in No. CXL., it is attached uniformly to the middle stroke.

[15] We have here a somewhat rare form of *ḍa*. It occurs again in *jaḍa-dhîḥ*, l. 24, *maṇḍalô*, l. 26, *Dauṇḍakîya*, l. 37, and *Kauṇḍinya* l. 38. It does not occur in No. CXL.

[33] yaty=Astu vô viditam=asmâbhir=Akkrû(krû)rêsvara-vishay-ântarggata-Śirîshapadrakaṁ[16] êsha grâmaḥ s-ôdraṅgaḥ s-ôparikaraḥ

[34] sarvv-âdâna-saṁgrâhyaḥ sarvva-ditya-vishṭi-prâtibhêdikâ-parihînô bhûmi-chchhidra-nyâyên=â-châṭa-bhaṭa-prâvêśya â-chandr-ârk-ârṇṇava-

[35] kshiti-sthiti-samakâlînaḥ putra-pautr-ânvaya-bhôgyô Jaṁbûsarôvinirggat-Âkkrû(krû)-rêsvaravishayântarggataGi(śi)rîshapadrakavâsi-bahvṛicha-Va-

[36] tsasagôtr-Âśvalâyanasabrahmachâri-brâhmaṇa-Bhaṭṭy-âdhâpaka | tathâ Gôpâditya | tathâ Bhaṭṭigaṇa | Viśâkha | Agniśarmma | Drôṇa | Kâśyapasa-

[37] gôtra-Bhaṭṭidâma | tathâ Vatra | adhva[r*]yyu-Vâjasanêya-Ḍauṇḍakîyasagôtra- |[17] Kaṇva-sabrahmachâri-brâhmaṇa-Tâpiśa[r*]mma | dvi[18]-Tâpiśarmma |

[38] Dattasvâmi | Bhâgisvâmi | Pitṛiśarmma | Bhaṭṭi | Drôṇa | Dhûmṛiâ(mrâ)yaṇa-sagôtra-Karkk[19]-âdhyâpaka | Âbuka | Kauṇḍinyasagôtra-Vâṭaśarmma | Śaila |

[39] Ghôsha | Mahâdêva | Bâva | Mâṭharasagôtra-Dhara | Viśâkha | Nandi | Râmila | Hâritasagôtra-Dharmmadhara | Chhândôgya-Bharadvâjasagôtra-Kauthuma-

[40] sabrahmachâri-brâhmaṇa-Indraśarmma | Âdityaravi | Tâpiśûra | Indraśûra | Îśvara | Dhara | Dâmadhara | dvi-Îśvara | Bharukachchhavinirggata-Bherajjikâ-

[41] nivâsi-A(â)tharvvaṇa-Chaulisagôtra-Pippalâdasabrahmachâri-brâhmaṇa-Bhadra | Vâyu-śarmma | Drôṇasvâmi | Rudrâditya | Pûrṇṇasvâmi | êbhyaś=chatu-

[42] ś-charaṇa-brâhmaṇêbhyaś=châturvvidya-parikalpanâ-pûrvvaṁ bali-charu-vaiśvadêv-âgni-hôtra-paṁchamahâyajñ-âdi-kriy-ôtsarppaṇ-ârtthaṁ mâtâpitrôr=âtmanaś=cha pu-

[43] ṇya-yaśô-bhivṛiddhayê Kârttiky[â]m=udak-âtisarggêṇ=âtisṛishṭô [|*] Yatô=smad-vaṁśyair=anyair=vv=âgâmi-bhôgapatibhiḥ prabala-pavana-prêrit-ôdadhi-jala-taraṁ-

[44] ga-chaṁchalaṁ jîva-lôkam=abhâv-ânugatân=asârân=vibhavân=dîrggha-kâla-sthêyasaś=cha guṇân=âkalayya sâmânya-bhôga-bhû-pradâna-phal-êpsu-

[45] bhiḥ śaśikara-ruchiraṁ yaśaś=chirâya chichîshubhir=ayam=asmad-dâyô=numantavyaḥ pâla-yitavyaś=cha [|*] Yô v=âjñâna-timira-paṭal-âvṛita-mati-

[46] r=âchchhindyâd=[âch]chhidyamânakaṁ v=ânumôdêta sa paṁchabhir=mmahâpâtakaiḥ s-ôpa-pâtakaiḥ saṁyuktaḥ sy[â*]d=Uktaṁ cha bhagavatâ vêda-vyâsêna

[47] Vyâsêna || Shashṭi-varsha-sahasrâṇi svarggê tishṭhạti bhûmi-daḥ âchchhêttâ ch=ânuma-ntâ cha tâny=êva narakê vasêt || Vindhy-âṭavîshv=atôyâsu

[48] śushka-kôṭara-vâsinaḥ kṛishṇ-âhayô hi jâyantê bhûmi-dâyaṁ haranti yê || Bahubhir=vvasudhâ bhuktâ râjabhiḥ Sagar-âdibhiḥ yasya ya-

[49] sya yadâ bhûmis=tasya tasya tadâ phalaṁ || Yân=îha dattâni purâ narêndrair=ddânâni dharmm-[â*]rttha-yaśas-karâṇi | nirbhukta-mâlya-pratimâ-

[50] ni tâni kô nâma sâdhuḥ punar=âdadît=êti || Saṁvatsara-śata-trayê=śîty-adhikê Kârttika-śuddha-pañchadaśyâṁ likhitaṁ sandhivigrahâ[20]dhika-

[51] raṇâdhikṛita-Rêvêṇa sva-mukh-âjñay=êti || Saṁ 300 80 Kârttika śu 10 5 [||*]

[52] Di[21]nakara-charaṇ-ârchchana-ratasya Śrî-Vîtarâga-sûnôḥ sva-hastô=yaṁ Praśântarâgasya ||

Translation.

Ôm! Hail! From (*the city of*) Nândîpurî:—[22]

(L. 1.)—In the lineage, like to the great ocean, of the Gurjara[23] kings,—which irradiates all the faces of the regions with the wealth of (*its*) various and spotless virtuous qualities, (*as the ocean does with its jewels*); which protects all the great kings who are (*its*) adherents, (*as the ocean protects all the great mountains, which, by taking refuge in it, are still possessed of their wings*); which al-

[16] This *Anusvâra* is a mistake.

[17] This mark of punctuation is unnecessary; especially standing, as it does, in the middle of a word.

[18] sc. *dvitîya*.

[19] The second *k* is here represented, somewhat unusually, by an almost entire *ka* below the upper one, instead of by a stroke across the lower part of the upper *ka*. A similar instance, occurs in *arkka*, in l. 18 of the Nirpaṇ grant, No. LXXVI., Vol. IX. pp. 123ff.

[20] These two letters, *grahâ*, were engraved over two other letters that had been engraved and partially cancelled by beating in.

[21] This line is in current-hand characters. They differ somewhat from those of the attestation of the Umêtâ grant.—The attestation of No. CXL. also is in current-hand characters; they approach more to those of the Umêtâ grant, than to those of the present grant. The attestation of the Ilâô grant, No. CXLI., is *not* in current-hand characters.

[22] The context is (l. 31) *Śrî-Daddaḥ kuśalî sarvvân=êva* * * * * * * (l. 32) *samanubôdhayati*. All the genealogical portion, down to l. 25, is of the nature of a parenthesis.

[23] See Vol. XII. p. 157, note 7.

ways abstains from breaking agreements, (*as the ocean abstains from transgressing its boundaries*); which (*like the ocean*) is possessed of stability and profundity and beauty;[24] (*and*) which, by reason of being possessed of great nobility, is difficult to be invaded, (*as the ocean, by reason of having great creatures in it, is difficult to be plunged into*),—(*there was*) the *Sâmanta* Dadda, who,—like the *kaustubha*-jewel[25] born along with Śrî (*and*) resting over the heart of Kṛishṇa,—dispelled the mass of the darkness of the Kali age with the multitude of the rays of (*his*) spotless fame; who, being possessed of good adherents, uprooted the descendants of the hostile family of the Nâgas, just as Vainatêya,[26] possessed of excellent wings, uprooted the offspring of the hostile family of the serpents; (*and*) who, even from birth, had all sin[27] removed by performing obeisance to the feet, which are like waterlilies, of the sun. Day by day he stood free from apprehension,[28]—having a body adorned by a multitude of immovable virtues, as that of a lion is adorned by the mass of the firm threads (*of its mane*), (*and*) having the canopy of his spotless fame spread abroad in the guise of the pearls that trickled down from the foreheads of the elephants of (*his*) enemies that were slain (*by him, as by a lion*), (*and*) maintaining toward (*other*) kings an excellence of disposition, suitable to (*his*) beauty, as a young lion maintains on the mountains a vigour suitable to (*its*) form. The virtues, consisting of (*the knowledge of*) the collection of the fine arts, (*as of the digits of the moon*), &c., (*and*) the troops of the elephants of his enemies and (*their*) lovely women, having a lazy gait of rut and of wantonness induced by (*his*) prowess, day after day, as if through mutual rivalry, betook themselves to him, the moon of the darkness of the extremely sullied Kali age. The lands lying round the feet of the Vindhya (*mountains*), as if they were wives productive of married happiness (*and*) carrying beauty on (*their*) lofty breasts, (*were*) for the pleasure of him who, like an excellent elephant, pleased the swarm of bees which were petitioners with the ceaseless flow of his charity which was like rut, (*and*) who reduced (*even*) those who were not (*his*) adherents to submission by (*his*) brilliant fame, (*and*) who always moved without any tripping of the foot, (*and*) whose splendour and dignity were maintained by (*his*) excellent lineage, (*and*) who had the hairs of (*his*) body erected (*in pleasure caused*) by the (*hostile*) kings being slain by the blows of his hand, (*and*) whose voice was as sweet as (*the sound of*) the falling waters of the cataracts of the (*river*) Rêvâ. He was to be compared with the moon in respect of placidity and purity and lustre and accomplishments (*like the digits of the moon*), (*but*) not in respect of any stain (*like a spot on the moon*),—with a pool of waterlilies in respect of having all family-troubles (*like thorns*) overcome by the plentiful glory of (*being*) the abode of Śrî,[29] (*but*) not in respect of being born from the mud,—with a lion, in respect of vigour and energy and prowess, (*but*) not in respect of being full of cruelty,—with the ocean, in respect of being possessed of beauty[30] and stability and profundity and endurance and (*power of*) protection, (*but*) not in respect of being the asylum of wicked people (*like snakes*),—(*and*) with (*the mountain*) Himâchala, in respect of being the abode of excellent cities (*like mountain ridges*) and noble men of learning (*like demigods*), (*but*) not in respect of being surrounded by degraded warriors (*like the mountainous regions round Himâchala*). Like the excellent coils of the serpent Śêsha, his excellent wealth, the greatness of which was manifested by hundreds of jewels of spotless rays, (*was*) common to the whole world. The excellence of his family was declared by (*his*) character,—his sovereignty, by (*his habit of*) command,—his (*knowledge of the use of*) weapons, by the submission of (*his*) enemies,—his anger by (*his infliction of*) punishment,—his favour, by (*his*) charities,—(*and*) his piety, by (*his*) worship of the gods and the twice-born and spiritual preceptors.

[24] "Or saltness."

[25] The *kaustubha*-jewel, which Vishṇu (Kṛishṇa) wears on his breast, was produced, at the same time with the goddess Śrî, when the ocean was churned in order to obtain the nectar.

[26] Garuḍa.

[27] Or "danger, misfortune."

[28] The relative construction is still continued in the original, ll. 4 to 15; but it is more convenient to avoid it in the translation. The whole passage is full of double meanings which it is not always possible to introduce conveniently or completely into the translation.

[29] Compare No. CXXXIII., l. 34-35, Vol. XII. p. 251.

[30] Or "saltness."

(L. 15.)—His son (*was*) Śrî-J a y a b h a ṭ a, whose other name was Śrî-V î t a r â g a,—who was as pure as heated glittering gold; who, like the *kalpa*-tree, incessantly conferred (*all*) desired objects; who was always like the season of spring (*in the cycle*) of the seasons; who was like a grove of dense mango-trees in full bloom of the season of spring; who was like an assemblage of waterlilies of a lake; who was like the blossoming of an assemblage of waterlilies; who was like the jewel of a great poisonous snake; who was like the pellucid clearness of a jewel; who was like the pot of nectar of the great ocean; who was like the power of conferring immortality of a pot of nectar; who was like the rut of an elephant; who was like the sportive dalliance of lovely women; who was like the application of wealth to worthy objects; who was like the sacrifice of religion; who was like the time of the distribution of alms of a sacrifice; who was like the good quality of affection; who was like the collection of spotless accomplishments (*which were as the digits of the moon*); who was always decorated with ornaments; whose face was like the full-moon; who was affable; who was gentle of speech; (*and*) who had acquired the goddess of victory in battle against powerful enemies. As if longing for protection from fear of the enemy which was the Kali age, the virtues with humility betook themselves to him.[31] The evils of thirst and heat of supplicants were removed by him, as by a dark-blue cloud, having for the lightning (*his*) glittering pure fame, (*and*) causing the happiness of all living beings, (*and*) pouring forth fertile fruits. Though he was a hero, he was always apprehensive of (*incurring*) disgrace. Though he was destitute of avarice, his thirst for the acquisition of virtue never ceased. Though he was characterised by perfect liberality, he was averse to destroying the hearts of the wives of other men.[32] Though he was eloquent, he was slow-minded in applying abusive epithets to his opponents (*in argument*). His beauty was not obstructive of (*good*) character; (*nor*) his youth, of good behaviour; (*nor*) his wealth, of liberality; (*nor*) his pursuit of the *trivarga*, of their failing to conflict with each other;[33] (*nor*) his sovereignty, of patience; (*nor his living in*) the Kali age, of (*his possession of*) meritorious qualities.

(L. 25.)—His son, Śrî-D a d d a, who has attained the *pañchamahâśabda*,—who has covered the expanse of the sky with the creeping plant of (*his*) fame, which is as white as a waterlily awakened by the rays of the moon when it has come out of a mass of water-laden clouds; the prowess of whose spotless sword is (*always*) being loudly proclaimed by the weeping in the morning of the wives of the hostile *Sâmantas* who have been slain when they came out against (*him*) in the dangers of many battles; whose head is irradiated by a tiara that is decorated with the lustrous rays of a *crore* of diamonds (*in it*) which are scratched by performing obeisance to the feet, which are like waterlilies, of gods and the twice-born and spiritual preceptors; who possesses a store of religion, the sole help to (*obtaining*) paradise, that is (*always*) being increased by satisfying the desire for wealth of poor people and the helpless and the sick and strangers and supplicants and people in distress; whose clever and versatile nature is manifested by the favour, induced by (*his*) honeyed speeches preceded by respectful obeisances, of passionate women who are made angry by (*their*) affection (*for him*); (*and*) who has cast the dense darkness of the Kali age into the cage of the rays of (*his*) spotless virtues,—being in good health, thus informs all the *râjas*, *sâmantas*, *bhôgikas*, *vishayapatis*, *râshṭramahattaras*, *grâmamahattaras*, *âdhikârikas*, and others:—

(L. 33.)—"Be it known to you! This village of S i r î s h a p a d r a k a, in the *vishaya* of A k r û r ê ś v a r a, has been allotted by Us, with copious libations of water, on the full-moon day of (*the month*) Kârttika, in order to increase the religious merit and the fame of (*Our*) parents and of Ourself,—for the purpose of continuing the *bali*, the *charu*, the *vaiśvadêva*, the *agnihôtra*, the five great sacrifices, and other rites preceded (*as a primary object* ?) by providing for the community of *Chaturvêdîs*,[34] together with the *udrañga* and the *uparikara*;

[31] See note 28 above.

[32] The play is on the two meanings of *dâna*,—'giving,' and 'cutting, or destroying.'

[33] In *paraspar-ôpîḍanasya*, l. 24-5, the last part of the compound must be *apîḍana*, not *âpîḍana*. He was supposed to practise the *trivarga*, or the practice of religion, the enjoyment of pleasure, and the acquisition of wealth, without allowing any one of them to interfere with the others.

[34] Or perhaps 'by providing for (*the study of*) the four *Vêdas*.'

. . . . ., ... ;[35] without everything that is to be cut, and (*the right to*) forced labour, and the *prâtibhêdikâ* ;[36] (*to be held*) by the rule of *bhûmichchhidra* ; not to be entered by the irregular or the regular troops ; to continue as long as the moon and the sun and the ocean and the earth (*may endure*) ; (*and*) to be enjoyed by the succession of sons and son's sons,—to these Brâhmaṇs of four *charaṇas*,[37] (*viz.*) the Brâhmaṇ Bhaṭṭi, the *Adhyâpaka*, who started from (*the town of*) Jambûsaras,[38] who dwells at Śirîshapadraka in the *vishaya* of Akrûrêśvara, who is of the Bahvṛicha (*śâkhâ*), who is of the Vatsa *gôtra*, and who is a religious student of the Âśvalâyana (*charaṇa*), and also Gôpâditya, and Bhaṭṭigaṇa, and Viśâkha, and Agniśarmâ, and Drôṇa,—Bhaṭṭidâmâ, of the Kâśyapa *gôtra*, and also Vatra,—the Brâhmaṇ Tâpiśarmâ, the *Adhvaryu*, who is of the Vâjasanêya (*śakhâ*), who is of the Dauṇḍakîya *gôtra*, and who is a religious student of the Kaṇva (*charaṇa*), and the second Tâpiśarmâ, and Dattasvâmî, and Bhâgisvâmî, and Pitṛiśarmâ, and Bhaṭṭi, and Drôṇa,—Karka, the *Adhyâpaka*, who is of the Dhûmrâyaṇa *gôtra*, and Âbuka,—Vâṭaśarmâ, who is of the Kauṇḍinya *gôtra*, and Śaila, and Ghôsha, and Mahâdêva, and Bâva,—Dhara, who is of the Mâṭhara *gôtra*, and Viśâkha, and Nandî, and Râmila,—Dharmadhara, who is of the Hârita *gôtra*,—the Brâhmaṇ Indrasarmâ, the *Chhândôgya*, who is of the Bharadvâja *gôtra*, and who is a religious student of the Kauthuma (*charaṇa*), and Âdityaravi, and Tâpiśûra, and Indraśûra, and Îśvara, and Dhara, and Dâmadhara, and the second Îśvara,[39]—and the Brâhmaṇ Bhadra, who started from (*the town of*) Bharukachchha, who dwells at Bherajjikâ, who is versed in the Atharva-*Vêda*, who is of the Chauli *gôtra*, and who is a religious student of the Pippalâda (*charaṇa*), and Vâyuśarmâ, and Drôṇasvâmî, and Rudrâditya, and Pûrṇasvâmî.

(L. 43.)—"Wherefore, this Our gift should be assented to and preserved by future governors,[40] whether of Our lineage or others, who are desirous of the general reward of giving a grant of enjoyment or of land, (*and*) who are desirous of acquiring, (*so as to retain*) for a long time, fame as lustrous as the moon,—bearing in mind that the world of living beings is as unsteady as the waves of the water of the ocean driven forward by a mighty wind, (*and*) that riches are attended by (*liability to*) non-existence (*and*) are frail, and that meritorious qualities endure for a long time. He shall incur the guilt of the five great sins, together with the minor sins, who, having his mind obscured by the thick darkness of ignorance, may confiscate (*this grant*), or assent to its confiscation!"

(L. 46.)—And it has been said by the holy Vyâsa, the arranger of the *Vêdas*:—The giver of land dwells for sixty thousand years in heaven; (*but*) the confiscator (*of a grant*), and he who assents (*to such confiscation*), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! Those who confiscate a grant of land, are born as black snakes, dwelling in the dried-up hollows of trees, in the forests of the Vindhya (*mountains*), destitute of water! The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; he who for the time being possesses the earth, to him belongs at that time the reward (*of this grant that is now made*)! Those grants, productive of religion and wealth and fame, which have been made here by former kings, are like garlands that have been used; what good man would take them back again ?

(L. 50.)—Written by the *Saṁdhivigrahâdhikaraṇâdhikṛita* Rêva, at the command of (*Our*) own mouth, in the year three hundred increased by eighty, on the fifteenth day of the bright fortnight of (*the month*) Kârttika. The year 300 (*and*) 80; the bright fortnight of Kârttika; (*the day*) 10 (*and*) 5.

(L. 52.)—This (*is*) the sign-manual[41] of Praśântarâga, the son of Vîtarâga, who delights in worshipping the feet of the sun.

[35] The meaning of *sarvv-âdâna-saṁgrâhyaḥ* is not apparent.'

[36] ? 'the right of cleaving or lopping trees.'—Or perhaps this passage may mean "without any interruption of (*the right to*) everything that is to be cut and (*the right to*) forced labour."

[37] The four *charanas* are those of Âśvalâyana (l. 36), Kaṇva (l. 37), Kauthuma (l. 39), and Pippalâda (l. 41).

[38] In No. XLVI. l. 11-12, (Vol. VII. pp. 241ff), the form of this name is Jambûsara; so also in l. 9 of the cancelled grant on the back of the same plates, No. XLVII. (*id.* pp. 251ff.) In No. CXL. l. 35, the same form occurs as is here.

[39] According to the present inscription, these three men,—Dhara, Dâmadhara, and the second Îśvara,—seem to belong to the Bharadvâja *gôtra*. But in No. CXLI. l. 38-9, they are said to belong to the Lâkshmaṇya *gôtra*.

[40] *Bhôgapati*; lit., 'lords of possession.'

[41] *Sva-hasta*, lit., 'the own hand.'

No. CXL.

The second of Prof. Dowson's facsimiles of the Kaira grants of Dadda II. shews two plates, each about $10\frac{1}{8}''$ long by $7\frac{1}{8}''$ broad. It does not suffice to show whether the edges of the plates were fashioned thicker, or raised into rims to protect the writing, or not. The plates are well preserved, and the inscription is for the most part very legible. The accuracy of the text is subject to the same remarks as in the case of No. CXXXIX. The plates have holes for two rings, but the facsimile shows one ring only. It is about $\frac{1}{8}''$ thick, and of irregular shape, like the rings of the Valabhî grants. The seal on the ring is roughly circular, about $1\frac{3}{16}''$ in diameter; and it has, in relief on a countersunk surface, the same emblem or device as the seal of No. CXXXIX., and below it the same legend, *Sâmanta-Dadda*. The language is Sanskrit throughout; and, down to line 31, the text agrees almost word for word with the text of No. CXXXIX.

The inscription is of the time of Dadda II., otherwise called Praśântarâga. It is dated, in both words and numerical figures, in the year 385 of an unspecified era, on the fifteenth day of the bright fortnight, or the full-moon day, of the month Kârttika. Like No. CXXXIX., the charter is issued from Nândîpuri. And it records a grant of the same village of Śirîshapadraka, in the *vishaya* or province of Akrûrêśvara. The object of this second grant, made only five years after the preceding one, is not quite apparent. The first grant was made to forty Brâhmaṇs; the names of thirty-two of them are repeated in the present grant, the persons omitted being Vâṭaśarmâ and Mahâdêva of the Kauṇḍinya *gôtra* (No. CXXXIX. l. 38-9), Indraśarmâ of the Bharadvâja *gôtra* (*id.* l. 40), and Bhadra, Vâyuśarmâ, Drôṇasvâmî, Rudrâditya, and Pûrṇasvâmî of the Chauli *gôtra* (*id.* l. 41); and two new names are introduced, *viz.* (l. 37) Vâḍa of the Vatsa *gôtra*, and (l. 40) Indraśûra of the Dhûmrâyaṇa or Dhaumrâyaṇa *gôtra*,—thus making up the number of thirty-four grantees, as stated in l. 40. The names are arranged,—not according to *charaṇas*, as in No. CXXXIX.—but according to *gôtras*; and three persons,—Dhara, Dâmadhara, and the second Îśvara,—who, according to No. CXXXIX. l. 40, seemed to belong to the Bharadvâja *gôtra*, are here said (l. 38-9) to belong to the Lâkshmaṇya *gôtra*. And the words *châturvvidya-parikalpanâ-pûrvvaṁ*, in l. 42 of No. CXXXIX., are omitted in the present grant. In other respects the present grant was made to the same persons, for the same purposes, and under the same conditions, as the grant recorded in No. CXXXIX.

Transcription.[42]

First plate.

[1] Ôm Svasti Nândîpurîtô [|*] Vividha-vimala-guṇa-ratna-sampad-udbhâsita-sakala-diṅ-mukhê paritr[ât-â]śêsha-sapaksha-mahâ-mahi(hî)bhṛiti satatam=av[i*]laṅghi-

[2] t-[â]vadhau sthairyya-gâmbhi(mbhî)ryya-lâvaṇyavati mahâ-satvatay=âti-duravagâhê Gurjjara-nṛipati-vaṁśa-mah-ôdadhau Śrî-sahajanmâ Kṛishṇa-hṛiday-âhit-â-

[3] spadaḥ [kau]stubha-maṇir=iva vimala-yaśô-dîdhiti-nikara-di(vi)nihata-Kali-timira-nichayaḥ sat-pakshô Vainatêya iv=âkṛishṭa-śatr[u]-Nâga-kula-santat[i*]-

[4] r=utpattita êva dinakara-charaṇa-kamala-praṇâm-âpani(nî)t-âśêsha-durita-nivahas=sâmanta-Daddaḥ [|*] pratidinam=ap[ê]ta-śaṅka[ṁ] yê[43]na sthitam=achala-

[5] guṇa-nikara-kêsari-virâjita-vapushâ vinihat-âri-gaja-kumbha-vigalita-muktâphala-chchhala-prakîrṇṇa-vimala-yaśô-vitâve(nê)na rûp-ânurû-

[6] paṁ satvam=udvahat[â] kêsari-kiśôrakêṇ=êv=ôpari kshitibhṛitâṁ [|*] yâñ=ch=âtimalina-Kaliyuga-timira-chandramasam=anudivasam=anyâ(nyô)ynya-sparddhay=ê-

[7] v=âyayuḥ kalâ-samûh-âdayô guṇâḥ vikkra(kra)m-ânîta-mada-ti(vi)lâs-âlasa-gatayô=râti-gaja-ghaṭâḥ pramadâś=cha [|*] yasya ch=âvirata-

[8] [dâ]n-âdi(?)[44]-pravâha-prîṇit-ârtthi-madhukaku(ra)-kulasya ruchira-kîrtti-vaś-âsahâyasya satatam=askhalita-padaṁ prasarataḥ sad-vaṁś-âhita-śôbhâ-

[42] From the lithograph which accompanies Prof. J. Dowson's paper in the *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, N. S., Vol. I. pp. 247ff.

[43] Some letter, of which *y* was a constituent part, appears to have been engraved between this *yê* and *na*. Probably the *yê* was repeated by mistake, and then partially cancelled.

[44] In No. CXXXIX. l. 7-8, the reading is *dâna-pravâha*. Here the syllable *nâ* is quite distinct, and there is a rather indistinct letter between it and *pra*, which can hardly be anything except *di*.

[9] gâ(gau)ravasya bhadra-mataṅgajasy=êva kara-ghâta-vinihata-kshitibhṛid-unnata-tanûru-[has]ya Rêvâ-nirjjhara-salila-prapâta-madhura-ninâdasya[45]

[10] bhag-â(ô)dbhavâs=samunnata-payôdhar-âhita-śriyô dayitâ iva mudê Vindhya-nag-ôpatyarâ-(kâ)ḥ [|*] yaś=ch=ôpamîyatê śaśini saumya[tva*]-vaimalya-śôbhâ-ka-

[11] lâbhir=una kalaṅkêna Śrî-nikêta-śôbhâ-samuday-âdhaḥ[46]krita-kula-kaṇṭakatayâ kamal-âkarê na paṅkajanmatayâ | satv-ôtsâha vikkra(kra)mair=mṛi(mmṛi)-

[12] gâdhirâjê na krûr-âśayatayâ | lâvaṇya-sthairryya-gâmbhîryya-sthity-anupâlanatayâ mah-ôdadhau na vyâl-âśrayatayâ | sat-kaṭaka-pa(sa)-

[13] munnata-vidyâdhar-âvâsatayâ Himâda(cha)lê na khasha(śa)-ya(pa)rivâratayâ | yasya cha sad-bhôgaḥ Śêsh-ôragasy=êva vimala-kiraṇa-maṇi-śat-âvishkṛita-

[14] gauravas=sakala-jagat-sârâ(dhâ)raṇô | yasya prakâśyatê sat-kulaṁ śi(śî)lêna | prabhu-tvam=âjñayâ | śastram=arâti-praṇipâtêna | kôpâ(pô) nigrahêṇa |

[15] prasâdaḥ pradânair=ddharmmô dêva-dvijâti-gurujana-saparyyay=êti |(||) Tasya sûnuḥ pratapta-ruchira-kanak-âvadâtaḥ kalpatarur=iv=âviratam=a-

[16] bhiruchita-phala-pradaḥ satatam=ṛitu-gaṇasy=êva vasanta-samayô vasanta-samayasy=êva pravik[â*]sita-nibiḍa-chûtataru-van-âbhôgaḥ sarasa iva

[17] kamala-nivahaḥ kamala-nivahasy=êva prabôdhô mahâ-vishadharasy=êva maṇir=mmaṇêr=iva svachchha-târa-bhâvô mah-ôdadhêr=iv=âmṛita-kalaśô=mṛita-ka-

[18] laśasy=êv=âmaraṇa-dâyitva-praśâ(bhâ)vaḥ kariṇa iva madaḥ pramachâ(dâ)-janasy=êva vilâsô vibhavasy=êva sat-pâtra-viniyôgô dharmma-

[19] sy=êva kratuḥ kratôr=iva sva-dakshiṇâ-kâlaḥ prêmṇa iva sad-bhâvaḥ śaśina iv=âmala-kalâ-samûhô niyatam=alaṅkâra-bhûtaḥ sakala-

[20] niśâkar-âbhirûpa-vadanaḥ śaklô vadânyaḥ prabala-ripu-bal-ânîka-samara-samavâpta-vijaya-śrîḥ Śrî-Vîtarâg-âpara-nâmâ Śrî-Jara(ya)bha-

[21] ḍha(ṭa)[47]ḥ [|*] Kali-pratipaksha-bhayâch=chharaṇ-ârtthina iva yam=âśritâḥ sa-vinayâ gu-ṇâḥ [|*] sphurita-di(vi)mala-kîrtti-saudâmâṇi(nî)nâ yêna sakala-jî-

[22] va-lôk-ânanda-kâriṇâ kâla-valâhakên=êv=âvandhya-phalaṁ garjjatâ praṇayinâm=apahî(nî)-tâs=tṛishṇâ-santâpa-dôshâḥ [|*] yaś=cha gû(śû)rô=pi satata-

[23] m=ayaśô-bhirur=apagata-tṛishṇô=pi guṇ-ârjjan-âvichchhinna-tarshaḥ sarvva-pradâna-śîlô=pi para-yuvati-hṛidaya-dâna-parâṅmukhaḥ paṭur=api pa-

[24] ra-parivâd-âni(bhi)dhâna-jaḍa-dhîḥ [|*] yasya cha na virôdhi rûpa[ṁ*] śîlasya yau-vanaṁ sad-vṛittasya di(vi)bhavaḥ pradânasya tri(tri)vargga-sêvâ paraspar-â-

[25] pîḍanasya prabhutvaṁ kshântêḥ Kali-kâlô guṇânâm=iti |(||) Tasya sûnuḥ sajala-ghana-paṭala-nirggata-rajanikara-kar-âvabôdhi-

[26] ta-kumuda-dhavala-yaśaḥ-pratân-âsthagita-nabhô-maṇḍalô=nêka-samara-saṁkaṭa-pramukh-âgata-nihata-śatru-sâmanta-

[27] kulavadhû-prabhâtasamaya-rudita-chchhal-ôdgîyamâna-vimala-nistriṁśa-pratâpô dêva-dvijâti-guru-

Second plate.

[28] charaṇa-kamala-praṇâm-ôdghṛishṭa-vajramaṇi-[kôṭi-ruchira]-dîdhiti-virâjita-mukuṭ-ôdbhâsita-ś[i]râ

[29] di(dî)n-ânâth-âtur-âbhyâgat-ârtthijan-âklishṭa-pa[ripûrita]-vi[bhava]-manôrath-ôpachi(chî)-yamâna-trivishṭap-aikâ-sa-

[30] hâya-dharmma-sañchayaḥ praṇaya-parikupita-mânini(nî)[jana-praṇâ]ma-pûrvva-madhura-vachan-ôpapâdita-prasâda-prakâśî-

[31] kṛita-vidagdha-nâgaraka-svabhâvô vimala-guṇa-kiraṇa-pañjar-[â]ksh[i]pta-bahala-Kali-timira-nichayas=samadhigata-pañcha-

[45] In No. CXXXIX. l. 9, the reading is *ninadasya*.

[46] The *Jihvâmûlîya* occurs again in *Śrî-Daddaḥ=kuśalî*, l. 32. These are the only instances in these two plates.

[47] Whether the mistake is of the facsimile, or of the original, it is impossible to say. But we have here the sign for *ḍha*, which occurs also in *prarûḍha*, No. CXLI. l. 7, and in the same word in l. 9 of the Umêtâ grant.

[32] mahâśabda[ḥ*] Śrî-Daddah=kuśalî sarvvân=êva râja-sâmanta-bhôgika-visa(sha)yapati-râshṭragrâmamahattar-âdhikârik-âdîn=sa-

[33] manubôdhayaty=Astu vô=viditam=asmâbhir=Akr[â*]rêśvara-vishay-ântarggata-|[48]-Śirîsha-padraka |[49] êsha grâmas=sôdraṅgaḥ

[34] sôparikaraḥ sarvv-âdâna-saṅgrâhya[ḥ*] sarvva-ditya-vishṭi-prâtibhêdikâ-parihi(hî)ṇô bhû-michchhidra-nyâyên=â-châṭa-bhaṭa-prâ-

[35] vêśya â-chandr-ârkk-ârṇṇada(va)-kshiti-sthiti-samakalînaḥ putra-pautr-ânvaya-bhôgyô Jam-bûsarôvâstavya-Bharadvâjasa-

[36] gôtra-Kaṇvasabrahmachâri-brâhmaṇ-Âdityaravi | tathâ Tâpiśu(śu)ra | Indraśûra | Îśvara | tathâ Vatsa-sagôtra-Bhaṭ[ṭ*]y-i(a)-

[37] dhyâpaka | Gôpâditya | Vâḍa | Viśâkha | Agniśarmma | Bhaṭṭigaṇa | Drôṇa | Mâpha-(ṭha)rasagôtra-Viśâkha | Dhara | Nandi |

[38] Râma | Dauṇḍagî(kî)[ya*]sagôtra-Tâpiśarmma | dvi[50]-Tâpiśarmra(rmma) | Drôṇa | Bhaṭṭi | Pitṛiśarmma | Bhâgisvâmi | Dattasvâmi | Lâkshma-

[39] ṇyasagôtra-Dhara | Dâmadhara | Îśvara | Kauṇḍinyasagôtra-Bâva | Ghôsha | Śaila | Kâśyapasagôtra-Bhaṭṭidâmi(ma) | Vâ(va?)tra[51] [|*]

[40] Hârîtasagôtra-Dharmmadhara | Dhaumr[â*]yana(ṇa)sagôtra-Karkk-âdhyâpaka | Âvuka | Indraśûr-âdi-brâhmaṇêbhyaś=chatus-triṁśadbhyô

[41] bali[52]-charu-vaiśvadêv-âgnihôtra-pañchamahâyajñ-âdi-kkri(kri)y-ôtsarppaṇ-ârtthaṁ mâśâ(tâ)-pitrôr=âtmanaś=cha puṇya-yaśô-śi(bhi)vṛiddhayê Kârtti-

[42] kyâm=udak-âtisarggêṇ=âtisṛishṭô [|*] Yatô=smad-vaṁśyair=anyair=vv=[â*]gâmi-bhôga-pati-bhiḥ prabala-pavana-prêrit-ôdadhi-jala-taraṁga-

[43] chañchalaṁ ji(jî)va-lôkam=abhâv-ânugatân=asârân=vina(bha)vân=dîrggha-kâla-sthêyasaś=cha guṇân=âkalayya sâmânya-bhôga-bhû-

[44] pradâna-phal-êpsubhiḥ śaśikara-ruchiraṁ yaśaś=chirâya chichîshubhir=ayam=asmad-dâ-sô(yô)=numantavyaḥ pâlayitavyaś=cha | Yô v=âjñâ-

[45] na-timira-paṭal-âvṛita-matir=âchchhindyâd=âchchhidyamânakaṁ v=ânumôdêta sa pañcha-bhir=mmahâpâtakais=saṁyuktas=syâd=ity=Uktaṁ cha bhaga-

[46] vatâ vêda-vyâsêna Vyâsêna || Shashṭiṁ varsha-sahasrâṇi svarggê tishṭha[t]i bhûmi-daḥ âchchhêttâ ch=ânumantâ cha tâny=êva narakê vasêt [||*]

[47] Vindhy-âṭavîshv=atôyâsu śushka-kôṭara-vâsinaḥ kṛishṇ-âhayô hi jâyant[ê] bhû[m]i-d[â]yaṁ haranti yê || Bahubhir=vvasudhâ bhuktâ râjabhis=Sa-

[48] gar-âdibhiḥ yasya yasya yadâ bhûmis=tasya tasya tadâ phalaṁ || Yan=i(î)ha da[tt]âni purâ narêndrair=ddânâni dharmm-[â*]rttha-yaśas-karâṇi | nirbhukta-

[49] mâlya-pratimâni tâni kô nâma sâdhuḥ punar=âdadi(dî)ta || iti [||*] Saṁvatsara-śata-trayê pañch-âśi(śî)ty-a[dh]ikê Kârtt[i*]ka-paurṇṇamâsyâṁ

[50] likhitaṁ sandhî(ndhi)vigrahâdhikaraṇâdhikri(kṛi)ta-Rê[v]êṇa svâ-mukh-âjñay=êti [||] Saṁ 300 80 5 Kârttika bhu(śu) 10 5 [||*] Di[53]nakara-charaṇ-â-

[51] rchchana-ratasya Śrî-Vîtarâga-sû[nô]ḥ s[v]a-[hastô=yaṁ] Praśântarâgasya ||

Translation.

Ôm! Hail! From (*the city of*) Nândipurî:—[54]

(L. 1.)—In the lineage, like to the great ocean, of the Gurjara kings,—which irradiates all the faces of the regions with the wealth of its various and spotless virtuous qualities, (*as the ocean does with its jewels*); (&c., as in No. CXXXIX.),—(*there was*) the *Sâmanta* Dadda, who,—like the *kaustubha*-jewel, born along with Śrî (*and*) resting over the heart of Kṛishṇa,—dispelled the mass of the darkness of the Kali age with the multitude of the rays of (*his*) spotless fame; who, being possessed of good adherents, uprooted the descendants of the family of the hostile Nâgas, just as

[48] and [49] In each case, the mark of punctuation is unnecessary; especially in the former case, standing, as it does, in the middle of a word.

[50] sc. *dvitîya*.

[51] In No. CXXXIX. l. 37, this name is written *Vatra*.

[52] The words *châturvvidya-parikalpanâ-pûrvvaṁ*, which precede *bali* &c., in No. CXXXIX. l. 42, are omitted here.

[53] From here, to the end, is in current-hand characters. See note 21 above.

[54] See note 22 above.

Vainatêya, possessed of excellent wings, uprooted the offspring of the family of the hostile serpents; (&c., as in No. CXXXIX.)

(L. 15.)—His son (*was*) Śrî-Jayabhaṭa, whose other name was Śrî-Vîtarâga,—who was as pure as heated glittering gold; (&c., as in No. CXXXIX.)

L. 25.)—His son, Śrî-Dadda, who has attained the *pañchamahâśabda*,—who has covered the expanse of the sky with the creeping plant of (*his*) fame, which is as white as a water-lily awakened by the rays of the moon when it has come out of a mass of water-laden clouds; (&c., as in No. CXXXIX.)—being in good health, thus informs all the *râjas, sâmantas, bhôgikas, vishayapatis, râshṭramahattaras, grâmamahattaras, âdhikârikas*, and others:—

(L. 33.)—"Be it known to you! This village of Śirîshapadraka, in the *vishaya* of Akrûrêśvara, has been allotted by Us with copious libations of water, on the full-moon day of (*the month*) Kârttika, in order to increase the religious merit of (*Our*) parents and of Ourself,—for the purpose of continuing the *bali*, the *charu*, the *vaiśvadêva*, the *agnihôtra*, the five great sacrifices, and other rites,[55]—together with the *udraṅga* and the *uparikara*; . . .

. . . .

. . . ;[56] without everything that is to be cut, and (*the right to*) forced labour, and the *prâtibhêdikâ*; (*to be held*) by the rule of *bhûmichchhidra*; not to be entered by the irregular or the regular troops; to continue as long as the moon and the sun and the ocean and the earth may endure; (*and*) to be enjoyed by the succession of sons and sons' sons,—to thirty-four Brâhmaṇs, (*viz.*) the Brâhmaṇ Adityaravi, who dwells at Jambûsaras,[57] who is of the Bharadvâja *gôtra*, and who is a religious student of the Kaṇva (*charaṇa*), and Tâpiśûra, and Indraśûra, and Îśvara,—Bhaṭṭi, the *Adhyâpaka*, who is of the Vatsa *gôtra*, and Gôpâditya, and Vâḍa, and Viśâkha, and Agniśarmâ, and Bhaṭṭigaṇa, and Drôṇa,—Viśâkha, who is of the Mâṭhara *gôtra*, and Dhara, and Nandî, and Râma,—Tâpiśarmâ, who is of the Ḍauṇḍakîya *gôtra*, and the second Tâpiśarmâ, and Drôṇa, and Bhaṭṭi, and Pitṛiśarmâ, and Bhâgisvâmî, and Dattasvâmî,—Dhara, who is of the Lâkshmaṇya *gôtra*, and Dâmadhara, and Îśvara,—Bâva, who is of the Kauṇḍinya *gôtra*, and Ghôsha, and Śaila,—Bhaṭṭidâmâ, who is of the Kâśyapa *gôtra*, and Vâtra,—Dharmadhara, who is of the Hârîta *gôtra*,—and Karka, the *Adhyâpaka*, who is of the Dhaumrâyaṇa *gôtra*, and Âvuka, and Indraśûra.

(L. 42.)—"Wherefore, this Our gift should be assented to and preserved by future governors,[58] whether of Our lineage or others, (&c., as in No. CXXXIX.)"[59]

(L. 45.)—And it has been said by the holy Vyâsa, the arranger of the Vêdas:—The giver of land, (&c., as in No. CXXXIX.)!

(L. 49.)—Written by the *Saṁdhivigrahâdhikaraṇâdhikṛita* Rêva, at the command of (*Our*) own mouth, in the year three hundred increased by eighty-five, on the full-moon day of (*the month*) Kârttika. The year 300 (*and*) 80 (*and*) 5; the bright fortnight of Kârttika; (*the day*) 10 (*and*) 5.

(L. 50.)—This (*is*) the sign-manual[60] of Praśântarâga, the son of Vîtarâga, who delights in worshipping the feet of the sun.

[55] See note 52 above.

[56] The meaning of *sarvv-âdâna-saṅgrâhyaḥ* is not apparent.

[57] See note 38 above.

[58] *Bhûgapati*.

[59] Omitting the words "together with the minor sins."

[60] *Sva-hasta*, lit., 'the own hand.'

AN OLD-CANARESE INSCRIPTION AT HADALI.

BY K. B. PÂṬHAK, B. A., BELGAUM.

Hadali, a village belonging to the Râmdurg State in the Southern Marâṭhâ country, is eight miles to the east of Nargund in the Nawalgund Tâlukâ of the Dhârwâḍ District. The inscription now published is on a stone at the temple of the god Kalamêśvara. No information is forthcoming as to the sculptures on the stone. The writing covers a space of 3′ 4″ high by 2′ 2½″ broad. The characters are well formed Old-Canarese characters of the period. The language is Old-Canarese throughout.

The inscription is of the time of the Western Châlukya king Tribhuvanamalla II. or Vikramâditya VI.; and it is dated on Monday, the first day of the bright fortnight

of the month Chaitra of the Raktâkshi *saṁvatsara*, which was the ninth year of the Châlukya-Vikramavarsha,—*i.e.* Śaka 1006 (A. D. 1084-5).

The inscription first praises the Four-hundred-and-twenty *Mahâjanas* of Pardalu or Paḷdalu, which is evidently the old name of Hadali itself. It then mentions a saint named Dêvaśaktipaṇḍita, and his disciple Jñânaśaktipaṇḍita. And it then records some grants made by the latter to the god Gavareśvara and for other purposes.

Transcription.[1]

[1] Namas=tuṁga-śiraś-chuṁbi-chaṁdra-châmara-châravê | trailôkya-nagar-â-

[2] raṁbha-mûlastaṁbhâya Śaṁbhavê || Mahâdêvâya namaḥ ||*

[3] Svasti Samastabhuvanâśraya śrîprithvîvallabha mahârâjâdhirâja paramêśvaraṁ parama-

[4] bhaṭṭârakaṁ Satyâśrayakulatilakaṁ Châlukyâbharaṇaṁ śrîmat-Tribhuvanamalla-dêvara râ-

[5] jyam=uttarôttar - âbhivṛidhdhi(ddhi) - pravardhdha(rddha)mânam=â-chaṁdr - ârkka - târaṁ baraṁ saluttam=ire || Śrîmach-Châ-

[6] ḷukya-Vikrama-varshada 9neya Raktâkshi-saṁvatsarada Chaitra-su(śu)dhdha(ddha)1 Sôma vârad-aṁdu [|*] Svasti Ya-

[7] ma-niyama-svâdhyâya-dhyâna-dhâraṇa-mô(mau)n-ânushṭhâṇa(na)-japa-samâdhi-sî(śî)ḷa-saṁpannar=appa a-

[8] nâdi-saṁsidhdha(ddha)r=ggarud(t)ma-pratishṭhitar=amôgha-varsha-pratipâḷaka - dvija - kuḷa-tiḷakar=ssapta-sôma-saṁsth-âva-

[9] bhṛit(th)-âvagâhana-pavitrîkri(kṛi)ta-śarîrar shaṭ-karmma-niratar=atithi-abhyâgata-visi(śi)-shṭajana-pûj-ôtsâ-

[10] har=vvyavahâra-Chaturmmukhar=ssa(śa)raṇ-âgata-vajra-paṁjarar=âśrita-jana-kalpavṛikshar=dvâtriṁśat-sa-

[11] hasra-samay-ârgghy-ârhar Śrî-Bhairava-rakshaṇîyar=ddushṭa-nigraha-visi(śi)shṭa-pratipâ-ḷakar=appa

[12] śrîmat-Parddala nâlnûrirppadiṁbar || Śaraṇyane kâvar=ivar=ared=artthige vipra-kuḷa-pradîpar=Îśvara-

[13] charaṇâbja-bhṛiṁgar=adhikar=ssale dharmmada Mêrugaḷ=diśântara-yaśar=uttamar=gguṇa-gaṇ âgraṇigaḷ=Sara-

[14] sîjajâtanoḷ=dorey=ene lôkadoḷ=negaḷda Paḷdala sad-[d*]vijar=ĕṁ kṛit-ârtharô || Vara-vêd-âgama-śâstrada pariṇa-

[15] tiyoḷ=Ajaṁge tâme dore Padmabhava[ṁ] dore tamage peraroḷ=âvano dore vipra-kuḷa-pradîparoḷ=vasu-

[16] matiyoḷ || ||* Yama-niyama-svâdhyâya-dhyâna-dhâraṇa-mô(mau)n-ânushṭhâṇa(na)-parâyaṇar=appa [|*]

[17] Sa(śa)ta-varshaṁ tapadoḷu saṁtatam=Îśana pâdapadmamaṁ pûjisidar=kshiti-vaḷe(la)yaṁ pogaḷe guṇ-â(ô)-

[18] nnatar=enisida Dêvaśaktipaṇḍita-munipaṁ || Tat(ch)-si(chhi)śya(shya)r || Bhuvanadoḷ=negaḷda Paḷdala Gavareśvarada-

[19] lli Śivane Kâḷâmukhan=âg=avatarisidan=int=ĕṁb-aṁte-vol=iḷdar=Nnyâ[2](jñâ)naśakti-paṇḍitadêvar || Hara-chara-

[20] ṇa-sarôruha-madhukarar=ina-sama-têjar=amaḷa-châritrar=bhbhâ(bbhâ)sura-yati-hṛit-padma-sarôvara-haṁsar=Nnyâ(jñâ)na-

[21] śaktipaṇḍitadêvar || Serag=illad=îva dânadoḷ=Araviṁda-priya-tanûjanaṁ śuchitanadoḷ=Marutâtmaja-

[22] r=ĕṁb=ivaroḷ=dore paṇḍita-puṇḍarîka-vana-mârttaṇḍaṁ || Vṛi || Smara-paritâpamaṁ toredan=âśramadiṁ visha-

[1] From Mr. Fleet's ink-impression; revised by Mr. Fleet.

[2] This instance is noteworthy, as showing the current pronunciation of *jñ*.

[33] yaṁgaḷ=ellamaṁ harisidan=eṁdu lôkam=anituṁ neṟe kîrttipud=int=id=êke vâk-taruṇige sôltu mukti-

[34] vadhug=â[3]di(dhi)pan=eṁdoḍe Nyâ(jñâ)naśaktidêvara charitaṁ char-âcharadoḷaṁ bagev-âga vichitram=elliyuṁ ||

[35] Dânaṁgaḷ-oḷage vidyâ-dânamum=âhâra-dânamuṁ mêl=eṁd=î Nyâ(jñâ)-naśakti[4]-bra-(vra)tîṁdraṁ tân=eyde negartte-

[36] vaḍedan=ivaṟiṁ jagadoḷ || ||* Śrîmad-agrahâraṁ Paḷdala nâlnûṟirppadiṁbara kaiyyoḷ Nyâ(jñâ)naśakti-

[37] paṇḍitar dravya-pûrvvakadiṁ sarvva-namaśya(sya)m=âgey=ûṟiṁg=îśânyada śa(sa)trada keyyiṁ paḍuvaṇa pâḷa

[38] keyyaṁ koṇḍu Gavaṟêśvara-dêvargge biṭṭa matta[r*] 5 aydu || Mattaṁ vidyâ-dânakke Posageṟeya ba-

[39] ṭṭeyiṁ baḍaga maṇiya vîsakad=aydu mattar=Vvasugeya Ardhdha(rddha)nârîśvara-dêvara keyyiṁ paḍuva

[40] sarvva-namaśya(sya)m=âgi koṇḍu biṭṭa mattar=nnâlku || ||* Mattam=ûriṁ mûḍa Kaḍirmmidiya

[41] baṭṭeya Bûhana toṁṭadiṁ teṁka sarvva-namaśya(sya)m=âge naḍava pûvina-toṁṭaṁ matta[r*] 1 ||

[42] Int=î dharmmamaṁ nâlnûṟirppadiṁbaruṁ pratipâḷisuvar || Idan=alidaṁ Vâraṇasiyo-

[43] ḷ=sâsira kavileyumaṁ Kurukshêtradoḷ=sâsirvva[r*] brâhmaṇarumaṁ Sômêśvaradoḷ=e-

[44] kkôṭi-tapôdhanaruman=aḷida mahâ-pâtakan=akku || ||* Sâmânyô=yaṁ dharmma-sêtuṁ-(r)=nri(nṛi)pâṇâṁ kâlê kâlê

[45] pâlanîyô da(bha)vadbhiḥ | sarvvân=êtân bhâgi(vi)naḥ pârtthivêṁdrâ[n*] bhûyô bhûyô yâchatê Râmabhadra[ḥ*] ||

[46] Sva-datt[â*]ṁ para-datt[â*]ṁ vâ yô harêtî(ta) vasundharâ[ṁ*] shashṭi-rvva(va)rsha-sahasrâṇi vishṭâyâṁ jâyatê krimiḥ ||

[47] Śrîman-mahâsandhi(ṁdhi)vigrahi daṇḍanâyakaṁ Kâḷidâsabhaṭṭar=aḷiyaṁ kavitâ-manô-haraṁ kavi Taḷara-Karpp-ara-

[48] saṁ bareda ||* Vṛi ||* Janakaṁ vipra-kuḷ-âṁbara-dyumaṇi-chaṁdraṁ tây=sad-âchâra-varttini Châmâṁbike nirmmaḷ-ô-

[49] rjjita-yaśaṁ Śrî-Kâḷidâsaṁ dharâ-vinutaṁ mâvan=Umâvaraṁ sakaḷa-lôk-ârâdhyan=ârâdhyan=eṁdu nitâṁ-

[50] taṁ dhare baṇṇikuṁ budha-samûhakk=arppa(ppa)naṁ Karppana[ṁ*] || Vâstu-vidhyâ(dyâ)dharaṁ Kâvôjana barapa || ||* ||

Translation.

Salutation to Śambhu, who is adorned with the moon resembling a *chauri* resting on his lofty forehead, and who is the foundation-pillar for the erection of the city of the three worlds! Salutation to Mahâdêva!

(L. 3.)—Hail! While the reign of the glorious Tribhuvanamalladêva,—the asylum of the whole world, the favourite of Śrî and of the earth, the supreme king of great kings, the supreme lord, the most worshipful one, the glory of the family of Satyâśraya, the ornament of the Châḷukyas,—was flourishing with perpetual increase, so as to endure as long as the sun and moon and stars might last:—

(L. 5.)—In the ninth (*year*) of the glorious Châḷukya-Vikramavarsha, being the Raktâkshi *saṁvatsara*, on Monday the first day of the bright half of (*the month*) Chaitra:—

(L. 6.)—Hail! (*There were*) the Four-hundred-and-twenty (*Mahâjanas*) of the glorious Parddalu, who were endowed with the qualities of *yama, niyama, svâdhyâya, dhyâna, dhâraṇa, maun-ânushṭhâna, japa,* and *samâdhi*; who were eternal; who had established Garuḍa; who were ornaments of Brâhmaṇ families which preserved fruitful showers of rain; whose bodies were purified by ablutions after the completion of the seven *sôma-saṁsthâs*[5]; who were intent upon the six observances;

[3] The *a* is lengthened by metrical license.

[4] It has to be scanned as if written *Nyânaśakuti*.

[5] *Sôma-saṁsthâ* is the name of the fifth division of the *Jyôtishṭôma* sacrifice. The seven *sôma-saṁsthâs* alluded to, are the *Agnishṭôma, Atyagnishṭôma, Ukthya, Shôḍaśin, Atirâtra, Vâjapêya* and *Aptôryâma*

who delighted in honouring guests. strangers, and excellent people; who were like Chaturmukha in the practical concerns of life; who were a cage of thunder-bolts to those who took refuge with them; who were like the *kalpa*-tree to their dependents; who deserved worship during thirty-two thousand ceremonies; who were protected by the holy Bhairava; who punished the wicked and protected the virtuous. How blessed are the good Brâhmaṇs of Paḷdalu, distinguished in the world as rivalling Sarasîjajâta; who protected the man who sought their aid; who conferred favours on him who begged of them; who were the lights of Brâhmaṇ families; who were bees on the lotus-like feet of Îśvara; who were excellent; who resembled mount Mêru in devotion; whose fame spread to the ends of the world; who were good and great by reason of their numerous virtues. They alone were equal to Aja, on account of their proficiency in the excellent Vêdic lore and the *Śâstras*; and the Padmabhava was equal to them; who else in the world could rival these lights of Brâhmaṇ families?

(L. 16.)—The sage Dêvaśaktipaṇḍita, endowed with the qualities of *yama, niyama, svâdhyâya, dhyâna, dhâraṇa, maun-ânushṭhâna*, and exalted by virtues, performed austerities for a hundred years, and continually worshipped the lotus-like feet of Îśa to the admiration of the world.

(L. 18.)—His disciple, Jñânaśaktipaṇḍitadêva, has descended onto the earth, just as Śiva himself appeared as Kâḷâmukha in the (*temple of*) Gavaṟêśvara of Paḷdalu, renowned in the world. Jñânaśaktipaṇḍitadêva was a bee on the lotus-like feet of Hara; he was as brilliant as the sun, of pure conduct, and a swan in the lake which was the lotus-like hearts of glorious ascetics. He was like Karṇa in boundless liberality, like Mâruti in purity of conduct, and a very sun to scholars resembling a forest of lotuses. He easily vanquished the pangs of love, and subdued all the passions; and, thus praised by the world and captivated by the charms of consistent speech, he became the husband of the lady Emancipation. The life of Jñânaśaktidêva in regard to things movable and immovable, was everywhere wonderful to contemplate. Of all gifts, the gift of education and the gift of food are the best; therefore Jñânaśakti, the chief of ascetics, attained a high distinction in the world on account of these. Jñânaśakti purchased with money, and allotted into the hands of the Four-hundred-and-twenty (*Mahâjanas*) of the glorious *agrahâra* Paḷdalu, as a *sarvanamasya*-grant for the god Gavaṟêśvara, five *mattars* of waste culturable land, to the west of the culturable land of the *satra* on the north-east of the village. Also, for the purpose of giving education, (*he allotted*) five *mattars* of *maṇiyavisaka*, to the north of the road to Posageṟe, and received and allotted as a *sarvanamasya*-grant, four *mattars* to the west of the field of the god Ardhanârîśvara of Vasuge (or Hasuge). Also (*he allotted*) one *mattar* of flower-garden (*land*), to the south of the garden of Bûha on the road leading to Kaḍirmidi and to the east of the village. The Four-hundred-and-twenty (*Mahâjanas*) shall protect this act of religion!

(L. 33.)—He who destroys this, shall incur the great sin of having killed a thousand tawny-coloured cows at Vâraṇasi or a thousand Brâhmaṇs at Kurukshêtra, or a crore* of ascetics at Sômêśvara! "This bridge of religion is common to kings, and should be protected by you from time to time"; thus does Râmabhadra often entreat all future kings! He who appropriates land, whether given by himself or by another is born as a worm in ordure for sixty thousand years!

(L. 37.)—The poet Taḷara-Karpparasa,—who wrote elegant verses, and who was the son-in-law of the glorious *Mahâsaṁdhivigrahi*, the *Daṇḍanâyaka* Kâḷidâsabhaṭṭa, wrote (*this*). His father was Chandra, a very sun in the sky of a Brâhmaṇ family; his mother was Châmâmbike, who acted virtuously; his father-in-law was Śrî-Kâḷidâsa, of pure and exalted fame, praised by the world; the god worshipped by him was Umâvara, adored by the whole world;—thus did the earth ever extol Karpa, the father of a group of learned men. The writing (*is*) of Kâvôja, a very *Vidyâdhara* in architecture.

* *Ekkôṭi* is a corruption of *ekka-kôṭi*; *ekka* is a Prâkrit form of *êka*, 'one.'

THE DATE OF ŚAṄKARÂCHÂRYA.

BY K. T. TELANG, M.A., LL.B.

IN the very interesting and valuable appendix on the chronology of ancient and mediæval Sanskrit Literature, which Professor Max Müller has added to his recent lectures on *India: What it can teach us*, that learned scholar has said that we are now in possession of the date of the birth of the great philosopher, Śaṅkarâchârya.[1] On looking into the authority to which he refers for this information, we find that it is derived from a stanza in a work, the age and author of which are not specified, and the credibility of which, therefore, as a historical or chronological authority, it is not easy to determine.[2] It does appear, however, from what is said about the work by Mr. K. B. Phâṭak, who introduces it to public notice, that it must have been written some considerable time after the age in which Madhvâchârya flourished—that is to say, some considerable time after the middle of the twelfth century A.D.[3] Now the date of Śaṅkarâchârya, mentioned in this stanza being 788 A.D., I own that I am not at all prepared to accept the testimony of a work belonging, at the earliest, to about the end of the twelfth century, as anything like conclusive[4] on the point. We have no means of finding out, or of forming an opinion upon, the value of the materials from which the date was ascertained. And three hundred and fifty years is too long an interval to permit us to dispense with an examination of those materials.

In a note on Mr. Phâṭak's essay which appeared in the *Indian Antiquary*,[5] from the pen of its editor, it was pointed out that the date yielded by the stanza in question had already been mentioned by Prof. Tiele in his *History of Ancient Religions*, published in 1877. The editor, apparently, was not aware of the source from which Professor Tiele had derived his information. But in a note to my translation of the *Bhagavadgîtâ* in Prof. Max Müller's series of *Sacred Books of the East*,[6] I had suggested it as probable that the source was the *Âryavidyâsudhâkara* of the late lamented Yajñêśvara Śâstrî. The words of the stanza quoted by that venerable scholar,[7]—whose recent death is an almost irreparable loss to us all—coincide very nearly with the words of the stanza as published by Mr. Phâṭak. They are not, however, quoted by Yajñêśvara Śâstrî as from any particular author, but as what is said by the संप्रदायविद:—those conversant with tradition. This does not by any means enhance the weight due to the stanza as a historical authority. Yajñêśvara Śâstrî also quotes another stanza from Bhaṭṭa Nîlakaṇṭha's *Śaṅkaramandârasaurabha* which gives the same date; but I am unable to say whether that work was sufficiently near in time to Śaṅkarâchârya to be worthy of acceptance as an authority of much weight.

Now, these stanzas may, perhaps, be provisionally accepted as useful evidence, in default of all other, but even thus they must be received with caution, until we are in possession of their credentials, and then their value must be judged of from the character of such credentials. The necessity of caution is illustrated by the history of this very question of the age of Śaṅkarâchârya. In the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. VII, p. 282, we have an extract from the *Kêralôtpatti*[8] which yields 400 A.D., as the year of Śaṅkara's birth. It also states that Śaṅkara died when he was 38 years of age, while Mr. Phâṭak's stanzas state his age to have been then only 32, and on this circumstance is based a story which is recorded in Mâdhava's *Śaṅkaravijaya*.[9] Which of these two statements are we to accept? On what historical grounds

[1] *Vide* pp. 354-360.

[2] See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XI, p. 174.

[3] See Yajñêśvara Śâstrî's *Âryavidyâsudhâkara*, p. 226; Gôpâlâchârya Karhâdkar's *Bhâgavatabhûshana*, p. 3; and Conf. Barth's *Religions of India*, p. 195; Burnell's *South Indian Palæography*, p. 42.

[4] It is due to Mr. Phâṭak to state that he does not put forward on behalf of the stanza in question any claim so high as Professor Max Muller seems to have done.

[5] See vol. XI, p. 263.

[6] See p. 27. M. Barth refers to Weber's *Indische Studien*, vol. XIV, p. 373, but the date there given is avowedly taken from the *Âryavidyâsudhâkara*.

[7] P. 226.

[8] For an estimate of the *Kêralôtpatti* see Mr. Sewell's *Sketch of the Dynasties of Southern India*, p. 57.

[9] See canto vii, stanza 55. Conf. *Ânandagiri*, pp. 232-3. The editor of the *Indian Antiquary*, in the note above cited (vol. XI, p. 263), suggests that 32 years may have been the duration of Śaṅkara's active life. And Prof. Max Müller suggests that he was in his 32nd year when he became a *Saṁnyâsî*. These are very fair suggestions for a historical interpretation of the story. But the story itself is plainly that Śaṅkara's whole natural life extended to only 32 years, 16 of which he got specially by Vyâsa's favour. See Mâdhava, *loc. cit.*

is the testimony of such a work as the *Kêralôtpatti* to be rejected in favour of such stanzas as we have referred to? I will not dwell on other traditions, or even on those, and they are not few, which bear upon the date of Śaṅkarâchârya.[10] But I shall now proceed to show some specific grounds for rejecting the evidence of the stanza relied on by Prof. Max Müller.

And, first, in the *Bhâshya* of Śaṅkarâchârya on *Vêdânta Sûtra* II, 1, 17, we read as follows:—(I omit the portions which are not material for our present purpose) नहि देवदत्तः स्रुघ्ने संनिधीयमानस्तदहरेव पाटलिपुत्रे संनिधीयते युगपदनेकत्र वृत्तावनेकत्रमसंगाद्देवदत्तयज्ञदत्तयोरिव स्रुघ्नपाटलिपुत्रनिवासिनोः which may be thus freely rendered into English: "For Dêvadatta cannot be at Srughna, and on the same day at Pâṭaliputra, because for simultaneous existence in more than one place, the things themselves must be more than one, as Dêvadatta and Yajñadatta residing at Srughna and Pâṭaliputra."

Now it seems safe to infer from this passage, that both Srughna and Pâṭaliputra must have been in existence at the time when it was written. The gist of the argument is plainly in the distance of the two places named being such that a man who is in one of them on one day cannot on the same day be also in the other. And such a distance could not be predicated of any two places like these, unless both of them were real existing places at the time.[11] Now the evidence has been indicated above, which shows that Pâṭaliputra was destroyed by a river inundation about the middle of the 8th century A.D.[12] If that evidence can be accepted, it follows that the author of the passage above set out must have flourished before 756 A.D., and if so, it further follows that he cannot have been born in 788 A.D., as we are told in the stanzas above alluded to.

But the evidence available on the date of Śaṅkarâchârya does not rest here. In the *Bhâshya* on the same *sûtra* we read:—(I again drop the portions not material to this inquiry.)

सतोर्हि द्वयोः संबंधः संभवति न सदसतोरसतोर्वा। अभावस्य च निरुपाख्यत्वात्प्रागुत्पत्तेरिति मर्यादाकरणमनुपपन्नम्। सतां हि लोके क्षेत्रगृहादीनां मर्यादा दृष्टा नाभावस्य। नहि वंध्यापुत्रो राजा बभूव प्राक्पूर्णवर्मणोऽभिषेकादित्येवंजातीयकेन मर्यादाकरणेन निरुपाख्यो वंध्यापुत्रो राजा बभूव भवति भविष्यति इति वा विशेष्यते[13]॥

This may be thus rendered:—"For there can be a relation predicated between two real things, not between two unreal things, or between one real and one unreal thing. And non-entity being an unreal thing, a limit such as is indicated in the words, 'before creation,' cannot with propriety be stated regarding it. For, in practical life, we see limits of real things, such as fields and houses, not of non-entity. Thus we cannot predicate of that unreal thing—the son of a barren woman—that he was, is, or will be king, with such a limit as this—viz. a son of a barren woman was king before the coronation of Pûrṇavarmâ."

It is not necessary for our purpose to further explain Śaṅkara's argument. It is enough to

[10] See *inter alia* Barth's *Religions of India*, p. 89 note, and see also the *Kavicharitra*, pp. 6 and 7. One of the dates there given (p. 6) is stated to have been deduced by the late Dr. Bhâu Dâjî from a stanza like those referred to but not at all so explicit

[11] See also *Sârîraka Bhâshya* (*Bibl. Ind.* ed.) p. 1093, where Srughna, Pâtaliputra, and Mathurâ are mentioned together. This lends some support to the argument in the text. It may, of course, be suggested (Conf. *Ind. Ant.* vol. IV, p 245) that these may have been merely conventional examples, as Srughna, Mathurâ, and Pâtaliputra are all referred to in various places in Patañjali's *Mahâbhâshya*, for instance, and at least once in a similar context. Conf. *Mahâbhâshya*, as quoted by Professor Weber, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. VI, p. 353. But in the first place, the example as given by Śaṅkara, is adapted to the requirements of his particular argument, not merely repeated *verbatim* from Patañjali; secondly, the examples in Patañjali belong to a period when Pâṭaliputra was still in existence (conf. as to this Professor Bhândârkar's view in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. I, p. 311); while after 756 A.D., according to the evidence referred to, the illustration, even if a conventional one, would have ceased to illustrate anything in such an argument as Śaṅkara's, and therefore would scarcely have been employed in the context we have here.

[12] See Cunningham's *Arch. Surv. Report*, vol. VIII, pp. xiii, 20ff.; vol. XI, p. 154ff.; *J. R. A. S.*, vol. VI, p. 459; *J. A. S. B.* vol. XVII, p. 35. But see, too, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XI, p. 19, where the original passage is differently rendered. The discrepancy is vital on this point, but though the paper in the *Antiquary* professes generally to be a reprint of that in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, no explanation is given of this discrepancy. It is to be hoped that this matter will be cleared up before long by experts. For the view opposed to that stated in the text, reference may also be made to Dowson and Elliot's *Hist.*, vol. I, p. 56, and—for what it is worth—to Eggeling's *Ganaratnamahôdadhi* Part I, pp. 7, 39. As to Srughna, see Cunningham's *Arch. Surv. Report*, vol I, p. 162; vol. II, p. 226; his *Ancient Geography*, pp. 345, 452, and the map appended thereto; and *Bârhut Stûpa*, pp. 3, and 15. From the first of the passages cited, it would appear that even in Hiuen Tsiang's time Srughna was in ruins, though the foundations were still solid. As to Mathurâ, mentioned in the passage referred to in the note, see Beal's *Fa-hian*, p. 53; Cunningham's *Geography*, p. 373; *J. R. A. S.* vol. XVII, p. 120. [For Srughna, see also Pâṇini, I, 3, 25; II, 1, 24, 3 ch.; IV, 3, 25 and 86; Varâha Mihira, *Bṛih. Sanh.* XVI, 21; Hall's *Vâsavadattâ*, int. p. 51; and Beal's *Buddh. Records of the West. World*, vol. I, p. 186.—Ed. I. A.]

[13] P. 53 (*Bibl. Ind.*, ed.)

say that the parallel he draws is between two propositions, which may be thus conveniently expressed—(a), before Pûrṇavarmâ's coronation, a son of a barren woman was king; and, (b), before creation non-entity was in existence.

Now in this passage, it seems impossible to avoid the inference, that Pûrṇavarmâ here is not an ordinary Dêvadatta or Caius, but a real personage, and a king. And if we go through the various lists of kings with names ending in Varmâ, which we have from still extant records[14]—through the long lists of the Kadambas of Vanavâsî, the Pallavas of Veṅgipura, the Chandêls of Mahôba, the Maukharis of Magadha, the Utpalas of Kaśmîr, and other kings of such names in other dynasties, all aggregating upwards of sixty kings, we find the name Pûrṇavarmâ only twice. Of these one Pûrṇavarmâ is met with in two inscriptions at Java. The discoverer of the inscriptions suggests, that this Pûrṇavarmâ must be either identical with the other Pûrṇavarmâ or must have been so named after him.[15] But however that may be, I think that this Javanese Pûrṇavarmâ is not in the least likely to have been alluded to by Śaṅkarâchârya. There is then, only one Pûrṇavarmâ to whom we can apply the allusion under consideration, and this is the king of that name mentioned by Hiuen-Tsiang.[16] He was a king of Western Magadha, and as we learn from Mâdhavâchârya's book that Śaṅkara was at Bânâras just before and immediately after he actually wrote his *Bhâshya*,—having merely retired to the quiet of Badarî to write it out,[17]—we thus obtain a probable explanation of this reference to Pûrṇavarmâ, which supports the identification suggested. It is true that the *Śaṅkaradigvijaya* which has been fathered upon Ânandagiri, seems to speak of the *Bhâshya* as having been written by Śaṅkara before he left the south.[18] But the departure from the south there spoken of is the departure on his great intellectual campaign, while Mâdhava in the passage referred to, speaks of a visit to Bânâras before that campaign was commenced or thought of. The account given by the pseudo-Ânandagiri,[19] therefore, is not necessarily inconsistent with that of Mâdhava. M. Barth, too, in his recent work on *Indian Religions*, seems to be disposed to hold that Śaṅkara wrote his *Bhâshya* in the south,[20] but he adduces no specific reasons for his opinion. And on such a point as this, I am quite content to follow the guidance of Mâdhava's book, more especially because of two corroborative circumstances. In the first place, Bânâras has always held the position of the centre of religious and literary activity in this country, from the time of Buddha,[21] down to our own day. And, secondly, while Śaṅkara's works contain, so far as I have looked into them, no allusions suggestive of associations with men or things of the south, the passages above cited refer to places to the north of the Vindhyas.[22] These circumstances though not, perhaps, of much weight in themselves, are of some use as corroborating the statement of Mâdhava, which is in itself entirely free from any taint of improbability.[23]

Thus far, therefore, we have reached the conclusion that Śaṅkarâchârya's *Bhâshya* was written *after the coronation* of Pûrṇavarmâ, who was a king of the province where the *Bhâshya* was projected and first published. Can we fairly draw any further conclusion from the materials before us? Without blinking the fact that we are now getting upon somewhat debateable

[14] See *Ind. Ant.* vol. III, p. 152; vol. X, p. 249; vol. XII, p. 163; vol. II, p. 84; vol. XI, p. 322, Cunningham's *Arch. Surv. Report*, vol. V, 448; Prinsep's *U. T.* (Thomas, ed.), vol. II, p. 245; Cunningham's *Arch. Surv. Reports*, vol. XV, pp. 164-6; see, too, Sewell's *S. Indian Dynasties*, p. 43; Max Müller's *India: What it can teach us*, p. 288n; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XII, p. 113; Prinsep's *U. T.*, pp. 251, 269; *J. A. S. B.*, vol. XXXII, pp. 104, 156; vol. XLVII, p. 75; vol. XLVIII, p. 283; Burgess's *Arch. Surv. Report*, vol. III, p. 100 (citing *Ind. Ant.*, vol. VI, p. 148); Burnell, *South-Indian Palæography* (2nd ed.), pp. 36, 53n; Sewell, *Lists of Antiquities of Madras*, pp. 7, 13, 15, 27; *J. R. A. S.* vol. XX, p. 452; *J. B. B. R. A. S.* vol. I p. 263. Some of the references here given contain the same lists of princes, but it has been thought desirable, on such a point as this, to give all the references accessible, except where only single kings are named.

[15] *Ind. Ant.*, vol. IV, pp. 356-7; Dr. Burnell's *South-Indian Palæography*, p. 101, derives the name of the Javanese Pûrṇavarmâ from the Pallava kings. I do not, however, understand him to contend that the Javanese was identical with any Pallava of that name, but only that the name ending in *Varmâ* was an imitation of the names of the kings by whose subjects Java was colonised. See on this subject, Dr. Fergusson's view, which is somewhat different, at *Indian and East. Architecture*, pp. 31. 103.

[16] Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. Report*, vol. I, p. 7; vol. III, p. 135.

[17] Canto VI, st. 56.

[18] P. 19.

[19] *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI, p. 287.

[20] P. 124.

[21] See Cunningham's *Ancient Geography*, p. 437; *Journal Ceylon Asiatic Society* (1845), p. 23; and Conf. *J. A. S. Beng.*, vol. XXXIV, p. 1; Max Müller's *Chips*, vol. I, p. 215.

[22] See also *Bhâshya* on *Bṛihadâraṇyaka Upanishad*, pp. 719, 901, among other passages.

[23] *Conf. Ind. Ant.*, vol. VII, p. 286n.

ground, for myself I think, on the materials before us, we can conclude that Śaṅkarâcharya and Pûrṇavarmâ were contemporaries, that at least the first chapter of the *Bhâshya* was written *before* Pûrṇavarmâ's *death*.

Firstly, I should deduce that conclusion from the mere mention of Pûrṇavarmâ itself; there being no reason why a king who had ceased to reign should be preferred to one who was actually reigning. Secondly, for the purposes of such an illustration as that which Śaṅkara gives, there was a positive reason for naming a living king as the least likely to be regarded as निरुपाख्य, or unreal, among a people deficient in the historic sense. And, thirdly, there was a strong reason why Pûrṇavarmâ should not have been specially selected for such an illustration, if he was not a contemporary reigning sovereign, because whereas Śaṅkarâcharya was a Brâhmaṇa, and intellectually an opponent of Buddhism,[24] all we know of Pûrṇavarmâ is that he signalized himself by an act of very pronounced and unmistakeable activity[25] in support of a most important Buddhist institution, namely, the celebrated Bôdhi Tree of Buddha Gayâ—and this, be it remembered, after an attempt had been made by a contemporary Brahmanical king to destroy it.[26] It seems to me that the probabilities are all against a Brahmanical writer alluding by preference, even for purposes of mere illustration, to such a Buddhistic king, unless there was some connection of some sort between them. Such a connection we find, I think, if we assume that the Buddhist king was the sovereign reigning at the time when the Brahmanical writer flourished, and in the province where he lived. If this argument be correct, it follows that Śaṅkarâchârya flourished in the reign of king Pûrṇavarmâ of Magadha.

Now Hiuen Tsiang's visit to this country extended from 629 to 645 A.D., of which he spent two years, 637-638, in Magadha[27] where Pûrṇavarmâ reigned, and where the Bôdhi-tree grew. He speaks of Pûrṇavarmâ as having been the last of the descendants of Aśôka, and does not appear to have made any effort to see either him or any one of his successors.[28] I am disposed, from these facts, to infer, that Pûrṇavarmâ had ceased to reign before Hiuen Tsiang heard of him. And as this must have occurred not later than about 637-638, it may be inferred that Pûrṇavarmâ must have lived somewhere about the latter end of the sixth century A.D. General Cunningham, in his *Archæological Survey Report* for 1871-2, places Pûrṇavarmâ about 590 A.D.[29] But in his *Report* for 1879-80, he brings the date down to 630 A.D., and adds this observation:—"Pûrṇavarmâ's date is taken from the Chinese Pilgrim, Hiuen Tsiang."[30] I confess I cannot follow this reasoning. To my mind, it would be a most extraordinary circumstance for Hiuen Tsiang to have failed to visit Pûrṇavarmâ, and to keep a record of the visit, if Pûrṇavarmâ was living when Hiuen Tsiang was in the country. And as he makes no allusion whatever to any such visit, and describes Pûrṇavarmâ as the last of Aśôka's descendants,[31] I infer from this, that Pûrṇavarmâ had been long dead, and that his kingdom had assumed a quite subordinate position under some more powerful sovereign. On these grounds I am disposed to support General Cunningham's first date as likely to be nearer the truth than his last. We must, however, for a final settlement of this question, await those further materials which, in 1873, General Cunningham hoped to collect touching the history of the Varmâs, the Guptas, and the Pâlas.[32]

Another mode of fixing the date of Pûrṇavarmâ is to ascertain the date of Śaśâṅka,[33] the king of Karṇasuvarṇa, who endeavoured to

[24] See *Śârîraka Bhâshya*, p. 531, a passage which (as also *Bṛihadâraṇyaka Upanishad*, p. 404), should be added to those referred to in the note *Ind. Ant.*, vol. V, p. 289.

[25] Cunningham. *Arch. Surv. Report*, vol. III, p. 80; see, too, Dr. Râjêndralâl Mitra's *Buddha Gayâ*, pp. 97, 99, 240. Dr. Râjêndralâl's dates agree with those originally suggested by General Cunningham.

[26] The Brahmanical king is not named, but referred to merely as the Gauḍa king in the *Harshacharita*, p. 54; Hiuen Tsiang calls him Śaśâṅka. In his Introduction to the *Kâdambarî* (p. 73), Professor Peterson identifies him with Sâhasâṅka, *sed quære*. As to Sâhasâṅka, see *inter alia*, Hall's *Vâsavadattâ*, p. 18.

[27] Cunningham's *Geography*, p. 565.

[28] Cunningham's *Arch. Surv. Report*, vol. III, p. 135.

[29] *Ibid.* see also vol. I, p. 5.

[30] *Arch. Surv. Report*, vol. XV, p. 166.

[31] General Cunningham. vol. III, p. 135, rejects this statement on grounds the validity of which remains to be tested. If it is a mistake, it is a very strange one for Hiuen-Tsiang to have committed. If Pûrṇavarmâ was not the last of Aśôka's descendants, Hiuen Tsiang would probably have visited his successor and said something of him—either in praise or censure.

[32] *Arch. Surv. Report*, vol. III, p. 136.

[33] Ibid. As to Karṇasuvarṇa, see *J. A. S. B.* vol XVII, p. 42; *J. R. A. S.* vol. XVII, p. 123; Beal's *Buddh. Rec. of the West. World*, vol. II, p. 201.—ED. *I. A.*

destroy the great Bôdhi tree at Buddha Gayâ, which Pûrṇavarmâ successfully reinvigorated. Now this Śaśâṅka was identical with the Śaśâṅka,[34] who, according to Hiuen Tsiang, treacherously murdered Râjyavardhana,[35] the elder brother of Harshavardhana Śilâditya. Dr. Fergusson places Râjyavardhana and his father, Prabhâkaravardhana, between 580 and 610 A.D.[36] But Professor Max Müller brings down both those kings to the period between 600 and 610 A.D.[37] According to these dates Śaśâṅka must, in all probability, have been still living about 605 A.D. If Hiuen Tsiang's account of Śaśâṅka's treachery is true, and Bâṇa as pointed out in the note below, corroborates that account, it is not likely that he would attempt the destruction of the Bôdhi tree, after having set a neighbouring province against himself by murdering its sovereign, who, even in Śaśâṅka's own estimation, was "a wise king."[38] Therefore, Pûrṇavarmâ's reinvigoration of the Bôdhi tree probably took place about the beginning of the seventh century A.D., if Professor Max Müller is right, and some time in the end of the sixth century, if Dr. Fergusson is right. However that may be, it is not worth while to go very deep into the question of these dates at present. My friend, Mr. P. M. Mehta, has been kind enough to help me in understanding various passages in Hiuen Tsiang, which bear upon the question, and on the date of the accession of Harshavardhana, which, I thought, was placed some five or ten years too late by both Dr. Fergusson and Professor Max Müller.[39] I cannot, however, discuss these questions on such materials, and five or ten years earlier or later involves too small a difference to be important for my present purpose. I am content, therefore, to accept the beginning of the seventh century A.D., as a period down to which we can trace Pûrṇavarmâ as reigning in Magadha, and that is about the time, therefore, when Śaṅkarâchârya must have composed his great *Śârîraka Bhâshya.*

There is another line of investigation which leads us to a date so near this, that in spite of certain circumstances which tend to discredit our guides, I think it desirable to make a brief reference to it. In the Tamiḷ Chronicle entitled *Koṅgudêśarâjâkaḷ*, in the *Mackenzie Collection*, there is a statement that Śaṅkarâchârya converted to Śaivism a king named Tiruvikramadêva, Chakravartî I.[40] In 1848, Professor Dowson, commenting on this statement, put forward a suggestion that it was incorrect in mentioning Tiruvikrama I, instead of Tiruvikrama II.[41] And by calculating backwards from the last king mentioned in the Chronicle, on an average duration of the reigns, Professor Dowson came to the conclusion that Tiruvikrama I, lived in the 6th and Tiruvikrama II in the 8th century A.D. It will be perceived, that if the statement in the Chronicle and Professor Dowson's calculations can be accepted, the conclusion reached is in very fair agreement with that which we have been led to on other and independent data. But in 1874, Professor Bhâṇḍârkar took up the subject, and in the light of information derived from certain copperplates then recently discovered, came to the conclusion, that "if the king con-

[34] Conf. Müller: *India: What it can teach us*, p. 287.

[35] *Ind. Ant.*, vol. VII, p. 197. The account in the *Harshacharita* agrees with this, see p. 154. But Prof. Müller speaks of Râjyavardhana as having been "defeated and killed," by Śaśâṅka (*India*, &c. p. 287). [See Beal's *Buddh. Rec. of West. Count.* vol. I, p. 210.—ED. *I. A.*].

[36] *J. R. A. S.* (N. S.) vol. IV, p. 85.

[37] *India: What it can teach us*, pp. 289-90. Professor Max Müller's view is based to a considerable extent on the date of the battle of Korur being 544 A.D. But Dr. Fergusson seems inclined to place that date about 20 years earlier, see his *Śaka and other eras*, p. 18, an essay first separately printed; (the references in this paper are to that edition) but since published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, (N. S.), vol. XII. I find, too, from Dr. Burgess's *Arch. Surv. Report*, vol. III, p. 28, that M. Reinaud placed Harshavardhana's accession in 607 A.D. Conf. also Yule's Cathay, vol. I, p. lxix.

[38] See *Ind. Ant.*, vol. VII, p. 197. In Dr. Burgess's *Arch. Surv. Report*, vol. III, p. 27, Śaśâṅka is represented as jealous of Râjyavardhana for the latter's military valour.

[39] My doubt is based on this, that the activity of Harshavardhana (described at *Ind. Ant.*, vol. VII, p. 198), implies a longer duration than 30 years. Dr. Burnell, (*S. Ind. Palæography*, p. 18), places the commencement of the reign of Pulakêśi II at 610 A.D., but puts the defeat of Harshavardhana by him near the end of the 6th or the beginning of the 7th century. General Cunningham gives the same date as M. Reinaud in his *Ancient Geography*, p. 378, and *J. A. S. B.* vol. III, p. 231. But see, too, *J. A. S. B.* vol. XVII, p. 38, for the General's former opinion. General Cunningham's date, the beginning of the seventh century, for Śaśâṅka's discreditable part in the affair of the Bôdhi tree (see *Ancient Geography*, p. 509; *Arch. Surv. Report*, III, p. 80), seems to be inferential only, and not, as I thought at first, based on an explicit statement of Hiuen Tsiang's. See *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, N. S., vol. VI, p. 248, where the date is indicated thus—"605?"

[40] This was mentioned long ago in Cavelly Veṅkata Râmasvâmî's *Deccan Poets*, and in the *Kavicharitra*, probably following this, see p. 7.

[41] *J. R. A. S.*, vol. VIII, pp. 8, 16, 17.

verted to the Śaivâ faith was Tiruvikrama I, Śaṅkarâchârya must have flourished in the fourth century, and if it was Tiruvikrama II in the sixth century." Professor Bhâṇḍârkar further pointed out that the latter date, that is, the date in the sixth century, viz., 526 A.D. "curiously enough, agrees with that given in the Chronicle, while the former does not."[42] Therefore, if we adopt the dates yielded by the copper-plate on which Professor Bhâṇḍârkar's calculation is based, then Professor Dowson's suggestion leads us to very nearly the same date for Śaṅkârachârya, as we have ourselves arrived at.[43] But now come the circumstances to which we have alluded above, as presenting some difficulty in the way of accepting this conclusion, in the present condition of our knowledge of these matters. Dr. Burnell, in his *Elements of South Indian Palæography*, says the king mentioned in the *Koṅgudêśarâjâkal*, as having been converted by Śaṅkarâchârya, is a king of the Châlukya dynasty.[44] In giving the family line of that dynasty, Dr. Burnell has this note on the name of Vikramâditya, the son of the famous Satyâśraya Pulakêśi II, who was a contemporary of Hiuen Tsiang:—"According to the *Koṅgudêśarâjâkâḷ*, Śaṅkarâchârya lived during this reign, a statement nearly correct." Now, with reference to the first part of this remark, it strikes me as strange, that Dr. Burnell should have dealt with the subject of it so summarily, when we have the statement of Professor Dowson (who was the first to give a full account of the *Koṅgudêśarâjâkaḷ*), that the king referred to was—not one of the Châlukyas, but—one of the so-called Chêra or Gaṅga kings.[45] Of course, it is not contended, that Professor Dowson must needs be right, but it is plain that Dr. Burnell's statement cannot be accepted against Professor Dowson's, without an examination of the reasons on which it is based. And these reasons Dr. Burnell has not adduced. Turning next to the second part of Dr. Burnell's remark, we find him saying that the statement is "nearly correct," that Śaṅkarâchârya lived during the reign of a king who flourished, according to him, between 652 and 680 A.D. For an explanation of this remark, we must look to Dr. Burnell's Preface to the *Sâmavidhâna Brâhmaṇa*, where he says, with reference to Kumârila Bhaṭṭa:—"That he lived about 650-700, I think there can in future be no doubt."[46] From this, of course, Śaṅkarâ's date is easily deduced, as, according to our native traditions, Śaṅkara was an eye-witness of Kumârila Bhaṭṭa's self-immolation."[47] Now this date of Kumârila, about which "there can in future be no doubt" is arrived at, it must be remembered, on the authority of a work written as late as 1608 by a writer who was at that time about 30 years of age.[48] And I am unable to accept implicitly the very positive conclusion of Dr. Burnell, having regard to the fact that it is based on a statement made in 1608, about an event which, according to the statement itself, took place nearly a thousand years before that time. Leaving aside this initial difficulty, when we come to look into the detailed reasons set forth by Dr. Burnell for his conclusion, we find further difficulties. According to the Tibetan sources on which he relies, Kumârila lived at the same time with Dharmakîrti, who flourished in the reign of Srong-tsan-gam-po, which extended from 629 to 658 A.D. On this Dr. Burnell proceeds to argue, that as Hiuen Tsiang who left India in 645 A.D. does not mention Kumârila,—"the great and dangerous Brâhmaṇ enemy of the Buddhists"—Kumârila cannot have lived be-

[42] *J. Bom. Br. R. A. S.*, vol. X, p. 89.

[43] For an unfavourable estimate of the Chronicle, see Burnell, *South Indian Palæography*, p. 33. At p. 86, Dr. Burnell brands Cavelly Veṅkaṭa Râmasvâmî's book as "a ridiculous book."

[44] See p. 18, (2nd ed). I ought to mention here, that since these observations were written, I have seen Mr. Taylor's remarks in the *Madras Jour. of Liter. and Science*, vol XIV. It seems from them (see pp. 14 and 65), that the supposed reference to Śaṅkarâchârya may be based on a mistake. In any case it becomes plain that the inferences from the *Koṅgudêśarâjâkaḷ*, both by Professor Dowson and Dr. Burnell, cannot as yet be relied on; see too, Sewell's *Dynasties of Southern India*, p. 50.

[45] See *J. R. A. S.* vol. VIII, p. 8; and *Ind. Ant.*, vol. I, p. 362.

[46] See p. vi.

[47] See Mâdhava's *Śaṅkaravijaya*, canto VII, stanza 60ff. Ânandagiri's *Śaṅkaravijaya*, p. 236. Dr. Burnell expressly places Śaṅkara about 650 to 700 A.D. *South Indian Palæography*, p. 37, and about 700 A.D., p. 111. The former date is adopted by Mr. Sewell, *Lists of Antiquities in Madras*, p. 177.

[48] See Max Müller, *India: What it can teach us*, p. 303, where Professor Max Müller gives his own estimate of Târânâtha's work; see also *Ibid.* p. 308, where he speaks of Dr. Burnell as having had great faith in Târânâtha's *History of Indian Buddhism*; (see his *Aindra Grammarians*, pp. 5, 6) and Conf. *Jour. R. A. S.* (N.S.), vol. VI, p. 254. The portion of the work which relates to the point here discussed appears in the *Ind. Ant.*, vol. IV, p. 365. It seems to place Śaṅkara before Kumârila, and distinguishes between Kumârila and Bhaṭṭa, whom it calls a disciple of Śaṅkara. This is not a narrative which can be implicitly accepted as an authority.

fore 645 A.D.[49] Now, it is easy to see, that in reasonings based on such grounds, a mistake to the extent of a whole century might occur, even although the positive dates were well settled. This becomes obvious, if we substitute Nânâ Phaḍanavîs for Kumârila, Lord Lyndhurst for Dharmakîrti, and Queen Victoria for Srong-tsan-gam-po, in the above argument. Such a substitution can be madè very fairly, yet if we follow Dr. Burnell's line of argument, we come to the mistaken conclusion that Nânâ Phaḍanavîs (who really died in 1800) lived in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. And the mistake would become greater, in proportion to the future duration of the reign under which we now live. I say nothing here regarding the second branch of Dr. Burnell's argument. But if allowance is made for the liability to error in the calculation above set forth, I think the circumstance noted by Dr. Burnell may really be regarded, not as contradictory, but as corroborative, of the conclusion we have reached, namely, that Śaṅkarâchârya and Kumârila lived about the latter half of the sixth century of the Christian era. While, therefore, Dr. Burnell's remarks throw doubt on the validity of the argument based on Śaṅkarâchârya's relations with the Chêra king, Tiruvikramadêva; and while too, they cannot be regarded as correct, in so far as they are used to support the positive conclusion which he has drawn; they may fairly be used in support of the conclusion we have here arrived at.

The second circumstance alluded to above has the effect of strengthening our misgivings about the soundness of the argument based on the *Koṅgudêśarâjâkaḷ*. Mr. Fleet denounces as forgeries,[50] the copper-plates by which the *Koṅgudêśarâjâkaḷ* was supposed to be corroborated,[51] and from which the date of Śaṅkarâchârya was deduced. In view of the circumstances alluded to already, it is hardly desirable to enter here on a consideration of the point raised by Mr. Fleet. Whether that conclusion[52] be right or wrong, it is plain that while a doubt is raised, by a competent authority like Mr. Fleet, as to the genuineness of these documents, it is impossible to accept any deduction based on them as satisfactory. And this must be so, even though the deductions be in agreement with the conclusions arrived at from other and independent data.

I have elsewhere pointed out that Mâdhava's *Śaṅkaravijaya* mentions Bâṇa, Mayûra, and Daṇḍî, as contemporaries of Śaṅkarâchârya.[53] That statement and the conclusion which has been reached in this paper harmonize with and corroborate each other. Daṇḍî is placed by Professors Weber, Bühler, and Max Müller, in the sixth century A.D.[54] Bâṇa and Mayûra, we know to have lived in the beginning of the seventh century A.D., and part of their careers may have fallen in the latter part of the sixth century.[55] These dates and our date for Śaṅkarâchârya would thus seem to be capable of being harmonized pretty fairly, if we refer all these famous men—Bâṇa and Mayûra, Daṇḍî and Śaṅkara to the latter half of the sixth century A.D. Let us here do what Professor Max Müller very properly asks us to do—"as much as possible divest ourselves of the idea that Hindu writers always wish to impose upon us, and to make everything as old as possible."[56] And let us consider that, while, on the one hand, there can be no object in untruly representing Śaṅkarâchârya as having vanquished such writers as Bâṇa, Mayûra, and Daṇḍî in philosophic controversy; on the other, the contemporaneous existence of these

[49] This is on the assumption that the story of the persecution by Kumârila is true. I have long distrusted the story: see some further remarks on it *infra*. I know of no earlier mention of it than Mâdhava's book (where, however, the Jainas are mentioned as the victims of the persecution), and what calls itself Ânandagiri's *Śaṅkaravijaya*, p. 285.

[50] See Mr. Fleet's essay on *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 11, from which an extract bearing upon this point is reprinted at *Ind. Ant.* vol. XII, p. 111ff.

[51] Conf. Professor Eggeling's essay on the *Chêras and Châlukyas*, read before the Oriental Congress held in London (see Trübner's compilation) and *Indian Antiquary*, vol. III, p. 152.

[52] Conf. Burnell's *S. Indian Palæography*, p. 34.

[53] *Ind. Ant.*, vol. I, p. 299.

[54] See *Ind. Ant.*, vol. III, p. 82; and *India: What it can teach us*, p. 314, also, pp. 332, 358. Professor Wilson placed him some four or five centuries later.

[55] As Bâṇa, writing what he calls a *Harshacharita*, does not carry his history beyond the very early years of Harsha's reign, may it be inferred that he died while Harsha was still on the throne, and, in fact, when only a few years of his reign had passed away? See, however, and consider the bearing on this point of the passage quoted by Peterson in his Introduction to the *Kâdambarî*, p. 55.

[56] *India: What it can teach us*, p. 356. Dr. Bühler, *J. Bom. Br. R. A. S.*, vol XI, p. 283, was disposed entirely to reject Mâdhava's book on all questions of chronology. I venture to think that the conclusion arrived at in the present paper shows how much safer is Professor Max Müller's principle. Conf. Peterson's *Kâdambarî*, p. 58.

writers with Śaṅkara is deducible from other and independent arguments. I think if we do this, we may accept the reconciliation of the various statements here proposed. And this is not reasoning in a circle, for we have here two results from two independent sets of data. These two harmonize pretty well, and they may therefore be legitimately regarded as supporting one another.

Mâdhava also mentions Śrî Harsha, the author of the *Khaṇḍana*, as having been converted by Śaṅkarâchârya to his own views.[57] This statement, if we accept the date proposed for the author of the *Naishadhîya* by Dr. Bühler,[58] is entirely irreconcilable with every one of the dates which has been assigned to Śaṅkarâchârya. If Dr. Bühler's view be correct, we must seek for some explanation of the statement in question. The only explanation that occurs to me is, that the Śrî Harsha, with whose name the original tradition connected the name of Śaṅkarâchârya, may have been king Harshavardhana Śilâditya, the contemporary of Bâṇa and Mayûra; that, subsequently, that tradition was misunderstood as applying to the later Śrî Harsha, the author of the *Naishadhîya*, and also of the philosophical treatise *Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhâdya*; and that in consequence, the original tradition regarding the two having flourished at one time received subsequent accretions, and was improved upon, since the admirers of Śaṅkarâchârya could not think of any philosopher as a contemporary of Śaṅkara, without imagining at once a controversy between them with a resulting victory in favour of their hero. The misunderstanding I suggest was, I think, a likely event, as the later Śrî Harsha was a writer on philosophical topics. And the rest of the suggestion seems to me to be in accord with our ordinary experiences of the history of oral tradition.

In conclusion, I have recently heard from Professor R. G. Bhâṇḍârkar that he has arrived at pretty much the same date as is here put forward, on entirely independent grounds. His argument will necessarily involve a modification of the remark of Dr. Burnell, with reference to the statement of the *Koṅgudêśarâjâkal*. But as Professor Bhâṇḍârkar's view will be published soon, it is not desirable that I should say more than that it gives me great pleasure to think that the conclusions of this note will receive such valuable corroboration.

Since writing the above, a corroboration of the conclusion here arrived at has turned up in an item of the literary history of China, for which we are indebted to the Rev. S. Beal. We learn from Mr. Beal[59] that "during the Ch'en dynasty, which ruled from 557 to 583 A.D.," in China, the *Bhâshya* of Gauḍapâda on the *Sâṅkhya Kârikâ* of Îśvarakṛishṇa, was translated from Sanskrit into Chinese. Now this Gauḍapâda is stated by Colebrooke to be "the celebrated scholiast on the *Upanishads* of the *Vêdas*, and preceptor of Gôvinda, who was preceptor of Śaṅkarâchârya,"[60] *not* "preceptor of Śaṅkarâchârya" himself, as Mr. Beal puts it by an oversight. And in the *Bhâshya* of Śaṅkarâchârya on the *Mâṇḍûkya Upanishad*, which also embraces a *Bhâshya* on the *Kârikâs* of Gauḍapâda to that *Upanishad*, Śaṅkara makes his obeisance to his परमगुरु,[61] who is पूज्याभिपूज्य- referring thus to Gauḍapâda, the teacher of Gôvinda Yati. Now it seems to be scarcely likely that the Chinese translator would translate a work by an author then living. We must therefore allow for the time which must have elapsed between the death of Gauḍapâda and the translation which may have been made, say, about 570 A.D. At that time, probably, if Gôvinda Yati, too, was not already dead, he must have been giving lessons to his distinguished pupil, Śaṅkarâchârya. And on a liberal calculation, I do not think that we can bring down the date of Śaṅkarâchârya, to any period subsequent to, say, about 590 A.D. Mr. Beal, indeed, having before him only the suggestions of Professor Wilson[62] touching the date of Śaṅkarâchârya, did not draw the inference regarding it, which naturally arises

[57] *Śaṅkaravijaya*, canto XV, stanza 157; and see with reference to this *Ind. Ant.*, vol. I, p. 299; also as bearing indirectly upon it, vol. III, p. 81.

[58] *J. Bom. Br. R. A. S.* vol. X, p. 30; and vol. XI, p. 280 *et seq.* I cannot as yet accept Dr. Bühler's view, though I admit his arguments are entitled to much weight. See also on the age of Śrî Harsha, *J. A. S. B.*, vol. XXXIII, p. 327, where Dr. Râjêndralâl suggests a date earlier than Dr. Bühler's on quite independent evidence.

[59] *J. R. A. S.* (N. S.) vol. XII, p. 355.

[60] *Essays*, 1st ed. vol. I, p. 233; conf. *J. A. S. B.* vol. XX, p. 403.

[61] See p. 597 (*Bibl. Ind. ed.*) Śaṅkara refers to Gauḍapâda, elsewhere also, quoting two of these *Kârikâs* on the *Mâṇḍûkya*. See *Śârîraka Bhâshya*, pp. 375 and 432; the *Kârikâs* occur at pp. 384, 469 of the *Mâṇḍukya* (*Bibl. Ind.* ed.)

[62] Wilson refers to Chêramân Perumâḷ of Malayâḷam. As to that see Sewell's *Dynasties of Southern India* pp. 55f., and *Ind. Ant.* there referred to.

from the fact brought to notice by him. But in view of the various points which have been discussed, and which have already led us to the conclusion that Śaṅkarâchârya must have flourished about the latter half of the sixth century A.D., the particular piece of evidence for which we are indebted to Mr. Beal is a most valuable one, and, on the whole, I think, there can now be little reasonable doubt that we must assign Śaṅkara to about this date.

It would take us too far afield if we attempted to do more than indicate the directions in which this date of Śaṅkarâchârya must affect hitherto prevalent notions regarding the ancient and mediæval history of our country. It is plain that neither Śaṅkarâchârya nor Kumârila can have taken part in any persecution of the Buddhists. And Hiuen Tsiang's omission to name either of them is explained without resort to the argument adopted by Dr. Burnell. Further, if the allegation about Kumârila's and Śaṅkara's share in this persecution is thus discredited, the whole story about the persecution must also be discredited, especially because it is generally related rather as an incident in the careers of those two philosophers, than as a historical event in which they took part. And independently of this, the evidence for the story is such, that Dr. Kern has already classed it with the story of "My mother, the goose."[63] Dr. Fergusson, it is true, seems to believe in the alleged persecution, and dates it from the period commencing with the death of Harshavardhana.[64] But the sudden change from a time of tolerance and even patronage, to one of persecution, which that theory involves, must always present historical difficulties. And, on the other hand, the evidence scattered through Dr. Fergusson's own work,[65] and elsewhere, indicates that that marvellous toleration, of which Dr. Fergusson himself has so truly spoken, did not cease in 650 A.D., but was continued quite down to the thirteenth century, if not even to later times.[66] On the view that there was no persecution properly so called—Ma-Twan-lin's account of the condition of India is easily understood. On the traditional theory it is almost inexplicable.

THE BURNING OF THE ALEXANDRIAN LIBRARY.

BY THE REV. J. D. BATE, M.R.A.S.

The manner in which this catastrophe occurred serves well to shew the indebtedness of Muslim to Christian literati, and the form which Muslim appreciation and gratitude

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[63] See this opinion quoted in M. Barth's *Religions of India*, p. 134, note.

[64] See, *inter alia*, Fergusson's *Indian and Eastn. Architecture*, pp. 158, 209, 219.

[65] *Vide* e.g., *Indian Architecture*, pp. 69, 127, 132, 161, 163, 318, 440, 454; Conf. also Burnell's *S. Ind. Palæography*, pp. 46, 111, 114; and the references to Dr. Burgess's *Reports* given above. See also on this point Cunningham's *Bhilsa Topes*, pp. 165-167; and *Bhârhut Stûpa*, p. 4. On the present evidence, my impression is that the Bauddhas got absorbed into either the Hindu or the Jaina communities. The latter were kindred to them (see a previous note and Conf. Fergusson's *Indian Architecture*, p. 233); and the former had since, at latest the seventh century A.D., absorbed Buddha into their own system as an Avatâra of Vishnu. See as to this Fergusson's *Indian Architecture*, p. 444 (citing Dr. Burgess's *Archæological Survey Report*), and Dr. Bühler's account of his *Kaśmîr Tour*, p. 41n, in *Jour. Bom. Branch R. Asiat. Society* (Extra part). For the absorptive power of Hinduism, reference may be made *inter alia* to Lyall's *Essay on Non-missionary religions*, and to the following:—*J. R. A. S.* vol. VI, p. 403, vol. XVII, pp. 129f.; *Ceylon A. Soc. Jour.* (1858-9) pp. 10, 29, 37; Cunningham's *Arch. Sur. Reports*, vol. XVI, pp. 24, 26, 124; Elliot's *Bibliographical Index to the Historians of India*, Part I, p. 218. The existence of Buddhists who in Hiuen Tsiang's time could scarcely be distinguished from heretics (*J. R. A. S.* vol. IX, p. 201), seems to indicate that the gradual assimilation or absorption had then commenced. I am aware that many other scholars agree with Dr. Fergusson. Dr. R. Mitra, for instance, speaks of the "suppression" of Buddhism (*J. A. S. B.*, vol XXXIII, p. 192); and Mr. Sherring of its "departure or rather expulsion" (*J. A. S. B.*, vol. XXXV, p. 67; and vol. XXXIV p. 11). See also *J. R. A. S.* vol. II, pp. 292, 302, 428; vol. XVI, pp. 252-9. But the existing Buddhist buildings and records appear to indicate a very different conclusion. See on this point Cunningham's *Geog.*, p. 80; *J. A. S. B.*, vol. XL, pp. 24, 249; vol. XLI, pp. 253-4, 297, 311; and *J. Bom. Br. R. A. S.*, vol. XIII, p. 10; vol. XIV, pp. 30, 43, 48, 53. The various instances of the Musalmans appropriating the materials of Buddhist buildings (as to which see among many authorities, *J. A. S. B.*, vol. XXXIV, pp. 3, 9; or vol. XLI, pp. 251, 286, 294), point to something like what is expressed in Cunningham's *Bhârhut Stûpa* already cited, though it is not impossible that the materials belonged to buildings fallen into disuse. It must suffice to indicate my view. Prof. Bhândârkar also draws my attention to *Ind. Ant.*, vol. X, p. 185; *J. Bom. Br. R. A. S*, vol. XIII, p. 10; Cunningham's *Arch. Surv. Report*, vol. VIII, p. 45, as bearing on this topic.

[66] As to the existence of Buddhism down to a late period conf. in addition to the authorities mentioned in the last note *J. A. S. B.* vol. XVII, pp. 59, 498, 499; Cunningham, *Arch. Sur. Report*, vol. XVI, p. 49. The information from foreign writers is of great value on this point. Conf. *Ibn Batuta*, by Lee, pp. 111, 152; Yule's *Cathay*, vol. II, pp. 410, 433; Dowson and Elliot's *Hist.* vol. I, pp 68, 87; Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. I, pp. 157, 159, 161. The doubts expressed by the editor of *Marco Polo* at p. 159, though justified by hitherto received notions, will themselves require reconsideration in view of fresh evidence, some of which has been now indicated.

assumed. 'Amrû ibna'l-'Âs,[1] conqueror and governor of Egypt,[2] was an orator and poet, a lover of learning and of learned men.[3] His literary gifts had been displayed in his earlier days, when he (like so many of his fellow-countrymen) wrote lampoons on Muḥammad.[4] This conduct he afterwards came to regret, and embraced The Faith.[5] He was fond of the society of the learned; and he sought to make up, by association with them, for the deficiencies of his early education. He found a congenial companion in a native of Alexandria, the celebrated John the Grammarian,—the last disciple of Ammonius. This man was a Christian, of the sect of the Jacobites, and was surnamed *Philoponus*,[6] 'a lover of labour,'—John the Industrious. He had attained to eminence for his laborious treatises of various kinds,—such as works on Grammar and Philology, and Commentaries on Moses and Aristotle.[7] The Arabian conqueror and chief, being naturally of a more inquiring and liberal spirit than his Muslim co-religionists, interested himself during his leisure hours in conversation with this Christian scholar, and an intimacy was soon formed between them.

Now, after the capture of Alexandria, an account was taken of all the public property; but the collection of books and manuscripts which constituted the Alexandrian library was omitted. It is alleged that, in an unlucky moment, John gave information to 'Amrû of this unnoticed treasure; and that, emboldened by the terms of familiar intercourse which had sprung up between them, the loving student went so far as to ask that the collection might be given to him.[8] In *his* opinion the treasure was inestimable, 'however contemptible,' to use Gibbon's term, 'it may have been in the estimation of the barbarians.' 'Amrû, it is said, was inclined to gratify the wish of his friend, but could not give effect to his inclinations without first referring the matter to the Khalîfa, his master.[9] To this came the famous answer of 'Umar,—an answer embodying a sophism that might have weight with an ignorant fanatic, but which could only excite the astonishment and regret of a philosopher,—'If these writings of the Greeks agree with the *Qur'ân*—the Book of God—they are superfluous, and need not be preserved; but if they disagree, they are pernicious and ought to be destroyed!'[10] The sentence was carried out with blind obedience; and the volumes of parchment were distributed to the four thousand baths of the city,—not necessarily to heat them, perhaps, but probably rather to kindle them. Rollin, however, says 'they were used for fuel instead of wood.' However this may be, such was the almost incredible quantity of literature that six months were barely sufficient for the consumption of this precious fuel.'[11] The story is given by Abu'l-Faragius;[12] it is doubted, as every one knows, by Gibbon, but received by many scholars,—

[1] Also spelt 'Aas,' 'Aasi,' and 'Aass;' but not 'Dass,' as Mr. Lake's printer (*Islam,—its Origin, Genius, and Mission*, p. 96) has it. The form 'Amrû is also spelt 'Amr,—the û being added merely to prevent the word from being confounded with the name of 'Umar. The letters in Arabic are exactly the same in each case, عمر,—the vowel of the initial consonant being omitted. Conf. Burckhardt, *Arabia*, vol. II, p. 416.

[2] Elmacinus, *Historia Saracenica*, vol. I, pp. 23-4; Ockley, *History of the Saracens*, vol. I, p. 344 seqq.; Abu'l-Faragius, *Historia Dynastiarum*, p. 9; Pocock, *Specimen*, p. 112.

[3] Ockley, *History of the Saracens*, vol. I, p. 312; Forster, *Mahometanism Unveiled*, vol. I, p. 46.

[4] Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, vol. IV, p. 90; Irving, *Life of Mahomet*, p. 48.

[5] This man was the son of a courtesan of Makka, who seems to have rivalled in fascination the Phrynes and Aspasias of Greece, and to have numbered some of the nobles of the land among her lovers. Who may have been his real father is not known. When his mother gave birth to him, she mentioned several of the tribe of the Banî Quraish who had equal claims to the paternity. The oldest of her admirers was a man named 'Âs ('Âs ibni Wâyil, of the Sahm family) and to him the infant was declared to have most resemblance; and from this fact he came to receive, in addition to his own name of ''Amrû,' the patronymic Ibna'l-'Âs, 'son of 'Âs.' As if to atone for the blemish of his birth, Nature had lavished upon this child some of the choicest of her gifts; and while yet young, he came to be one of the most popular poets of Arabia,—being distinguished no less for the pungency of his satirical allusions than for the captivating sweetness of his more serious lays. When Muḥammad first announced himself a prophet, this youth assailed him with lampoons and humorous madrigals; and these, being, as they were, exactly the kind of thing to fall in with the taste of the Arabs in respect of poetry, obtained a wide circulation, and proved greater impediments to the growth of the new religion than the bitterest persecution. Thus was 'Amrû, who afterwards made such a distinguished figure in the history of The Faith, one of the most redoubtable and effective of the assailants of its founder.—Conf. Irving, *Life of Mahomet*, p. 49.

[6] Φιλόπονος;—not 'Philopomus,' as Mr. Lake's printer (p. 96) calls him.

[7] The reader who is interested in the achievements of this man in the realm of philosophy may consult Sir Wm. Hamilton's *Lectures on Metaphysics*, vol. I, pp. 114, 200, 250; and vol. II, pp. 7, 33, 155 (ed. Edinb. and Lond. 1861).

[8] Newton, *Dissertations on the Prophecies*, p. 197.

[9] Newton, *Dissertations on the Prophecies*, p. 197.

[10] Crichton, *History of Arabia*, vol. I, p. 392.

[11] Conf. Ockley, *History of the Saracens*, pp. 293-4 (edn. Lond. 1870); Prideaux, *Connection of the Old and New Testaments*, pt. II, bk. I, anno 284.

[12] Abu'l-Faragius, *Historia Dynastiarum*, p. 180 (p. 114 of ed. Oxon. 1663).

among whom are such high authorities as Von Hammer and Pocock.[13]

One of the arguments on which Gibbon bases his rejection of the story is given in the following words:—'The rigid sentence of Omar is repugnant to the sound and orthodox precept of the Mahometan casuists; they expressly declare that the religious books of the Jews and Christians which are acquired by the right of war, should never be committed to the flames,'[14]—the reason being 'the respect due to the name of God' which those books contain. This has a good sound; but Gibbon is compelled to add that 'a more destructive zeal may perhaps be attributed to the first successors of Mahomet;' which is the same as saying that the early Khalîfas were not so scrupulous regarding the destruction of the books of Jews and Christians, though they were known to be certain to contain the Divine name. Now, 'Umar was the first but one of the Successors,—he having succeeded to the Khalîfat only two years after Muḥammad's death. So that Gibbon may be said, in effect, to concede the point as to at least the high probability of the destruction of the library having been effected, as Abu'l-Faragius records, by the order of this Khalîfa. The only authority whom Gibbon quotes in support of the discredit he thus casts upon the story is a writer so late as Reland: he cites no Muḥammadan author contemporary with the alleged piece of Vandalism; but he is of opinion that the report of a solitary witness who wrote at the end of six hundred years on the confines of Media, is overbalanced by the fact of the silence of two annalists of an earlier date, both of whom were Christians and both of them natives of Egypt,—the more ancient of whom, the patriarch Eutychius, having amply described the Conquest of Alexandria. But it may safely be urged that the positive assertion of a historian of such unquestioned credit as Abu'l-Faragius is worthily held to be, cannot be set aside by an argument that is, after all, merely negative.[15] Gibbon's reference to Aulius Gellius,[16] to Ammianus Marcellinus,[17] and to Orosius,[18] as speaking of the libraries of Alexandria in the past tense, are (as Enfield has pointed out) foreign to the purpose; for these writers refer only to the destruction of books there in the time of Julius Cæsar,—some seven centuries before.[19] Subsequently to that period, large libraries must have been continually accumulating, during the long period in which the various schools of philosophy flourished in that city. The destruction of the various libraries there in the time of Cæsar, as also the growth of the great library to which we refer, are carefully related in detail by Rollin, and many other historians.[20]

But, in truth, the fact of the destruction of the library having taken place by the order of 'Umar, does not, as Gibbon supposes, rest on the authority of but one man. So high an authority as Charles Mills (who, it should be observed, does not by any means write in an anti-Muḥammadan spirit) exhibits the rare spectacle of a scholar of profound reading, voluntarily submitting to the humiliation of withdrawing, after sufficient research, his opinions formerly published. He writes,—'The Saracens, as well as other good people, occasionally condemned books *au feu*. Absorbed with ideas of the conquest or conversion of the world, the early Successors of the Prophet held in equal contempt the religion and the learning of their new subjects and tributaries. Their most pious act in this line'—by which we understand him to mean, the act at once

[13] Pocock, *Specimen*, p. 170; Harris, *Philological Enquiries*, p. 251; White, *Bampton Lecture*, p. 335, and the notes, p. lx.

[14] Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, Ch. 51 (p. 956, ed. Chatto and Windus, Lond. 1875).

[15] Enfield, *History of Philosophy*, p. 420 (ed. Lond. 1837).

[16] Aulius Gellius, *Noctes Atticæ*, lib. vi, cap. 17.

[17] Ammianus Marcellinus, *Historia*, lib. xxii, cap. 16 (p. 314 of the ed. of Valesius, Paris, 1681).

[18] Orosius, *Historiarum adversus Paganos Libri VII*, lib. vi, cap. 17 (p. 421 of the ed. of Havercamp, 1738).

[19] Mills would guard his reader against a very natural misapprehension regarding the various libraries of Alexandria which have at different times been for various reasons destroyed. 'When we talk,' says he (*History of Muhammadanism*, pp. 381-2), 'of the destruction of the Alexandrian library,' let us not be deceived by words. It must not be imagined that the library of the Ptolomies was the one which the Saracens pillaged. That 'elegantiæ regum curæque egregium opus' was destroyed in Cæsar's time; and the new collection which Cleopatra formed, was dissipated in the wars which the Christians made upon the Pagans.'—Conf. Newton, *The Prophecies*, pp. 196-7. For a most interesting account of these magnificent stores of the wisdom of the ancients the reader is referred to Rollin, *Ancient History*, vol. V, pp. 19-22 (ed. Lond. 1841).

[20] Conf. Rollin, *Ancient History*, vol. I, p. 21, and vol. V, p. 20 (and references there); Arnold, *Islám and Christianity*, pp. 182-3. Consult, also, Horne's *Introduction to the Study of Bibliography*.

most prominent and noteworthy, and at the same time the most expressive of the genius and tendency of their Faith—'was the destroying of a large library at Alexandria. It was done by the order of the Caliph Omar, when Amrou conquered Egypt. The fact does not, as I once thought, rest on the sole authority of Abul-Pharajius: Macrisi,[21] and also Abdollatif (the writer of a work expressly on Egyptian antiquities[22]) mention the circumstance. I hesitated, with Langlés, from crediting the story on the authority of Abul-Pharajius alone; but the authorities cited by Macrisi and Abdollatif removed this scepticism, and I willingly retract the error I made in my first edition.'[23] It should be added that so high an authority as the Baron de Sacy, in a long note to his translation of Abdollatif, has collected various testimonies from the works of Arabian writers, preserved in the Royal Library in Paris, which concur in establishing the credibility of the narrative of Abu'l-Faragius.[24] It is, indeed, impossible to regard it (as Gibbon would insinuate) as a fiction invented by the Armenian historian.

It is only charitable to suppose that Gibbon was sincerely convinced of the repugnance of such coarse Vandalism to the genius of Muslim casuistry. But the student of Islâmic tradition will be neither astonished nor deceived by what is so transparently an after-thought. It clearly is, like so much of the church-literature of Muḥammadans, a makeshift designed to mitigate the odium of an act which no man not a genuine fanatic could have been guilty of. Indeed, even Gibbon, notwithstanding his well-known prejudices, does not see his way to giving a distinct denial to the story; he merely says, by way of stating his own position regarding the matter,—'I am strongly tempted to deny both the fact and its consequences.' We are the more earnest in mentioning this, because of the tendency there appears to be to accept without further enquiry the opinions of this great writer, and because of the disposition we observe in men to conclude that because Gibbon failed to be satisfied with the grounds on which the story rests, therefore the story is a fabrication,—forgetting altogether that there may have been evidence of which Gibbon was not cognizant (which, as we have seen, would appear to have been the actual fact). That such a tendency does really exist will be seen in the case of so profound a scholar as Baron von Humboldt, who apparently on no better ground than that of Gibbon's *doubt*, hesitates not to brand the story as a 'myth.'[25] We easily believe what we *wish* to believe. Hence we find that though Gibbon found the story of the burning of the library by 'Umar too much for his historical digestion, he records the opinion that it was destroyed several centuries before—*viz.* circa 389 A.D.—by the fanaticism of Theophilus, the Christian Archbishop of Alexandria, —and he does so without hesitation, and without the faintest apparent symptom of a doubt.[26]

Lake adds to the argument of Gibbon—to whom as we have elsewhere noted,[27] he acts as a faithful henchman—the statement that such an act was inconsistent with the character of 'Amrû.[28] Under some circumstances, such an argument might have relieved the dreariness of the episode; it happens, however, that the true character of 'Amrû is well known.[29] Besides, we submit that the point turns rather upon the character of one greater than 'Amrû, and whose mandate 'Amrû would not have dared to contravene.[30] It was beyond his power to alienate any portion of the spoil; the consent of the Khalifa was necessary.[31] The violent and irrational nature of this Vandal among the Khalîfas is but too well known to the student of Saracenic history:[32] and it is an object of special glory to the Faithful to the

[21] Conf. Macrisi, cited by White, *Ægyptiac*, pp. 56, 65.
[22] Abdollatiphus, *Historia*, p. 115 (4to ed.); Crichton, *History of Arabia*, vol. I, p. 393.
[23] Mills, *History of Muḥammedanism*, p. 381. On the whole subject the reader who would follow the matter up, should consult the Dissertation of Mons. Bonamy on the subject of the 'Alexandrian library' in *Les Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. IX, and the Fifth Year of the *Magasin Encyclopédie*, tom. III, p. 384.
[24] De Sacy, *Relation de l'Egypt*, p. 240.
[25] Humboldt, *Cosmos*, vol. II, p. 582.
[26] Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, Ch. 28 (p. 467).
[27] Conf. Bate, *An Examination of the Claims of Ishmael as viewed by Muḥammadans*, p. 212.
[28] Lake, *Islâm*, p. 97. Conf. Ockley, *History of the Saracens*, pp. 34—92.
[29] Consult on this point, Muir, *Annals of the Early Caliphate*, passim.
[30] Rollin, *Ancient History*, vol. V, p. 21. Of gigantic statur[illegible] l prodigious strength, the chief [illegible] was *fierceness*. His savage aspec[illegible] dest, and his very walking-stick struck more terror into beholders than another man's sword. Such are the words of the Arabian historian Al-Wâqidî; and the events of 'Umar's life after he became Khalîfa, proved that these words of the historian are not chargeable with exaggeration.
[31] Crichton, *History of Arabia*, vol. I, p. 392.
[32] Müller, *Universal History*, vol. II, p. 46. For instances of his curious destructiveness of temperament, the reader should consult Taylor, *History of Mohammedanism*, p. 175.

present hour. He exhibited, if possible, more of the spirit of Muḥammadanism than even Muḥammad himself did, and his reckless and wanton destruction of treasures held sacred by persons of other religions has earned for him a notoriety unique among the most faithful copyists of the Original. The other Khalîfas—Abû Bikr, 'Uthmân, and 'Alî—were mildness itself in comparison with 'Umar,—the very archetype of the Wahhâbî of the earlier years of our own century.[33] Characterized, though his reign was, by all the worst fruits of his religion, the act of folly which history thus fastens upon him has done more to familiarize posterity with his name than all the other devastations committed under his authority.[34]

Whether the world is indebted to the fanaticism of 'Umar or not, for this coarse destruction of the untold treasures of the wisdom of the ancients,[35] and whether the words of the sentence of destruction were or were not the product of his peculiar genius,—are points which it is now-a-days impossible to decide and fruitless to discuss; but, as has been well observed, if the words are not his, at least they are full of historical versimilitude and significance.[36] Lest it should be supposed that this opinion is the offspring of Christian sentiment in Dr. Marcus Dods, we may add that the elder Disraeli, who must be acquitted of any suspicion of collusion with the Christian teacher, gives his opinion in concurrent language. He remarks, in referring to this lamentable catastrophe, that though modern paradox attempt to deny the facts of the story, yet the tale would not be singular even if it should turn out to be true,—inasmuch as it perfectly suits the character of 'a bigot, a barbarian, and a blockhead!' He goes on to show that we owe to the same destructive spirit of the Muḥammadan religion the loss, by this same resort to the agency of the devouring flame, much of the most ancient literature of the Persians.[37] These invaluable records of Persian genius and learning, collected by the zeal of the Sassânide princes in Modain, were hurled, by the order of 'Umar, into the waters of the Tigris.[38]

The obvious conclusion, from the facts thus brought together is, that the burden of proof rests with those who deny the story. The grounds on which Gibbon bases his scepticism regarding it, we have seen to be worthless; it would have been interesting to have learnt on what grounds so eminently careful a writer as Humboldt was would justify the contemptuous term by which he characterizes it. A story so long credited, upon high authority, calls for more critical treatment than, from all that appears, the worthy Baron devoted to it. Thus much, at any rate, seems beyond possibility of doubt,—that the story is in entire harmony with the known character of 'Umar and with the practices of Muḥammadans in the earlier ages of The Faith.

Taking the account as recorded, it is impossible to estimate the loss which literature has sustained by the destruction of the treasures of this library. It is true that in speaking of the libraries of times which preceded the invention of printing, we must not be misled by magnificent descriptions, or by the ample catalogues of their contents. The manuscripts were numerous, indeed, but the matter they contained would in modern print be compressed within a space much smaller than might at first be supposed. The fifteen 'Books,' for example, of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, which in classic times composed literally as many volumes, are all of them together reduced now-a-days to a few dozens of pages. Still, we cannot renounce the belief that though much of the ancient literature has escaped the ravages of ignorance and the calamities of war, a great deal that would have been of value and interest perished in the sack of this famed metropolis.[39]

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[33] Palgrave, in his *Central and Eastern Arabia*, has surpassed all writers in the exquisite delicacy of his judgment on the Wahhâbî renaissance.

[34] Crichton, *History of Arabia*, vol. I. p. 392.

[35] We should here observe that beyond the statement that the parchments supplied the public baths of Alexandria for half a year, there is no clue by which the measure of the loss might be approximately estimated. There were, in fact, several libraries in different parts of the city; and it is now impossible to ascertain whether the one now under consideration was or was not one of those that had been previously destroyed. If it was not, the loss to the world is one which it clearly is impossible to exaggerate.

[36] Dods, *Mohammed, Buddha, and Christ*, p. 110. As to the character of 'Umar as a ruler, note some judicious remarks in Taylor, *History of Mohammedanism*, p. 174.

[37] D'Israeli, *Curiosities of Literature*, p. 18 (ed. Lond. 1866).

[38] Taylor, *History of Mohammedanism*, p. 175.

[39] Crichton, *History of Arabia*, vol. I, p. 394.

CHINGHIZ KHÂN AND HIS ANCESTORS.

BY HENRY H. HOWORTH, F.S.A.

(Continued from vol. XII, p. 303.)

XXIV.

Chinghiz Khân having crushed out opposition among his compatriots, and having broken the power of the Kin Tartars who dominated over Northern China, now turned his attention to the empire of Kara Khitai, which lay to the west of Mongolia proper, and against whose ruler he had a mortal grudge. The empire of Kara Khitai was founded by a fugitive Khitan prince, who, when the Kin Tartars overwhelmed his house, fled westwards, and being well received by the various Turkish tribes of Sungaria and its borders, was duly acknowledged by them as their chief, and in this way integrated in one hand a very wide empire or, rather, to be perhaps more exact, continued the Khitan empire in the western portion of the wide district which once acknowledged its supremacy.

It is not my present purpose to tell the history of this empire in detail. This has been already well done by Dr. Bretschneider, *Notices of Med. Geography*, p. 22 ff., while I have described it elsewhere in the *Journal of the R. Asiatic Society*. Here it will suffice to mention that the ruler of Kara Khitai was obeyed by the various nomadic Turks from the Volga to the Gobi steppe. His capital was called Balasaghun, probably, as Dr. Bretschneider suggests, a corruption of *Balghasun*, Mongol for city. Balasaghun had been the capital of the Western Turks in the sixth century. It was, according to Juveni, named Gubaligh, *i.e.* the Good City, by the Mongols. The Chinese authors call it Gudse wardo.[1] Its site has been much debated, but the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* clearly points to its having been situated on the Chui, a river which rises in the mountains west of lake Issikul and flows westwards.[2] The ruler of Kara Khitai was styled Gurkhan, which, according to Juveni, means "universal Khân."

The Uighurs, the Karluks, the Kipchaks and Kankalis, and perhaps also the Naimans,—all Turkish tribes,—were among his tributaries, and his position at the accession of Chinghiz Khân was doubtless that of the most powerful ruler of Eastern Asia. To understand the cause of quarrel which Chinghiz had against him, we must revert somewhat. We have seen how, when the confederated Naiman and Merkit chiefs were defeated by the Mongols on the Irtish, those of them who survived the fight fled in various directions. Kushluk, the son of the chief of the Naimans, escaped, according to the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, through the country of Veiukharlu, *i.e.* of the Uighur-Karluks, to the river Chui, where he joined the Gurkhan of Kara Khitai.[3] Rashidu'd-dîn tells us he went towards Bishbaligh and reached Kuja, *i.e.* Kucha, west of Kharashar.[4] The *Yuan-shi* and the Muḥammadan historians agree in dating this event in the year 1208.[5] At this time Chiluku was Gurkhan of Kara Khitai. Kushluk did not enter his presence, but sat himself on a mat outside the audience chamber, while one of his courtiers personated him inside. Meanwhile he was casually seen by Gerbasu, the daughter of Chiluku's eldest wife who detected him, and in the course of three days he married her daughter Khunkhu. She was not entitled to wear the royal diadem, but only the head-dress, called *Bogtak* by the Chinese.[6] This head-dress, as Quatremère says, was doubtless the same as that described by Rubruquis, and which he calls *botta* and also *boccha*, both being doubtless corruptions of *bokta.*[7]

Khunkhu was only 15 years old when Kushluk married her, but she was his equal both in prudence and experience, and acquired such influence over him that she persuaded him to abandon Christianity, to which religion he belonged, and adopt Buddhism, and eventually urged him to plot against her grandfather and to seize his throne.[8]

D'Ohsson and Raverty both say Kushluk married the Gurkhan's daughter and not his granddaughter. The Gurkhan was a frivolous person, chiefly occupied in hunting, and his dependents, the rulers of the Uighurs and the Karluks, detached themselves from him, drove

[1] Probably the *ordu* or camp of the Ghuz being its meaning.
[2] See Bretschneider, *Notices of Med. Geog.*, note 57.
[3] *Op. cit.* p. 110.
[4] D'Ohsson, vol. I, p. 105.
[5] Bretschneider, *Notices of Med. Geog.*, note 65.
[6] Erdmann, p. 335.
[7] Quatremère, tome I, p. 102 and 103 note.
[8] Erdmann, p. 335.

out his *darughas* or deputies, and allied themselves with Chinghiz Khân as I have described.

Meanwhile Kushluk obtained his permission to utilize Chinghiz Khân's absence in China to collect together the *débris* of the Naimans, his father's people, who were scattered in the districts of Imil, Kayalik and Bishbaligh, assuring him that he only wished to employ them in his service. He accordingly collected them together, and was also joined by a chief of the Merkits. With the troops he thus brought together he began to plunder the eastern dominions of the Gurkhan as far as Khoten, a policy which attracted fresh recruits to his banners.[9] He also entered into negotiations with the great Khuarezm Shâh Muḥammad, to whom he offered the western dominions of the Gurkhan if he would help him. Muḥammad had recently won over the Turkish ruler of Samarkand, Osman, a former dependent of the Gurkhan. He was descended from the old Imperial stock of the Turks, and still bore the lordly title of Sulṭân of Sulṭâns. Osman had asked the hand of a daughter of the Gurkhan in marriage, and his request having been refused, and having been also pressed for tribute, he transferred his allegiance to the Khuarezm Shâh. To punish him the Gurkhan sent an army against him, while Muḥammad went to his support; but before his arrival, the Gurkhan had turned elsewhere to meet the threatened approach of Kushluk, who had surprised Uzkend,—where he kept his treasures,—and had also tried to capture Balasaghun. He was, however, defeated on the river Chinbie, (?) and forced to retire, by the aged Gurkhan.

Muḥammad, the Khuarezm Shâh, having united his forces to those of Osman, marched northwards against Kara Khitai. Near Taraz he met the Gurkhan general Taniko or Baniko, whom he defeated and captured, and afterwards put to death. The troops of Kara Khitai in their retreat committed great ravages, and when they approached Balaṣaghun found the gates closed against them. They attacked the place, broke their way in by means of elephants after a siege of ten days,[10] and committed a great slaughter, in which 47,000 men perished. The Gurkhan's treasury was empty, and fearing that some call would be made upon his hoards, Mahmud Taij,[11] one of his generals, counselled him to replenish it by making the troops surrender the booty which they had captured in the recent fight with Kushluk. This so displeased his generals that they abandoned him, and Kushluk, taking advantage of the circumstance, returned and surprised him in his capital. This, we are told, was in the year 608.[12]

Kushluk treated his captive with consideration, and left him the insignia and dignity of sovereignty. Chiluku survived his capture two years, and was succeeded in his honours and power by Kushluk.[13] The Chinese account in the *Liao-shi*, tells us that Chiluku was surprised by Kushluk when hunting, and fell into an ambuscade of 8,000 Hoeihou or Uighurs, who had been planted to waylay him. Kushluk then appropriated the Gurkhan's titles, and had himself proclaimed emperor, at the same time adopting the costume and customs of the Liau dynasty. He gave the title of Tai-shang-hoang[14] to Chiluku, and that of Hoang-thai-hou,[15] being the title borne by the empress dowager in China, to Chiluku's wife, and so long as they lived he paid his respects to them daily.[16]

During the next four years, we are told, Kushluk made himself too well known by his rapine and tyrannical conduct. He despatched various armies to attack the neighbouring districts which had broken away from their allegiance, and notably Kashgar. We are told that he released the son of the Khân of Kashgar who had been imprisoned by the Gurkhan, but on arriving at the gates of that city the young prince was massacred. To reduce the country of Kashgar more effectually, troops were sent to lay it waste at harvest time, and they burnt a large portion of the grain which they could not carry away. A famine was the consequence, and the citizens were by it in spite of the advice of the governor of the place constrained to submit, and it was no small sacrifice for true believers thus to subject themselves to idolators. Thereupon Kushluk went in person to Kashgar to enjoy his triumph, and advanced thence to Khoten, whose inhabitants were ordered to abandon Islâm, and to accept either Christianity

[9] Erdmann, 335-337.
[10] D'Ohsson says sixteen.
[11] Called Mahmud Bai by D'Ohsson.
[12] *i.e.* 1211-1212.
[13] Erdmann, pp. 335-339; D'Ohsson, vol. I, pp. 166-169.
[14] The very great, supreme august one.
[15] *i.e.* the august and very great queen.
[16] Visdelou, p. 32; Bretschneider, *Notices of Med. Geog.*, p. 29.

or Buddhism. Professing that he intended to show them the falseness of their faith, he summoned a great meeting outside the city walls which was attended by 30,000 people, and proclaimed that whoever wished to dispute with him about religion had only to present himself. Thereupon the chief of the Imâms, Alai-u'd-dîn Muḥammad Al Husain came forward, and defended his faith with warmth. Kushluk, hard pressed by his arguments replied with insult and contumely, in which he did not spare the prophet himself, whereupon the Imâm prayed that Allah would close his mouth with earth. He was thereupon seized, and torments having in vain been applied to him to make him recant, was nailed by four nails to the door of a college he had had built, and thus perished after being exposed several days and nights, during which he encouraged his countrymen to abide by the faith. Kushluk forbade the public prayers and other services of Islâm, which now passed under a cloud in that district.[17]

We are told by Juveni, that at this time a brave and resolute man named Ozar,[18] having secured considerable treasure, and a large following in these troubled times, managed to conquer a considerable district, including Almaligh and Fulad, *i. e.* Pulad, a town situated near Lake Sairam mentioned by Rashidu'd-dîn, and in more than one Chinese itinerary, and by the European travellers Haithon and Rubruquis.[19] To protect himself from the attacks of Kushluk he would seem also to have submitted to Chinghiz, and according to Juveni, he went to visit that conqueror in person in 1211.[20] Major Raverty, I don't know on what authority, says he was well received by Chinghiz, and given a robe of honour and a thousand sheep, while Juchi sought his daughter in marriage.[21] This goes to show he was no mere adventurer, but belonged to the old stock of the Khâns of Almaligh. Kushluk marched against him more than once, and at length surprised him while hunting near Almaligh, and put him to death. The inhabitants of that town refused to admit Kushluk, as the rumour was abroad that Chinghiz was approaching.[22] Ozar's son, Siknak Tigin, succeeded him at Almaligh with Chinghiz Khân's approval, and he married a daughter of Juchi.[23]

Raverty says Ozar was a Kankali, which is doubtless a mistake. Erdmann says he was a Karluk.[24] In the *Yuan-shi-lei-pen* he is called Ganchor, one of the chiefs of the tribe of Yongku, and he is said to have captured Oli-ma-li, *i.e.* Almaligh.[25]

After his campaign in China, Chinghiz determined to crush Kushluk, the son of his old enemy Tayang Khân, who had usurped so much authority, and he ordered his famous general Chepe to march against him with a tuman of troops, *i. e.* with 10,000 men. According to the biography of Te-hai, Dje-bo, as Chepe is there called, on his expedition to the West, crossed lake Kizilbash.[26] He then apparently advanced by way of Bishbaligh, which was besieged and captured by Kopaoyu, a Chinese officer much esteemed by Chinghiz.[27] The Idikut of the Uïghurs also accompanied Chepe in this campaign, and was doubtless reinstated by him.[28] In the biography of Ho-sze-mai-li,[29] in chapter 120 of the *Yuan-shi*, we are told he was a native of Gudse-wardo and a confidant of the Gurkhan. He governed the two towns of Ko-san and Ba-sze-ha.[30] Having surrendered with the chiefs of those cities, he entered the advanced guard commanded by Chepe Noyan. Kushluk was then living at Kashgar, and when he heard of Chepe's advance, he retired towards Badakhshan. Chepe issued a proclamation offering liberty of worship, and the citizens proceeded to put to death Kushluk's soldiers who had been billeted upon them. Kushluk was now pursued. Abulghazi tells us that Chepe having pursued Kushluk warmly, lost traces of him, when he met a man conducting a *kush*, who told him he had seen three men resembling those whom he described. He speedily went

[17] Erdmann, pp. 339-341; D'Ohsson, vol. I, p. 171.
[18] Erdmann reads the name Kunas, and says he was surnamed Merdi Shuja, or the lion-hearted.
[19] Bretschneider, *Notices of Med. Geog.*, &c., p. 147.
[20] D'Ohsson, vol. I, p. 111.
[21] *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, p. 986, note. [22] Erdmann, p. 339.
[23] Juveni quoted by D'Ohsson, vol. I, p. 111; Raverty *op. cit.*, p. 986, note.
[24] *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, p. 985-6 note; Erdmann, p. 339.
[25] Gaubil, p. 35.
[26] Bretschneider, *Notes, etc.*, p. 69 note 37.
[27] Gaubil, p. 35. [28] id. 38. [29] *i. e.* Ismael.
[30] The first of these names has been identified by Dr. Bretschneider with Kassan, a small town of Ferghana, mentioned by Baber (*Notes on Chinese Travellers, etc.* pp. 114, 115, notes 24, 26. In a later publication he changed his opinion and identified the two towns with the Casem and Pashai of Marco Polo which were situated in Badakhshan.—Bretschneider, *Notices, etc.*, p. 41, note 67.

after the fugitives, and having overtaken Kushluk, cut off his head, and returned to Chinghiz.[31] Other writers tell us Kushluk was captured by a party of hunters, that many precious stones, corn, etc., fell into the captors' hands, and that Chepe sent Kushluk's head to Chinghiz Khân as a trophy.[32] This is confirmed by the biography of Ho-sze-mai-li already named, where we read that it was he who killed Kushluk, and Chepe ordered him to take the head of the victim and carry it through the cities of his Empire.[33] After this the cities of Kashgar, Yarkand and Khotan surrendered to the Mongols.[34] According to the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, Kushluk was overtaken and killed at a place called Salikhkun, the Salikhuan of the *Huang-yuan*. The Muḥammadan writers generally call it Sarigh-kul, on the borders of Badakhshan. Erdmann has it Weradni, on the borders of Badakhshan on the Sarigh-kul road.[35] Minhaj-i-Siraj says on the boundaries of Jab and Kikrab, which is Ghuzistân, and the hill tracts of Samarkand.[36]

When Chinghiz heard of Chepe's victory, he sent him word to beware of being inflated by his success, for it was pride which had undone Wang Khân, Tayang Khân, Kushluk Khân, etc.

C h e p e belonged to the tribe of the Baisut, called Yissut by D'Ohsson. It was reported of him that when Chinghiz Khân defeated the Baisut, Chepe and other warriors hid away to escape being put to death or being reduced to slavery. One day when Chinghiz was engaged in one of his great hunts, in which a large area of country was surrounded by a ring of hunters, Chepe found himself by chance enclosed by the Mongol warriors. Chinghiz would have run him down, when Bughurjin, one of his principal officers, asked permission to be allowed to engage him in person. Chinghiz, at his request, lent him a horse with a white muzzle.[37] Bughurjin fired an arrow, but missed his opponent. Chepe, more adroit, killed his adversary's horse and then fled; but presently finding himself without resources, he offered his services to Chinghiz. Knowing his bravery, the latter offered him the command of ten men, and gradually promoted him to command a hundred, a thousand, and finally ten thousand. When Chepe had brought his campaign against Kushluk to a successful termination, he wished to repair the injury he had done his master formerly in killing one of his horses, and having procured a thousand horses with white muzzles, he sent them to him. Chepe, in Mongol, means an arrow with a wooden point.[38] Van Hammer, I don't know on what authority, says that in memory of his victory over Kushluk, Chepe erected a monument on the river Konduya, with an inscription in Mongolian,[39] as a talisman against the *Elie* or winged spirits.[40]

Kushluk had a sister named Asbesh, who had three sons, Yushmut, Uljai Abugan and Abaji. A fourth brother named Abaju Abugan had previously died, and left a son named Jautu. His mother was a Naiman. He had four brothers, Nemjanush Shar, Taru Shar, Bamian Shar, and Tugmeh Shar. This word *Shar*, according to Erdmann, is undoubtedly the origin of the Russian word *Tsar*, and means also 'prince.' The Naimans belonging to this stock, *i. e.* to the Royal house, were also called Bede Timur.[41]

While Chepe was sent to overwhelm Kushluk, S u b u t a i was despatched to crush the M e r k i chiefs, who, after their defeat by the Uighurs had sought refuge among the Kankalis and Kipchaks,—nomadic Turks who lived in the steppes to the south-west and west of lake Balkbash, and who had been in alliance with Kushluk. The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* tells us that Chinghiz ordered Subutai to pursue the children of Tokhtoa, Khuta and Chilaun. Subutai followed them to the river C h u i, caught them there, slew them, and then returned.[42] In another place, in the same work, we read that Chinghiz built an iron waggon for Subutai, and sent him in pursuit of the children of Tokhtoa Khudu and others, and said to him: "Having suffered defeat at our hands, they fled like wild horses, with halters about their necks, and like wounded deer. If they find themselves wings and mount into the sky, be thou a falcon and overtake them. If they bury themselves in the ground like mice, be thou an iron pickaxe and dig them out. If like fishes they take to the sea, be thou a net and pull them out;" and

[31] *Op. cit.* p. 102. [32] Erdmann, p. 362.
[33] *I. e.* the empire of Kara Khitai. [34] *Id* p. 41.
[35] *Op. cit.* p. 362. [36] *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, p. 980.
[37] In Mongol, says Rashidu'd-dîn, *Chagan-aman-kula*. The Turks and Mongols call a roan horse *kula*. D'Ohsson, vol. I, p. 173 note.
[38] Rashidu'd-dîn quoted by Erdmann *op. cit.* pp. 227, 228; D'Ohsson vol. I, pp. 172-174.
[39] *i. e.* Uighurian writing.
[40] *Gesch. der Gold. Horde*, p. 73.
[41] Erdmann, note 214.
[42] *Op. cit.* p. 131.

he added: "For crossing high mountains and traversing broad rivers, employ the season when your horses are in good condition. Be careful of your warriors. Do not, unless it be necessary, waste your time on the way in hunting. Do not let your warriors bridle their horses or use backbands. They will not, therefore, be able to ride them at full speed. If any one disobeys your command who is known to me, bring him to me. If unknown to me, execute him on the spot. If by the favour of heaven you should overtake the children of Tokhtoa, kill them. When I was young three Merkit tribes tried to capture me, and thrice pursued me round the mountain Burkhan. This unfriendly race has now retired, using contemptuous words. I have made you an iron waggon, and entrusted to you the task of pursuing them to the utmost limits. You will be far away, but it will be the same as if you were near me. Heaven will protect you on the way."[43] This is dated in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, but no doubt wrongly, in the year 1205.

The *Yuan-shi* contains two special biographies of Subutai, which, like the other biographies in that work, are very unsatisfactory, and in fact contradictory. The notices of this expedition contained in them have been abstracted by Palladius. In one of them we read that, as the strong Melili[44] would not surrender, Chinghiz, in the year 1216 (?) when he was in the Black Forest on the river Tula, sent Subutai against them. Alichu went in advance with 100 men, and pretended to run away. In 1219 (?) the Mongol army arrived at the river Chian[45] and defeated the Melili. Their two leaders were taken prisoners. Their chief, Khodu, fled into Kincha,[46] Subutai followed and defeated the Kincha in Juigu."[47] The other biography says that in the year 1216 Subutai defeated the Melili at the river Chian, and followed *their chief* Juigu (?)[48]

The *Huang-yuan* says that in the year 1217 Chinghiz sent the great chief Subutai-badu, having fitted with iron the wheels of his *kibitka*, to the tribe Myerki. Having united himself with the previously despatched division of 3,000 men under Tokhuchara, he reached the river Tsian, met the Merkit chief there, and gave him battle; having completely annihilated the Myerki he returned.[49]

This notice, as usual, corresponds with that of the Muḥammadan writers. They tell us how Khudua or Khudu, the brother of the Merkit chief, Tukhta, with the latter's three sons, Jilaun, Jiyuk and Khultukan Mergen, had collected a fresh army and were engaged in plundering. Thereupon Chinghiz, in the year 1216, despatched Subutai Bahadur, and as he had to traverse a very mountainous district, he supplied him with carts strengthened with iron. He was also joined by the Kunkurat Tughachar, who had been left by Chinghiz with a body of 2,000 men to guard his home when he set out for China. The two having united their forces, encountered Khudu and his nephews on the river Jem, and inflicted a terrible defeat upon them, in which Khudu and two of his nephews were killed. The third, Khultukhan, who was a famous archer, whence his surname of Mergen, was captured and taken to Juchi, the eldest son of Chinghiz Khân. Wishing to see some proof of his skill, Khultukan shot two arrows, the first of which hit the mark, while the second split the former in two. Juchi, charmed with his skill, sent an express to ask his father to grant him his life, but he replied, "the Merkit race is of all peoples the most objectionable. The son of Tukhta is an ant who in time will become a serpent and an enemy of the state. I have conquered so many kings and defeated so many armies that we can well spare a man," and he ordered Juchi to put him to death.[50]

When he heard of this defeat of the Merkits, according to the Muḥammadan historians, the Khuarezm Shâh Muḥammad set out for Jend, not far from which the fight took place. Having reinforced his troops, he advanced with them, and at length came upon a battlefield still cumbered with corpses between the rivers Kaili (?) and Kaimich,[51] (?) among which was a Merkit who was still living, who informed him the Mongols had won the day and retired again. Muḥammad went in pursuit and overtook them the following

[43] *Id.* pp. 111 and 112.
[44] *i. e.* Merkits.
[45] Chui?
[46] Kipchak.
[47] Written Yü-yü by Bretschneider, *Notices*, etc., p. 174, note 303.
[48] *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, note 491. Perhaps Juigu is a corruption of Chui.
[49] *Op. cit.* p. 190.
[50] Erdmann, pp. 332 and 333; D'Ohsson, vol. I, pp. 155, 156. *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 980-982 notes.
[51] Abulghazi says between the Kabli and Kamaj.

day. He was about to attack them when the Mongol chief[52] son of Chinghiz, sent him word that their two kingdoms were not at war, and that he had received orders to treat the Khuarezmian troops he might meet in this district well, and offered him a portion of the prisoners and booty he had captured from the Merkits. Muḥammad, whose troops were more numerous than those of his opponent, did not heed these friendly approaches. "If Chinghiz Khân has not ordered you to fight me, God has ordered me to attack you, and I shall deserve His favours in destroying the infidels." A struggle thereupon commenced, the Mongols dispersed the left wing of the Khuarezmian army, and charged the centre under Muḥammad, and would have also broken it if Jelâlu'd-dîn, Muḥammad's son, had not rushed from the right wing, which had been victorious, to his father's succour, and thus restored the fight, which continued until nightfall. At night the Mongols having lighted some fires hastily withdrew, so that by morning they had covered two days' march. This encounter gave Muḥammad a good notion of the manner of men they were whom he had so heedlessly provoked.[53]

In the *Yuan-shi-lei-pen* we have an incident of this battle reported which is not named by the Western writers. We read that Pitu, the son of Yeliu Liuku who had been appointed king of Liau-tung by Chinghiz Khan, took part in this fight, on the side of the Mongols, as did his relative Yeliu Kohay. The former was badly wounded, but seeing Juchi, Chinghiz Khân's eldest son, surrounded by the enemy, he rushed to the rescue, and both managed to force their way out.[54]

While Chepe and Subutai were engaged in subduing the empire of Kara Khitai and the Merkit chiefs, Chinghiz Khân himself apparently had another campaign against Hia or Tangut. Li-tsun-hien, called Li-tsun-sian by Hyacinthe, who had succeeded his father Li-ngan-chuen, as king of Hia, was besieged in his capital, and eventually fled to Si-leang.[55]

Chinghiz now sent his son Juchi to subdue the tribes of Siberia. The *Huang-yuan* and Rashidu'd-dîn tell us that in view of the war with the Tumats, previously named, Chinghiz had sent to collect some troops from among the Kirghiz. They would not provide any, and even rebelled, whereupon he, in the New year, 1219, sent his eldest son Juchi against them. He crossed the Kem Kemjut and other rivers on the ice, and forced the Kirghises to submit. Tulun, surnamed Bukha,[56] who commanded the advance guard having pursued the Kirghises, returned from the river Heshim (*i.e.* the well-known tributary of the Irtish, called the Ishim, which was doubtless beyond the frontiers of the Kirghises, who had been pursued beyond their own borders).

The Kirghises now sent three of their chiefs, named Urukha Alju, Alibeg Timur, and Atkherakh, with white-eyed falcons. The *Huang-yuan* says they pursued them to the river Imar and then returned. The eldest prince, *i. e.* Juchi, then crossed the river Kian[57] at a ford and descending it subdued the tribes, Kergis,[58] Khaukhasi,[59] Telyanu,[60] Keshidimi Khoin[61] and the Irgan[62] (?).

This interesting notice of the conquest of some of the Siberian tribes is given in greater detail in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, which has, however, apparently confused this with the earlier campaign against the Kirghiz. We there read that in 1207 Chinghiz ordered Juchi to march against the forest people, with the division of the right hand, and commanded Bukha to pioneer the way. Khudukha-beki, the ruler of the Uirads, acted as his guide. When he arrived at the place Shikhshit, *i. e.* no doubt the tributary of the Kem or Upper Yenisei, called Shiskit, the Uirads and other tribes submitted. These other tribes are thus enumerated: Bulia,[63] Barkhun,[64] the Ursu.[65] The Khakhanasi,[66] the

[52] Muhammad of Nissa and Ibn-al-athir say this chief was Juchi.

[53] Erdmann, pp. 365 and 6; D'Ohsson, vol. I, pp. 208-210; Abulghazi, pp. 106 and 107.

[54] *Gaubil*, p. 36.

[55] The modern Leang-chau-fu in Kansuh. This campaign is dated by DeMailla in 1218. DeMailla, tome IX, p. 84; Douglas, p. 88; Hyacinthe, p. 91; D'Ohsson, vol. I, p. 162.

[56] Erdmann says Tukha; Quatremère, *op. cit.* pp. 411 and 12 notes; Erdmann, p. 362-3; D'Ohsson, p. 1-157.

[57] *i.e.* the Kem. *Op. cit.* 191.

[58] *i.e.* The Kirghiz.

[59] *i.e.* Kemkemjut.

[60] *i.e.* The Telenguts.

[61] *i.e.* The Kishtimis.

[62] *i.e.* the Urianguts.

[63] Or Buria? the Buriats.

[64] ? The Burkhut of Rashidu'd-dîn, so called, he says, from their living on this side, *i.e.* west of the Selinga and the district of Burkhajin Tugrum. Erdmann, *Temudschin*, p. 189.

[65] Doubtless the Urasut of Rashidu'd-dîn who, he says, were very like the Mongols, and were well acquainted with the medicines used by them. They were also, he says, called the forest people, as they lived in the forests on the borders of the Kirghises and Kemkemjuts.—*id.* p. 191.

[66] ? A corruption of the Kishtimis or Kestimis, who are named with the Urasut by Rashidu'd-dîn—*id.*

Kankhasi,[67] and the Tuba or Tubasi.[68] These various tribes doubtless lived on the upper Irtish. Some of their names are probably corrupt; we have them preserved not in the text of the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, printed by Palladius, but in the epitome of that work.[69] When the tonic text, of which we are promised an edition by Mr. Podsneyef, is published, we shall be in a better position to criticize them.

To continue, however: on the arrival of Juchi and Bukha at the residence of the tribes of "Van Kirghiz," their ruler, Yediinal, with others, submitted and appeared before Juchi with a white falcon, a white net and black sables. Juchi subdued all the people living in the forest, from S h i b i r to the south. This is the first mention known to me of this famous topographical name.

There is a notice of this campaign also in the *Yuan-shi*, where we are told that Tutukha moved from Kholin,[70] and reached in the spring the river Kian,[71] along which he travelled for several days to the Kiligisi, and subdued all the five tribes.[72] Well may Palladius, who quotes this passage, say that the accounts vary. The first mention of Siberia in a contemporary document must excuse a slight digression on this important name. On a later occasion, we are told in the *Yuan-shi* how the armies of Khubilai reached I b i r S h i b i r.[73] Rashid speaks of the land as A b i r u S i b i r, and A b i r u S a b i r, and Quatremère connects the two names with the allied tribes of the A v a r s and S a b i r i, who invaded Europe in the 6th century. The author of the *Mesalek Alabsar* speaks of the country of S a b i r u A b a r, and tells us how a terrible cold prevailed there, the snow falling for six months consecutively, the plains and mountains being covered with it, the flocks being few and the means of subsistence scarce.[74] In a passage of the *Matla Alsaadein*, we read that the Mirza Alau'd-daulah lived in the country of A b a r u S a b i r, situated at the extremity of the land of the Uzbegs.[75] S i b e r i a is first mentioned in the Russian annals in January 1407, when we are told that Toktamish was killed in the Siberian land by Shadibeg.[76]

Shortly after we get a longer notice in the pages of the Bavarian Schiltberger, whose romantic travels cover the years between 1394—1427. He tells us of a land called I b i s s i b u r, whither the famous chief and king-maker among the Mongols of the Golden Horde, Idiku, retired. In that land, he says, is a mountain which is two and thirty days journey in length (? the Urals), beyond which, according to the report of the inhabitants, is a great desert, where nothing can live, reaching to the end of the world. In this mountain there dwell a wild people who lived apart from other nations, only their hands and faces being free from hair. They hunted wild animals in the mountains, and also fed on leaves and grass, and whatever they met with. The ruler of the country sent Idiku a wild man and woman, who had been captured there. The horses there were of the size of asses. There were in that land dogs which drew carts and sledges, containing clothes. They were as large as asses, and were also eaten. Schiltberger reports the inhabitants as Christians, and makes their country the land of the Three Kings. The inhabitants of this land were called U g u i e.[77] It was customary in that country, when a young man died unmarried, to dress him in his best clothes, to hold a feast, lay his corpse on a bier, and then raise a canopy over it. This was carried in procession, accompanied by the young people in their best clothes, behind went the father and mother and other relatives making lamentations. When they reached the grave they held a funeral-feast, the young folk sitting round, playing, eating, and drinking, while the father, mother, and friends sat wailing until the food was consumed, when they were escorted home, &c.[78]

Schiltberger reports these matters as having come within his own observation. They may be compared with the account given by Marco Polo of the dominions of king Conchi,[79] and of the Land of Darkness, as described by Ibn Batuta.

[67] ? The Kemkemjut.

[68] Doubtless the Tuwalas of Rashidu'd-dîn, and classed by him with the Burkhut, perhaps the dwellers on the Tuba are meant.

[69] See Palladius, note 497.

[70] Karakorum.

[71] *I.e.* the Kem.

[72] *Yuan-ch'ao pi-shi*, note 498.

[73] Palladius, *op. cit.* note 500.

[74] Quatremère, *op. cit.* 413 note.

[75] *Id.* 414 note.

[76] Lehrberg, *Altere Geschichte Russlands*, pp. 76, 77.

[77] Ugrians.

[78] Schiltberger's *Travels*, ed. Neumann, pp. 88-90.

[79] *Op. cit.* Yule's ed. vol. II, p. 478, &c.

Schiltberger also mentions a town of Ibissibar.[80] This town occurs frequently in the subsequent notices of the Russian conquests of Yermak and his companions. It was situated on the right bank of the Irtish, about 20 versts above Tobolsk, in a place called Kashlik by the natives, and it was otherwise known to the Siberian Tartars as Isker,[81] but the Tartars, as I have shown in my work on the Mongols, were not the original occupants of this area but conquerors, and the name Sibir was probably that in use among the people whom they conquered, namely, the Ugrians. Its exact connotation as applied to the district is not easy to determine, but it was probably applied generally to the area bounded by the Irtish and lying to the north of the steppes of the Kirghiz Kazaks and Barabinski. Let us now turn again to the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*. We are told there that Juchi subdued all the peoples living in the forests, from the race of Shibir to the south. These tribes are thus enumerated Shibir, Kesidiin,[82] Bachi, Tukhessi (?), Tianli, Tolesi (?), Tass (?) and the Bajiji (?). On his return home, we are told, he took with him the Kirghiz commanders and the petty chiefs of the forest people, and presented himself to Chinghiz Khân, who said to him, "Of my sons, you are the eldest. Now you have made war for the first time, and have subdued all the people living in the forest. These people I give to you."[83]

SANSKRIT AND OLD-CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo.C.S., M.R.A.S.

Continued from p. 91.

No. CXLI.

The Ilâô grant of Dadda II. was originally published by Professor R. G. Bhâṇḍârkar in the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. pp. 19ff. I re-edit it now, with a lithograph, from the original plates, which belong to the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. They were found in the vicinity of Ilâô, in the Broach District.

The plates are two in number, each about 11⅝″ long by 6¾″ broad. The edges were fashioned slightly thicker, so as to serve as rims to protect the writing; and the inscription is in a state of perfect preservation throughout. There are holes for two rings; but only the left-hand ring, which had not been cut, was forthcoming when the grant came into my hands. It is about ⅝″ thick, and of an irregular shape like the rings of the Valabhî grants. The seal on it is roughly circular, about 1¾″ or 1⅞″ in diameter; and it has, in relief on a countersunk surface, a device of uncertain nature, though it may possibly be intended for Garuḍa as a bird, and below it, in characters more legible in the original than in the lithograph, the legend *Śrî-Dad*[*d**]*a*. The language is Sanskṛit throughout; and, down to l. 13, the text agrees almost word for word with the text of the Umètâ grant. In both of these grants, moreover, the description of Dadda I., in lines 1 to 6, is taken word for word from the description of Dadda II. in lines 25 to 31 of the two Kaira grants.

The inscription is of the time of Dadda II., otherwise called Praśântarâga. It is dated in Śaka 417 (A.D. 495-6), at the time of an eclipse of the sun on the new-moon day of the month Jyêshṭha. General Cunningham gives, as the corresponding English date, Wednesday the 8th June A.D. 495, on which day there was an eclipse of the sun. But the eclipse occurred in Paris at 6-30 P.M. Therefore it occurred in Gujarât about eleven o'clock at night, and was invisible, and was, accordingly, an eclipse of which the Hindu astrologers would take no notice. Pandit Bhagwânlâl Indrajî,—whose remarks against the genuineness of this grant, at pp. 72-74 above, must be borne in mind,—is disposed to consider that the forger of this grant obtained a genuine record of an eclipse of the sun on the new-moon day of the month Jyêshṭha in the year 417 of the real era of the Gurjara grants, and referred the year to the Śaka era through ignorance of the era that it really belonged to. The results of the calculation made by General Cunningham on this hypothesis, have been given at p. 77 above.

[80] *Op. cit.* p. 106. [81] Lehrberg, *op. cit.* p. 80.
[82] Rashidu'd-dîn refers to a tribe Kestemi among the forest people. These were no doubt the Kishtimis of the Russian writers, see Müller, *Saml. Russ. Gesch. bk.* VIII, p. 127; Pallas, *Voyages*, vol. IV, 538 note. Gmelin in his *Siberian Travels*, French Translation, by Keralio, vol. I, p. 129, gives Kestemi as a synonym for Theleit, by whom he means the Telenguts, and Rashidu'd-dîn puts the Kestemis and Telenguts under one heading.
[83] *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, p. 132.

The charter is issued from the victorious camp at the gate of the city of **Bharukachchha** or Broach. And it records a grant of the village of **Râïdham**, in the *vishaya* of **Akulêśvara**.[1] This must be another name, approaching more closely to the modern Aṅkulêśwar or Aṅklêśwar, of the Akrûrêśvara of Nos. CXXXIX. and CXL. The village granted was bounded on the east by the village of **Vâranêra**, which Professor Bhâṇḍârkar identifies with the modern 'Walner,' about four miles to the north-east of Ilâô, and eight miles to the south-east of Aṅklêśwar; on the south, by the river **Varaṇḍâ**, which he identifies with the modern 'Wand-Khari;' on the west, by the village of **Śuṇṭhavaḍaka** or Śuṇṭhavâḍaka; and on the north, by the village of **Araluâm**. Śuṇṭhavaḍaka or Śuṇṭhavâḍaka is perhaps the modern 'Sunthwâḍ' in the 'Chikhli' Tâlukâ of the Surat District; but I have no maps at hand to ascertain the position of this village.[2] The villages of Râïdham and Araluâm remain to be identified.

Text.[3]

First plate.

[1] Ôm Svasti Vijaya-vikshêpât Bharukachchha-pradvâra-nâ(vâ[4])sakât [|*] Saka(ja[5])la-ghana-paṭala-vinirggata-rajanikara-kâ(ka)r-âvabôdhita-kumuda-

[2] dhavala-yaśa[ḥ*]-pratâp(n[6])-[â*]sthagita-nabhô-maṇḍalô=nêka - samara - saṁkaṭa - pramukh-[â*]gata-nihata-śatru-sâmaṁta-kulavadhû-prabhâtasama-

[3] ya-rudita-pha(chchha[7])l-ôdgi(dgî)yamâna-vimala-nistriṁśa-pratâpô dêva-dvijâti-guru-charaṇa-kamala-praṇâm-ôdghrishṭa-vajra-maṇi-kôṭi-ruchira-dî-

[4] dhiti-virâjita-makuṭ-ôdbhâsita-śirâḥ di(dî)n-ânâth-âtur-[â*]bhyâgat-[â*]rthijan-[â*]chli-(kli)shṭa-paripûrita-vibhava-manôrath-ôpachîyamâna-tri(trî)vishṭa-

[5] p-aika-sahâya-dharmma-saṁchayaḥ praṇaya-parikupita-mâninîjana-praṇâma-pûrvva-madhû(dhu)ra-vachan-ôpapâdita-prasâda-prakâśi(śî)krita-vidagdha-nâ-

[6] garaka-svabhâvô vimala-guṇa-paṁjar-[â*]kshipta-bahala-Kali-timira-nichayaḥ śrîmad-Dad[d*]as[8]=Tasya su(sû)nu[ḥ*] samada-pratidvaṁdvi-gaja-ghaṭâ-

[7] bhêdi-nistriṁśa-vikramaś-prakaṭita-mṛigapati-kisô(śô)ra-vi(vî)ry-[â*]valêpaḥ payônidhi(dhî)-krita-ubhaya-taṭa-praru(rû)ḍha-dâ(va)na-lêkh[â*]-vihṛita-niraṁkuśa-dâna-pravâ-

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[1] Apparently named after the god Śiva, one of whose names is Akula.

[2] At the beginning of his paper, Prof. Bhâṇḍârkar says that this grant was found in a village in the Surat District. But Ilâô,—in the vicinity of which he says, at the end of his paper, that the grant was found,—is, according to the *Postal Directory of the Bombay Circle*, in the Broach District.

[3] From the original plates.

[4] *Nâsakât* is also the reading of the Umêtâ grant. Dr. Bühler has suggested that this mistake of *nâ* for *vâ* probably arose from the original document, from which the engraver copied, being in current-hand characters.

[5] *Sakala* is also the reading of the Umêtâ grant. But, in addition to the sense, the reading of l. 25 of the two Kaira grants shows that we must correct it into *sajala*. The whole of the description of Dadda I. in this grant, as in the Umêtâ grant, is word for word the description of Dadda II. in the two Kaira grants.

[6] *Pratâpa* is also the reading of the Umêtâ grant. But, in addition to the sense, the reading of l. 26 of the two Kaira grants shows that we must correct it into *pratâna*.

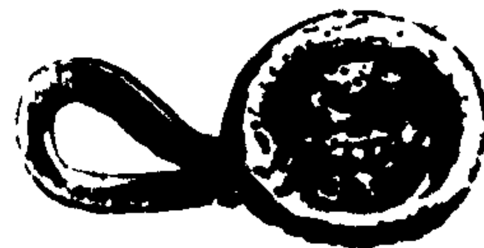
[7] *Phala* is also the reading of the Umêtâ grant. Dr. Bühler doubted the necessity for correcting it into *chchhala*. But the latter is distinctly the reading in l. 27 of the two Kaira grants.

[8] In the Umêtâ grant also, the reading here is *Doda*; but, as in the present grant, the name of his grandson is written *Dadda*. As Dr. Bühler has pointed out (Vol. VII. p. 61, note 4), the modern form of the name is Dâdâjî, and therefore in the old form the *a* of the first syllable must be followed by a double *d*. As a matter of fact, in the inscriptions the name is written Dadda everywhere, except in the present passage, and the corresponding passage in the Umêtâ grant, and in the legend on the seal of the present grant and perhaps on the seal of the Umêtâ grant.—Prof. Bhâṇḍârkar has made some remarks (*Jour. Bo. R. Br. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 20, note *) on the prefix *śrîmat*, stating that he had never found it used as a prefix to the names of kings. It, however, does constantly occur in such a connection,—not only in the case of subordinate kings and feudatory chieftains, e.g. *śrîman-mahâmaṇḍalêśvaraṁ Chaṭṭalarâyarasa*, in No. I. l. 10-11, (Vol. IV. p. 179); *śrîmad-Gaṅga-Permânaḍi-Bhuvanaikavîran = Udayâdityadêva*, in No. II. l. 21-2 (*id.* p. 209); *śrîmad-Upêndra-rivâp ..ayâ*, in No. LXXVIII. l. 31 (Vol. IX. p. 131); *śrîmat Lendeyarasa*, in No. CXXXII. l. 7. (Vol. XII. p. 225); and *śrîmat Permânaḍi-Mârasiṁghadêva*, in No. CXXXIV. l. 10-11, (*id.* p. 256):—but also in the case of paramount sovereigns, e.g. *śrîmat-Trailôkyamalladêva*, in No. I. l. 4-5, (Vol. IV. p. 179); *śrîmad-Bhuvanaikamalladêva*, in No. II. l. 10-11 (Vol. IV. p. 208); *śrîmat-Tribhuvanamalladêva*, in No. CXVI. l. 5-6 (Vol. X. p. 136; *śrîmad-Âdityavarmâ*, in No. CXIX. l. 12-13 (Vol. XI. p. 67); *śrîmad-Vallabhanarêndradêva*, in the Miraj plates (Vol. VIII. p. 18); *śrîmad-Dhârâvarshadêva*, in No. CXXV. l. 33-4 (Vol. XI. p. 159); *śrîmad-Indrarâja*, in No. CXXVII. l. 69 (Vol. XII. p. 161); *śrîmad-Amôghavarsha Nṛipatuṅga*, in No. CXXVIII. l. 16 (*id.* p. 219); *śrîman-Nityavarshadêva*, *śrîmat-Suvarṇavarshadêva*, and *śrîmad-Vallabhanarêndradêva*, in No. CXXXIII. l. 39-40 (*id.* p. 251); *śrîmat Koṭṭigadêva*, in No. CXXXIV. l. 5 (*id.* p. 253); *śrîmad-Akâlavarshadêva*, *śrîmad-Amôghavarshadêva*, and *śrîmad-Vallabhanarêndradêva*, in No. CXXXVI. l. 43-5, (*id.* p. 266); and *śrîmat Kakkaladêva*, in No. CXXXVIII. l. 4-5, (*id.* p. 271).

J. F. FLEET, BO. C. S.

W. GRIGGS PHOTO-LITH LONDON S. E.

ii



PLATES FULL SIZE, SEAL REDUCED ONE HALF.

[9] **ha-pravṛitta-digdanti-vibhrama-guṇa-samûhaḥ sphaṭika-karpu(rpû)ra-piṇḍa-pâṇḍu(ṇḍu)ra-yaśaś-chandana-charchchita-samunnata[9]-gagana-Lakshmî(kshmî)-payôdhar-ô-**

[8] **[t*]saṁgaḥ Śrî-Jayabhaṭas=Tasy=[â*]tmajaḥ pratihata-sakala-jagad-vyâpi-dôsh-âdhi-kâra-vijṛi[ṁ*]bhita-saṁtatâ(ta)-tamô-vṛitvi(tti)r=adhika-guru-snê-**

[10] **ha-saṁpanna[10]-vimala-diś-ôdbhâsita-jîva-lôkaḥ parama-bôdha-samâ(ma)nugatô vipula-Gurjjara-ṇṛip-ânma(nva)ya-pradi(dî)patâ[11]m=upagataḥ**

[11] **samadhigatapaṁchamahâśabda-mahârâjâdhirâja-śrîmad-Daddaḥ kuśalî sarvvân=êva râshṭrapati-vishayapati-grâmaku(kû)ṭ-[â*]yu-**

[12] **ktakâ(ka)-niyuktak-âdhi(dhi)[kâri*[12]]ka-mahattar-âdîṁ[13]t(n)=samâjñ[â*]payati [|*] A[14]stu vô viditaṁ yathâ mayâ mâtâpitrôr=âtmanaś=ch=aiv=âmushmika-puṇya-yaśô-**

[13] **bhivṛiddhayê Abhi(hi ?)chchhatravâstavya-tach[châ*]turvidyasâmânya-K[â*]ś[y*]apa-śa(sa)gôtra-bahavri(sc. hvṛi)cha[15]-sabrahmachâri-bhaṭṭa-Gôvindas=ta-**

Second plate.

[14] **sya su(sû)nu(navê) bhaṭṭa-N[â*]r[â*]yaṇ[â*]ya bali-charu-vaiśvadêv-âgnihôtra-pañcha-(ñcha)mah[â*]ja(ya)jñ-âdi-kṛi(kri)y-ôtsarpaṇ-[â*]rttha[ṁ*][16] Akulêśvara[17]-vishay-[â*]ntaḥpâti-Râï-**

[15] **dhaṁ[18]-grâmô=sy=âgh[â*]ṭa-sth[â*]nâni pu(pû)rvataḥ Vâraṇê(ṇê)ra-grâmaḥ dakshiṇataḥ Varaṇḍ[â*]-nadiḥ[19] paśchimataḥ Śuṁṭhava(vâ ?)ḍaka-grâmaḥ ut[t*]arataḥ**

[16] **Araluäṁ[20]-grâma- | [21] -ś=cha êvam=ayaṁ sva-chatur-âgh[â*]ṭana-viśuddhô grâmaḥ sôdraṅga[ḥ*] s[ô*]parikara[ḥ*] sa-dhânya-hirany(ṇy)-[â*]dêya[ḥ*] s-ôtpadya-mâna-vishṭika[ḥ*]**

[17] **samasta-râjaki(kî)y[â*]n[â*]m=apravêśyam=a(śya â)-chandr-[â*]rk-[â*]rṇṇava-kshiti-sarit-parvata-samâna-kalîna[ḥ*] putra-pautr-ânvaya-kram-ôpabhôgya[ḥ*] pu(pû)rvaprat-ta-dêva-**

[18] **brahma-dâya-varjjam=abhyantara-siddhy[â*] Śaka-nṛipa-kâl-âtîta-saṁvachchha(tsa)ra-śata-chatushṭayê saptadaś-âdhikê Yê(jyê)shṭh-[â*]m[â*]vâsy[â*]-su(sû)rya-grâ-**

[19] **hê udak-âtisargêṇa pratipâditaṁ(ḥ) [|*] Yatô=sy=ôchitay[â*] brahmadâya-sthityâ kṛisha-taḥ karshayatô bhuṁjatô bhê(bhô)jayataḥ pratidiśa-**

[20] **tô vâ na vy[â*]sêdhaḥ pravartitavya[ḥ*] [|*] Tath=âgâmibhir=api nṛipatibhir=asmad-vaṁśyair=anyair=v[â*] sâmânya[ṁ*] bhûmi-dâna-phalam=avêtya bind-u(û)llôlâny=anity[â*]ny=aiśvary[â*]-**

[21] **ni triṇ-[â*]gra-lagna-jala-bindu-chaṅcha(ñcha)laṇ(ñ)=cha jîvitam=[â*]kalayya sva-dâya-nirvisê(śê)shô=yam=asmad-[d*]âyô=numantavyaḥ pâlayitavyaś=cha [|*] Tathâ ch=ôktaṁ [|*]**

[22] **Bahubhir=vasudhâ bhukt[â*] râjabhiḥ Sagar-âdibhiḥ yasya yasya yadâ bhûmis=tasya tasya tadâ phalaṁ [(||)] Yaś=ch=[â*]jñâna-timir-âvṛita-matir=â-**

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[9] In l. 10 of the Umêtâ grant, the reading is *charch-chit-âṅga-samunnata*.

[10] In l. 12 of the Umêtâ grant, the reading is *saṁpatka*.

[11] First *tô* was engraved, and then it was corrected into *tâ* by partial erasure of the first stroke of the *ô*.

[12] The reading *âdhiki* is the same in l. 14 of the Umêtâ grant. There is no doubt, however, that it must be corrected into *âdhikârika*, which is the reading in l. 32 of each of the two Kaira grants.

[13] This *Anusvâra* is a mistake.

[14] First *stu* was engraved, and then it was corrected into *a* by partial erasure.

[15] From *abhi(hi ?)* down to here, the extant text is engraved over a cancelled passage.

[16] Or, by using a form of *m*, which may have been current then, though it is not used elsewhere in this or in the Umêtâ grant, we may read [â*] *rttham = Akulêś-vara*. The character, however seems to be exactly the same as the initial of *Abhi(hi ?) chchh tra* in l. 13.

[17] Prof. Bhâṇḍârkar reads *Aṅkulêśvara*; but there is no nasal in the second syllable, nor any *Anusvâra* over the first.

[18] Prof. Bhâṇḍârkar reads *Râchhchhavaṁ*, and identifies it with the modern 'Racheed.' Under the first two letters there are traces of three cancelled letters, of which the first two are *vari*. As the name stands now, the first syllable is undoubtedly *râ*. The second syllable is somewhat blurred in the lower right-hand corner; but it is without doubt an initial *i*. The third syllable is not exactly *dha*, nor exactly *va*; but it is more like *dha* than *va*.

[19] Correct into *nadî*.

[20] Prof. Bhâṇḍârkar reads *Araṭhuäm*, or *Saraṭhuäm*, with a preference for the latter, which he identifies with the modern 'Surṭham,' about a mile and a half from 'Walner.' The third syllable, however, is undoubtedly *lu*, not *ṭhu*. In the first and fourth syllables we have precisely the same sign as the initial of *Akulêśvara* in the preceding line. It is possible that the name may be *Maralumam* (see note 16 above); but I do not think so.

[21] This mark of punctuation is unnecessary, especially standing, as it does, in the middle of a word.

[23] chchhiṁdy[â*]d=âchchhidyamânam=anumôdêta vâ sa pancha(ñcha)bhir=mmahâpâtakair=upapâtakaiś=cha saṁyukta[ḥ*] syâd=iti [||*] Uktaṁ cha bhagavatâ vêdavyâsê(sê)-

[24] na Vyâśê(sê)na [|*] Shashṭiṁ varsha-sahasrâṇi svargê tishṭhati bhûmi-daḥ a(â)chchhêttâ ch=ânumantâ cha t[â*]ṁ[22]ny=êva narakê vasêt | (||) Yân=îha dattâni purâ-

[25] tan[â*]ni[23] dânâni dharmm-[â*]rtha-yasa(śa)s-karâṇi nirbhukta-mâlya-pratimâni tâni kô nâma sâdhuḥ punar=âdadîta |(||) Sva-dattâṁ paradattâ[ṁ*] vâ ya-

[26] tnâd=raksha narâdhipaḥ[24] mahîṁ mahi(hî)matâṁ srê(śrê)shṭha dânâch=chhrêyô=nupâlanaṁ [||*] Likhitam=idaṁ saṁdhivigrah[â*]dhikṛita-Rêvêṇa M[â*]dhavasutêna [||*] Śrî[25]-Vi(vî)tarâga-su(sû)nô[ḥ*] sva-hastô=yaṁ mama

[27] Srî-Praśântarâgâ(ga)sya [||*]

Translation.

Ôm! Hail! From the victorious camp[26] situated in front of the gate of (*the city of*) Bharukachchha:—[27]

(L. 1.)—(*There was*) the glorious Dadda,—who covered the expanse of the sky with the creeping plant of (*his*) fame, which was as white as a waterlily awakened by the rays of the moon when it has come out of a mass of water-laden clouds; the prowess of whose spotless sword was (*always*) being loudly proclaimed by the weeping in the morning of the wives of the hostile *Sâmantas* who were slain when they came out against (*him*) in the dangers of many battles; whose head was irradiated by a tiara that was decorated with the lustrous rays of a *crore* of diamonds (*in it*) which were scratched by performing obeisance to the feet, which are like waterlilies, of gods and the twice-born and spiritual preceptors; who possessed a store of religion, the sole help to (*obtaining*) paradise, that was (*always*) being increased by satisfying the desire for wealth of poor people and the helpless and the sick and strangers and supplicants and people in distress; whose clever and versatile nature was manifested by the favour, induced by (*his*) honeyed speeches, preceded by respectful obeisances, of passionate women who were made angry by (*their*) affection (*for him*); (*and*) who cast the dense darkness of the Kali age into the cage of the rays of (*his*) spotless virtues.

(L. 6.)—His son (*was*) Śrî-Jayabhaṭa,—who manifested the proud valour of a young lion by the prowess of his sword, as by a merciless leap, which destroyed the troops of the elephants, infuriated with rut, of (*his*) enemies; who displayed all the sportive qualities of the elephants of the quarters by expeditions in the forests growing on both sides of the sea, and by an unstinted stream of liberality as by an unrestrained flow of rut; (*and*) who perfumed with the sandalwood-oil of his fame, which was as white as crystal or as a lump of camphor, the slopes of the high breasts, which were as clouds, of Lakshmî, who was as the sky.

(L. 9.)—His son, the glorious Dadda, the supreme king of great kings, who has attained the *pañchmahâśabda*,—who has dispelled the dense darkness which, developed by the power of evil, had pervaded the whole world; who has illuminated the world of living creatures by (*his*) pure precepts, perfected by (*his*) excessive affection for (*his*) spiritual preceptor; who has attained the supreme (*true*) knowledge; (*and*) who has become the torch of the extensive lineage of the Gurjara kings,—being in good health, issues (*his*) commands to all the *râshṭrapatis*, *vishayapatis*, *grâmakûṭas*, *âyuktakas*, *niyuktakas*, *âdhikârikas*, *mahattaras*, and others:—

(L. 12.)—"Be it known to you that, in order to increase the religious merit and the fame in the next world of (*my*) parents and of myself, the village of Raïdham, in the *vishaya* of Akulêśvara,—the boundaries of which are, on the east, the village of Vâraṇêra; on the

[22] This *Anusvâra* is a mistake.

[23] Here, and in the Umêtâ grant, the reading differs from the reading, *purâ narêndraiḥ*, of the two Kaira grants.

[24] This *Visarga* is a mistake.

[25] Differing from the Umêtâ grant, the attestation here is not in current-hand characters. See note 21, p. 84 above.

[26] *Vikshêpa*; see Vol. VII. p. 62, note 8, and p. 252, and Vol. XI. p. 161, note 28.

[27] The context is (l. 11) *śrîmad-Daddaḥ kuśalî sarvvân=êva * * * * * ** (l. 12) *samâjñâpayati*. All the genealogical portion, down to l. 9, is of the nature of a parenthesis.

south, the river Varaṇḍâ; on the west, the village of Śuṇṭhavaḍaka; (*and*) on the north, the village of Aralnäm,—this village, thus specified as to (*its*) four boundaries,—together with the *udraṅga*, and the *uparikara*, and that which is to be given (*in kind*) in grain and gold, and the (*right to*) forced labour as it arises; not to be entered by any of the king's people; to continue as long as the moon and the sun and the ocean and the earth and the rivers and the mountains (*may endure*); to be enjoyed by the succession of sons and son's sons; with the exception of grants formerly given to gods and Brâhmaṇs; (*and to be held*) by (*the custom of*) *abhyantara-siddhi*,—has been given by me, with libations of water,—in (*the year*) four hundred, increased by seventeen, of the centuries of years that have elapsed from the time of the Śaka king, at (*the time of*) an eclipse of the sun on the new-moon day of (*the month*) Jyêshṭha,—for the purpose of maintaining the *bali*, the *charu*, the *vaiśvadêva*, the *agnihôtra*, the five great sacrifices, and other rites,—to the *Bhaṭṭa* Nârâyaṇa, the son of the *Bhaṭṭa* Gôvinda, who resided at Abhichchhatra,[28] who belonged to the community of the *Chaturvêdîs* of that (*town*), who was of the Kâśyapa *gôtra*, (*and*) who was a religious student of the Bahvṛicha *śâkhâ*.

(L. 19.)—"Wherefore no obstruction should be caused to this (*man*) cultivating (*this village*) according to the proper condition of a *brahmadâya*, (*or*) causing (*it*) to be cultivated, (*or*) enjoying (*it*), (*or*) causing (*it*) to be enjoyed, or assigning it (*to another*).

(L. 20.)—"And this Our gift should be assented to and preserved by future kings whether of Our lineage or others, just as if it were a grant made by themselves, recognising that the reward of a grant of land is common (*to him who makes it and to him who preserves it*), (*and*) understanding that riches are as unsteady as a drop (*of water, and are*) transient, (*and*) that life is as fleeting as a drop of water on the tip of a blade of grass. And so it has been said:—The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; he who for the time being possesses the earth, enjoys the reward (*of this grant that is now made*)! And he shall incur the guilt of the five great sins and of the minor sins, who, having his mind obscured by the darkness of ignorance, may confiscate (*this grant*) or assent to its confiscation!"

(L. 23.)—And it has been said by the holy Vyâsa, the arranger of the *Vêdas*:—The giver of land dwells for sixty thousand years in heaven; (*but*) the confiscator (*of a grant*), and he who assents (*to such confiscation*), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! Those ancient grants, productive of religion and wealth and fame, which have been made here, are like unused garlands (*that remain from an offering to an idol*); what good man would take them back again? O king! best of kings!, carefully preserve land that has been given, (*whether*) by thyself or by another; preservation is better than giving!

(L. 26.)—This (*has been*) written by the *Saṁdhivigrahâdhikṛita* Rêva, the son of Mâdhava.

(L. 27.)—This (*is*) the sign-manual[29] of me, Śrî-Praśântarâga, the son of Śrî-Vîtarâga.

No. CXLII.

This[30] is another of the grants that were found together with the grant of Nandaprabhañjanavarmâ, No. CXXXVIII. above, at 'Chicacole' in the 'Ganjam' District of the Madras Presidency, and were presented by Mr. Grahame to the Madras Museum. It was obtained by me for the purpose of editing it, through the kindness of Mr. R. Sewell, C.S.

The grant consists of three plates, each about $6\frac{5}{8}''$ long by $2\frac{3}{4}''$ broad. The edges of the plates are here and there fashioned slightly thicker; but not so uniformly or in so marked a way as to shew whether this was done intentionally, to serve as a raised rim to protect the writing. The inscription is in perfect preservation throughout. The ring, on which the plates are strung, is about $\frac{1}{16}''$ thick and $3\frac{3}{4}''$ in diameter; it had not been cut when the grant came into my hands. The seal on the ring is slightly oval, about $1''$ by $1\frac{1}{8}''$; and it has, on a countersunk surface, the figure of

[28] Probably the place intended is that which is elsewhere always called Ahichchhatra, or Ahikshêtra; see Vol. X. p. 250, note 5.

[29] *Sva-hasta*. See, however, note 25, p. 118 above.

[30] No. 156 in Mr. Sewell's published List of Copper-plate Grants. Noticed by me, *ante* Vol. X. p. 243, No. 2.

some animal; as the grantor was a worshipper of Śiva under the form of Gôkarṇasvâmî, and as the bull of Śiva appears on the seals of some rather later grants which are closely connected with the present one, we might expect this figure to be that of a bull, *couchant* to the proper right; but it is much worn and very faint, and might now be taken just as readily for a boar, standing to the proper right. The weight of the three plates is 72½ tolas, and of the ring and seal, 39½ tolas,—total, 112 tolas. The language is Sanskṛit throughout.

The grant is one of the *Mahârâja* Indravarmâ, of the Gâṅga[31] family, the lord of the whole country of Kaliṅga, and is issued from the city of Kaliṅganagara. And it records the grant of the village of Tâmaracheruva, in the *vishaya* of Varâhavartanî, to some Brâhmaṇs.

The grant was made, according to lines 10-11, on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon, on the full-moon day of the month Mârgaśira. In line 20 another date is given, in numerical symbols,—the fifteenth day of the month Chaitra, and the one hundred and twenty-eighth year of the augmenting victorious reign or sovereignty. This must be the date on which the charter was written.

There is nothing at present to show the era to which this date is to be referred, or to indicate the starting point of the era. But the years are probably those of the Gâṅgêya era, which is mentioned in some grants of the Gaṅga family that I shall shortly publish. And it is possible that the *Mahârâja* Indravarmâ of this grant is identical with the *Adhirâja* Indra, who is mentioned, in the Gôdavarî grant of the *Râjâ* Pṛithivimûla,[32] as combining with other chiefs and overthrowing a certain Indrabhaṭṭâraka. This Indrabhaṭṭâraka must be the Eastern Chalukya of that name, the younger brother of Jayasiṁha I. (Śaka 549 to 579 or 582), and the father of Vishṇuvardhana II. (Śaka 579 to 586, or Śaka 582 to 591). This is the period to which the present grant, and No. CXLIII., and the 'Parla-Kimeḍi' grant mentioned below, may be allotted, on palæographical grounds, and on account of the use of numerical symbols in the date and the omission to specify the lunar fortnight of the month. And, with this to start with, the mention of the eclipse of the moon, in lines 10-11, may perhaps serve, on calculation, to determine the date of the grant exactly.

No. CXLIII. below, is another grant of the same *Mahârâja* Indravarmâ, dated in the same way, in numerical symbols, on the tenth day of the month Mâgha, in the one hundred and forty-sixth year of the augmenting victorious reign or sovereignty.

And another grant, closely connected with these two, has recently been found at 'Parla-Kimeḍi.' I have not seen the original plates of it yet. But the transcription that has been submitted to me suffices to show that it agrees closely throughout with the style of the present two grants, and is a grant of the *Mahârâja* Indravarmâ of the Gaṅga (or, probably, in the original Gâṅga family), the lord of Kaliṅga, and is issued from the city of Kaliṅganagara. It records the grant of the village of 'Kettaṭa' in the 'Devanna' *pañchâlî*. And it is dated, in numerical symbols, on the thirtieth day of the month Mâgha, in the ninety-first year of the augmenting victorious reign or sovereignty. The interval of fifty-five years between this 'Parla-Kimeḍi' grant and my No. CXLIII., renders it doubtful whether it is a grant of the same Indravarmâ, or of a grand-father of the same name;—especially since, at the end, it seems to give Indravarmâ the title of Râjasiṁha, which is not mentioned in my two grants. But, that the three grants are closely connected with each other is indisputable.

Text.[33]

First plate.

[1] Svasti Vijayavatô(taḥ) Kaliṅga-nagara-vâsakâ[t*] Mahêndr-âchal-âmala-śikhara-pratishṭhita-

[2] sya char-âchara-gurô[ḥ*] sakala-bhuvana-nirmmâṇ-aika-sûttra(tra)dhârasya bhagavatô Gôka-

[31] It is to be noted that the vowel of the first syllable is long here and in No. CXLIII. below. Whereas, in the rather later grants, connected with these, that I have mentioned just above, it is short, and the name of the family is Gaṅga

[32] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. pp. 114 ff.

[33] From the original plates.

GANGA GRANT OF INDRAVARMA.

THE 128TH YEAR.

I.

II a.

IIb.

III

J. Burgess.

From the original plates.

[3] rṇṇasvâ[34]minaś=charaṇa-kamala-yugala-praṇâmâd=vigalita-Kali-ka-
[4] laṅkô Gâṅg-âmala-kula-tilaka[ḥ*] sva-[â*]si-dhârâ-parispand-âdhigata-sakala-Kali-
[5] ṅg-âdhi[râ*]jya[ḥ*] pravitata-chatur-uyu(da)dhi-salila-taraṅga-mêkhal-âvani-tal-â[35]mala-yaśâ anê-
[6] ka-samara-saṁghaṭṭa-vijaya-janita-jayaśabda-pratâp-ôpanata-samasta-sâmanta-

Second plate; first side.

[7] chûḍâmaṇi-prabhâ-majña(ñja)ri-puñja(ñja)-rajñi(ñji)ta-charaṇô mâtâpitṛi-pâd-ânuddhyâ-(dhyâ)ta[ḥ*] śrî-
[8] man-mahârâj-Êndravarmmâ Ba(va)râhavarttaṇi-vishayê[36] Tâmaracheruva-ggrâ(grâ)maṁ bâ(vâ)ṭakâ-sahi-
[9] ta[ṁ*] sarvva-kara-parihâraiś=cha parihri(hṛi)ty=â-chandr-ârkka-pratishṭham=aggra-(gra)hâraṁ kṛitvâ m[â*]tâ-
[10] pitrôr=âtmanaś=cha puny(ṇy)-âbhivṛiddhayê Mârggaśira-paurṇṇamâsyâṁ sôm-ôpa-
[11] râgê salila-pûrvvâñ=kṛitvâ[37] | Viditam=astu v[ô*] nânâ-gôtra-charaṇ[ê*]bhyô brâhma-ṇêbhy[ô*] Vâja-
[12] sanêya-Kum[â*]raśarmma-Dêvaśarmma-pramukhaṁ[38]-Narasiṅghaśarmma-Behn[u*[39]]sa[r*]-mma-Śiva-

Second plate; second side.

[13] śarmma - Mâtṛiśarmma-Kum[â*]raśarmma - Mâtṛiśarmma - Dêvaśarmma-Behnuśarmma-Ma-hâsêṇa(na)śa-
[14] rmma-Mâtṛiśarmma-Raviśarmma[bhyaḥ*] samprapta(ttaḥ) [||*] Tand(d)=êva vidî(di)-tvâ yathôchita-bhôga-bhâgam=upana-
[15] yantâ(ntaḥ) sukha[ṁ*] prativasath(t)=êti [||*] Bhavishyataś=cha râjñô vijñâpayati dharmma-kkra(kra)ma-vikkra(kra)mâ-
[16] ṇ[â*]m=anyatama-yôgâd=avâpy[â*]ṁ mahîm=anuśâsadbhir=ayan=dâna-dharmmô=nupâla-
[17] nîyô(yaḥ)[40] [||*] Vyâsa-gîtau ch=âtra ślôkau bhavata[ḥ*] [|*] Bahubhir=vvasudhâ dattâ râjabhi[ḥ*] Sagar-âdibhi[ḥ*]
[18] yasya yasya yadâ bhûmis=tasya tasya tadâ phalaṁ [||*] Sva-dattâṁ para-dattâm=bâ(vâ) yatnâd=raksha

Third plate.

[19] Yudhishṭhira mahîn=mahi(hî)matâṁ śrêshṭha dânâch=chhrêyô=nupâlanam=iti [||*] Âjñâ svayam [|*]
[20] Pravarddhamâna-vijaya-râjya-samba(mva)tsarâ[ḥ*] 100 20 8 Chaittra(tra) di 10 5 [||*] Kṛitâ ch=[e*]ya-
[21] m=praśastir=amâtya-Dêvachandra-sûnunâ Rahaśika-Śaṅkaradêvê-
[22] na [|*] utkîrṇṇ[â*] Vinayachandra-sûnunâ Áditya-mañchin=êti ||

Translation.

Hail! From (*his*) victorious (*residence*) situated at the city of Kaliṅganagara, the glorious *Mahârâja* Indravarmâ,—who has had the stains of the Kali age washed away by obeisance to the two waterlilies which are the feet of the holy Gôkarṇasvâmî,[41] the religious preceptor of (*all*) things movable and immovable, the sole architect for the formation of the universe, who is established on the pure summit of the mountain Mahêndra;[42]—who is the ornament of the spotless family of the Gâṅgas;—who has attained the supreme sovereignty over the whole of Kaliṅga by the quivering of the edge of his own sword; whose fame is stainless over the earth which

[34] The vowel â has failed to appear in the lithograph.

[35] Here, again, the vowel â has failed to appear in the lithograph.

[36] Correct into either *Ba(va)râhavarttanî-vishayê*, or *Ba(va)râhavarttini vishayê*. The former is probably what was intended.

[37] After this word, there is an omission of some such words as the *sarvv[ân*] samav'tân-kuṭumbinaḥ samâjñâpayati* of lines 10-11 of No. CXLIII. below.

[38] This *anusvâra* is a mistake.

[39] The vowel *u* is distinct in the following line, and this is evidently the correct form of the name.

[40] Conf. No. CXXXVIII., lines 10-12, *ante* p. 49.

[41] Śiva, as the lord of Gôkarṇa, a place which is still of great repute and sanctity in the North Canara District of the Bombay Presidency.

[42] A mountain, or range of mountains, said to be one of the seven principal chains (*kulaśaila*) in Bhâratavarsha or India, and sometimes identified with the northern parts of the Ghauts of the Peninsula;—Professor Monier Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary.

is girt about by the waves of the water of the four wide-spreading oceans; whose feet are tinted with the mass of the clusters of blossoms which are the lustre of the crest-jewels of all the chieftains who have been bowed down by the prowess of (*his*) shouts of triumph produced by victory in the contests of many battles;—and who meditates on the feet of (*his*) parents,—having exempted the village of Tâmaracheruva in the Varâhavartanî[43] *vishaya*, together with its hamlets, with exemption from all taxes, (*and*) having made (*it*) an *agrahâra*, established to continue as long as the moon and the sun may last, (*and*) having, for the increase of the religious merit of (*his*) parents and of himself, accompanied (*this act*) with libations of water, at the time of an eclipse of the moon on the full-moon day of (*the month*) Mârgaśira,—[issues his commands to all the assembled cultivators*][44]:—

(L. 11.)—"Be it known to you! (*This village*) has been given (*by me*) to Brâhmaṇs of various *gôtras* and *charaṇas*, (*viz.*) to Narasiṁghaśarmâ, Behnuśarmâ, Śivaśarmâ, Mâtṛisarmâ, Kumâraśarmâ, Mâtṛiśarmâ, Dêvaśarmâ, Behnuśarmâ, Mahâsênaśarmâ, Mâtṛisarmâ, and Raviśarmâ, headed by Kumâraśarmâ and Dêvaśarma of the Vâjasanêya (*śakhâ.*) Having known this, dwell ye in happiness, tendering the proper shares of enjoyment."

(L. 15.)—And he makes the request to future kings, (*that*) this religious act of charity should be preserved by (*all*) who rule over the earth, which may be acquired by any one or other of the methods of religion or succession (*by inheritance*) or prowess.

(L. 17.)—And, in the songs of Vyâsa, there are (*these*) two verses on this point:—Land has been given by many kings, commencing with Sagara; he who for the time being possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (*of the grant that is now made*)! O Yudhishṭhira, best of kings!, carefully preserve land that has been given, whether by thyself or by another; the preservation (*of a grant*) is better than making a grant!

(L. 19.)—The command[45] is (*by*) himself. The years of the augmenting victorious reign 100 (*and*) 20 (*and*) 8; (*the month*) Chaitra; the day 10 (*and*) 5.

(L. 20.)—This *praśasti* has been composed by Rahaśika-Śaṁkaradêva, the son of the *Amâtya* Dêvachandra; (*and*) it has been engraved by the *Mañchi* Âditya, the son of Vijayachandra.

No. CXLIII.

This,[46] again, is another of the grants that were found together with the grant of Nandaprabhañjanavarmâ, No. CXXXVIII. above, at 'Chicacole' in the 'Ganjam' District of the Madras Presidency, and were presented by Mr. Grahame to the Madras Museum. It was obtained by me, for the purpose of editing it, through the kindness of Mr. R. Sewell, C.S.

The plates are three in number, each about $6\frac{1}{4}''$ long by $2\frac{3}{16}''$ broad. The edges of the plates are here and there fashioned slightly thicker; but, whether this was intentional or not, it is difficult to say The inscription is in perfect preservation throughout. The ring, on which the plates are strung, is about $\frac{1}{4}''$ thick and $2\frac{3}{4}''$ in diameter; it had not been cut when the grant came into my hands. The seal on the ring is slightly oval, about $1''$ by $1\frac{1}{8}''$; it had some emblem, on a slightly countersunk surface; but it is almost entirely worn away. and it is impossible to say with any certainty what it originally was. The weight of the three plates is $58\frac{1}{2}$ tolas, and of the ring and seal, $14\frac{5}{8}$ tolas,—total, $72\frac{7}{8}$ tolas. The language is Sanskṛit throughout. The characters are of the same class with those of No. CXLII. above; but, in some of their details, they differ from the characters of that grant, and follow the characters of some other, rather later, grants of the Gaṅga family, that I shall shortly publish.

This is another grant of the *Mahârâja* Indravarmâ, of the Gâṅga family, and is issued, like No. CXLII., from the city of Kaliṅganagara. It records the grant, to two Brâhmaṇs, of the village of Tâlamûla in the Korosoṭaka *pañchâli*.

The grant was made, according to line 15, on the seventh day of the month Mâgha. In

[43] See note 36 above.

[44] See note 37 above.

[45] The usual expression is *âjñaptiḥ*; but *âjñâ* occurs again in line 24 of No. CXLIII. below. It seems to me to be an expression of the same purport as that which in other grants records the name of the *dûtaka* or messenger who conveys the charter.—The following word, *svayam*, may perhaps denote the grantees; but it seems to me more probable that it denotes Indravarmâ himself.

[46] No. 157 in Mr. Sewell's published List of Copper-plate Grants. Noticed by me, *ante* Vol. X. p. 243, No. 3.

GANGA GRANT OF INDRAVARMA.

THE 146TH. YEAR.

I.

IIa.

IIb.

GANGA GRANT OF INDRAVARMA.

THE 146TH. YEAR.

III a.

III b.

W. Griggs, Photo-lith.

line 23, another date is given, in numerical symbols,—the tenth day of the month Mâgha, and the one hundred and forty-sixth year of the augmenting victorious reign or sovereignty. This must be the date on which the charter was written.

Text.[47]

First plate.

[1] Svasti Jaladhi-jala-taraṅga-karapallav-âliṅgita-sakala-Kaliṅg-âvani-tala-ti-
[2] lakâyamânâd=vijaya-Kaliṅga-nagarât=sakala-bhuvana-nirmmâṇ-aika-sûtradhârasyâ(sya)
[3] sakala-śaśâṅka[48]-chûḍâmaṇêr=mmah-âhi-bhôga-parikarasya Mahêndr-âchala-śikhara-
[4] nivâsinô Gôkarṇṇasvâminô=navarata-praṇâmâd=vigata-Kali-kalaṅkaḥ
[5] sahaja-vinay-âpâst-âri-shaḍvargg-ôdayaḥ śakti-traya-prakarsh-âvanata-samasta-
[6] sâmanta-sirô-mukuli(ṭa)-maṇi-prabhâ-pallavi[49]ta-charaṇâmbhôja-yugalaḥ

Second-plate; first-side.

[7] svadhigat-ânêka-vidyâ-kalâ-kalâpa-prasâd-âvâpt-âchâryyakaḥ prathita-vi
[8] pul-âmala-Gâṅg-ânvay-âmbara-sakala-śarach-chhasâṅkô mâtâpitṛi-pâd-â-
[9] nuddhyâ(dhyâ)taḥ parama-mâhêsvaraḥ Śrî-mâ(ma)hârâj-Êndravarmmâ Korosoṭaka-pa-
[10] ñchâlyâṁ Tâlamûla-grâmê sarvv[ân*] samavêtân=kuṭumbinaḥ samâ-
[11] jñâpayaty=asti[50] [|*] Parigatam=astu bhavadbhir=yyath=âyaṁ grâmaḥ sarvva-kara-
[12] bharaiḥ parihṛity=â-chandr-ârkka-pratishṭham=agrahâraṁ kṛitvâ mâtâpitrô-

Second plate; second side.

[13] r=âtmanaś=cha puṇy-âbhivṛiddhy-artham=Avareṅga-Kaliṅganagar-ê(ô)bhaya-sthâ-
[14] na-vâstavyâbhyâṁ Kautsaka-gôtrâbhyâṁ chchhandôga-sabrahmachâribhyâṁ Skanda-
[15] śarmma-Lalitaśarmmabhyâṁ Mâgha-saptamyâm=udaka-pûrvvam=aśmâbhiḥ
[16] samprattas=tad=êvaṁ buddhvâ yathôchitaṁ bhâga-bhôgam=upanaya-
[17] ntaḥ sukhaṁ prativasat=êti [|*] Bhavishyad-râjani(bhi)ś=ch=âyaṁ dâna-dharmmô=nupâ-
[18] lanîyô [||*] Vyâsa-gîtâś=ch=âtra ślôkâ bhavaṁ[51]nti [|*] Bahubhir=vvasudhâ

Third plate; first side.

[19] dattâ bahubhiś=ch=ânupâlitâ yasya yasya yadâ bhûmis=ta-
[20] sya tasya tadâ phalam [||*] Sva-dattâṁ para-dattâṁ vâ yatnâd=raksha Yudhi-
[21] shṭhira mahî[ṁ*] mahîmatâṁ śrêshṭha dânâch=chhrêyô=nupâlanam [||*] Shashṭi-varisha-[52]
[22] sahâ(ha)srâṇi svarggê tishṭhati bhûmi-daḥ âkshêptâ ch=ânumantâ[53] cha tâny=êva na-
[23] rakê vasêd=iti [||*] Pravarddhamâna-vijaya-râjya-saṁvatsarâḥ 100 40 6 Mâgha di 10ḥ[54] [||*]
[24] Âjñâ[55] mahâmahattara-Gauriśarmm[â*] [|*] Likhitam=idam=amâty-[Â*(?)]ṅkaka(?ra)[56] desûnunâ

Third plate; second side.

[25] Bha(?)vadattên=ôtkîrṇṇam=âkshaśâlika-bhôgikên=êti [||*]

Translation.

Hail! From the victorious city of Kaliṅganagara, which is the ornament of all the land of Kaliṅga that is embraced by the fingers of the waves of the water of the ocean, the *Mahârâja* Śrî-Indravarmâ,—who has had the stains of the Kali age removed by unceasing obeisance to Gôkarṇasvâmî, the sole architect for the formation of the universe, who has the full-moon for (*his*) crest-jewel, (*and*) who is clothed with the coils of great serpents, (*and*) who dwells on the summit of the mountain Mahêndra;—who, by his innate propriety of conduct, has prevented the development

[47] From the original plates.

[48] The lower part of this letter is cramped and badly formed, in consequence of being too close to the ring-hole.

[49] The lower part of the *v* is imperfect in the lithograph.

[50] This word, *asti*, is superfluous and meaningless.

[51] This *anusvâra* is a mistake. [52] Correct into *varsha*.

[53] First *nnâ* was engraved, and then it was corrected into *ntâ*.

[54] Sc. *dasamaḥ*.

[55] See No. CXLII., note 45, *ante* p. 122.

[56] In the original, this *akshara* appeared to be *ra*; but, in the lithograph, it appears as *ka*. It is very difficult to say what the preceding *akshara* is intended for, and whether the two dots after it mean anything or not. Possibly the name really intended to be written was Ôṁkâradêva.

of the six enemies;[57]—the water-lilies of whose feet are covered with young buds which are the lustre of the jewels in the diadems of all the chieftains who have been bowed down by the excess of (*his*) three constituents of power;—who has attained the proficiency of a holy teacher by the purity of all the numerous sciences and accomplishments that have been well mastered (*by him*);—who is the full autumn moon of the sky which is the famous and great and spotless lineage of the Gâṅgas;—who meditates on the feet of his parents;— (*and*) who is a most devout worshipper of (*the god*) Mahêśvara,—issues his commands to all the assembled cultivators[58] in the village of Tâlamûla in the Korosoṭaka *pañchâlî*:—

(L. 11.)—"Be it understood by you that, for the increase of the religious merit of (*Our*) parents and of Ourself, this village, having been exempted from the burden of all taxes, and having been made an *agrahâra*, established to continue as long as the moon and the sun may last, has been given by us, on the seventh day of (*the month*) Mâgha, with libations of water, to Skandaśarmâ and Lalitaśarma, inhabitants of the two places of Avareṅga and Kaliṅganagara, members of the Kautsaka gôtra, (*and*) religious students of the Chhandôga (*śâkhâ*). Having known this, dwell ye in happiness, tendering the enjoyment of shares in accordance with what is proper."

(L. 17.)—And this religious act of charity should be preserved by future kings.

(L. 18.)—And there are the verses sung by Vyâsa on this point:—Land has been given by many, and has been preserved (*in grant*) by many; he who, for the time being possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (*of the grant that is now made*)! O Yudhishṭhira, best of kings!, carefully preserve land that has been given, whether by thyself or by another; the preservation (*of a grant*) is better than making a grant! The giver of land dwells in heaven for sixty thousand years; (*but*) the confiscator (*of a grant*), and he who assents (*to such confiscation*), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell!

(L. 23.)—The years of the augmenting victorious reign 100 (*and*) 40 (*and*) 6; (*the month*) Mâgha; the tenth day. The command[59] is (*by*) the *Mahâmahattara* Gauriśarmâ. This (*charter*) has been written by *Bhavadatta* (?), the son of the *Amâtya* Aṅkakade (?),[60] (*and*) engraved by the *Bhôgika* who is the *Âkshaśâlika*.

[57] *i.e.* the six faults of desire, wrath, covetousness, bewilderment, pride, and envy.

[58] See *ante* p. 50, note 19.

[59] See note 45 above.

[60] See note 56 above.

MISCELLANEA.

THE PROVERBS OF ALI BIN TALEBI.

Translated by K. T. Best, M.A., M.R.A.S., Principal, Guzerat College.

Continued from p. 61.

55. Sometimes silence is more efficacious than speech.

56. The error of a wise man is like a shipwreck in which the ship itself is sunk and others sink with it.

57. The gain of this world is the loss of another.

58. The things of this world which have the appearance of being good corrupt weak minds.

59. Be liberal in conferring benefits and largely extend your beneficence, for there will be a most certain treasure in the future and a most pleasant remembrance of them.

60. The love of the world is the cause of calamities.

61. The cause of hatred is envy.

62. The cause of fighting is litigation.

63. The armour of the pious is prayer.

64. The authority of a fool manifests his faults, but that of a wise man his good deeds.

65. He who willingly listens to foolish talking, is an abettor of the speaker.

66. The good administration of justice is seen in three things; in moderating strictness with clemency, in giving with the utmost impartiality to each what belongs to him, and in observing well a method so as not to turn to the right or left.

67. Enquire about a companion before you join him on a journey, and about a neighbour before you hire his house.

68. The gratitude of a true man is shown by his work, but that of a hypocrite by his tongue.

69. To be praised by the wicked is the worst praise.

70. The worst of men is he who does not care if men see him doing wrong.

71. The worst of rulers is he whom the innocent fear.

(*To be continued.*)

KARNÂṬA GRANTS, No. I.

A GRANT OF VEṄKAṬA II OF 1636 A.D.

BY E. HULTZSCH, PH. D., VIENNA.

THE subjoined grant has been edited from an excellent photograph made over to me by Dr. Burgess. The grant consists of five plates measuring 9·8 by 7·5 inches, the first and last of which are inscribed on the inner sides only. The holes for the ring by which the plates were held together are pierced through the upper part of the plates which is rounded at the top and notched on both sides. The preservation of the plates is excellent. The originals belong to the Government Museum at Madras.

The grant contains 70 stanzas in various metres. Stanzas 48 to 62 record that in Śaka 1558 or 1636 A.D., the year *Dhâtṛi* of the cycle of Jupiter, Âshâḍha śudi 12, and before the idol Śrî-Veṅkaṭeśa, king Veṅkaṭa II of Karṇâṭa, who resided at Pĕnugoṇḍa[1], granted the village of Koṇḍyâta surnamed Gopâlaśrîpura[2] to Raṅganâtha, the son of Siṅgarâja and grandson of Lakkarâja, who was an ornament of Veṅkaṭa's court, belonged to the *Kauśika-gotra*, followed the *Âpastamba-sûtra*, and was engaged in the study of the *Yajuḥśâkhâ* of the *Veda*.

As I shall prove afterwards, the immediate predecessors of Veṅkaṭa II were Raṅga II and Veṅkaṭa I. The former issued the Devanhaḷḷi grant dated Śaka 1506 or 1584 A.D., of which Mr. Rice has published an abridged translation,[3] the other the Viḷâpâka grant dated Śaka 1523 or 1601 A.D., a facsimile of which was furnished to this *Journal* by the Madras Government, and published with a note by the late Dr. Burnell.[4]

The *Vaṁśâvalî* of the Koṇḍyâta grant (stanzas 3 to 33) names the following princes:—

The Moon (3)
|
Budha (4)
|
Purûravas
|
Âyu
|
Nahusha
|
Yayâti
|
Pûru
Among his descendants Bharata
" " " Śaṁtanu
The fourth after him Vijaya (*i.e.*, Arjuna)
|
Abhimanyu
|
Parîkshit
The eighth after him Nanda (5)
" *ninth* " " Chaḷikya
" *seventh* " " Śrîpatiruchi
" *tenth* " " Bijjaḷa
" *third* " " Hemmâḷi, lord of the town of Mâyâ (?)
" *fourth* " " Pinnama I (6)
|
Somideva
conquered seven forts of the enemy in one day.
|
Râghavadeva
|
Pinnama II, lord of the town of Âraviṭi.
|
Bukka made the rule of Sâḷuva Nṛisiṁha[5] firm, and was married to Ballâ or Ballamâ (7, 8).
|
Râma I took the fort of Avanigiri from Sapâda and conquered the fort of Kandanavoli, where he was poisoned by his relations; his wife was Lakkâ (9 to 12).
|
Raṅga I was married to Tirumalâ (13 to 15).

Râma II (16, 17).	Tirumala (19 to 22).	Veṅkaṭâdri (18).

Sons of Tirumala:

Raghunâtha.	Raṅga II resided at Pĕnugoṇḍa (23).	Râma III	Veṅkaṭa I (24).

The *Vaṁśâvalî* of the Viḷâpâka grant is identical with the one given here down to Tirumala.[6] Then it relates that Tirumala had two sons by Veṅgaḷâ, viz., Raṅga II (who issued

[1] Pĕnugoṇḍa is situated in the Belâri District of the Madras Presidency, lat. 14° 5′ N., long. 77° 38′ E. See the article Pennakonda in the *Imperial Gazetteer*, and the map in Mr. Rice's *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 84 of the Introduction. It was at Pennakoṇḍa that the Vijayanagar royal family is said to have taken up its abode after their defeat by the Musalmans. It must not be confounded with Pĕnugoṇḍa in the Godâvarî district.

[2] This village must be situated in the North Ârkât District of the Madras Presidency, to which one of the localities mentioned in the description of its boundaries, viz. Guḍiyâta, belongs. See the article Gudiâtham in the *Imperial Gazetteer*.

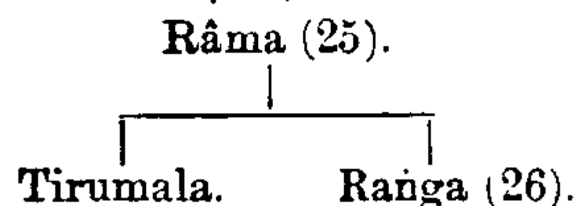
[3] *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 252.

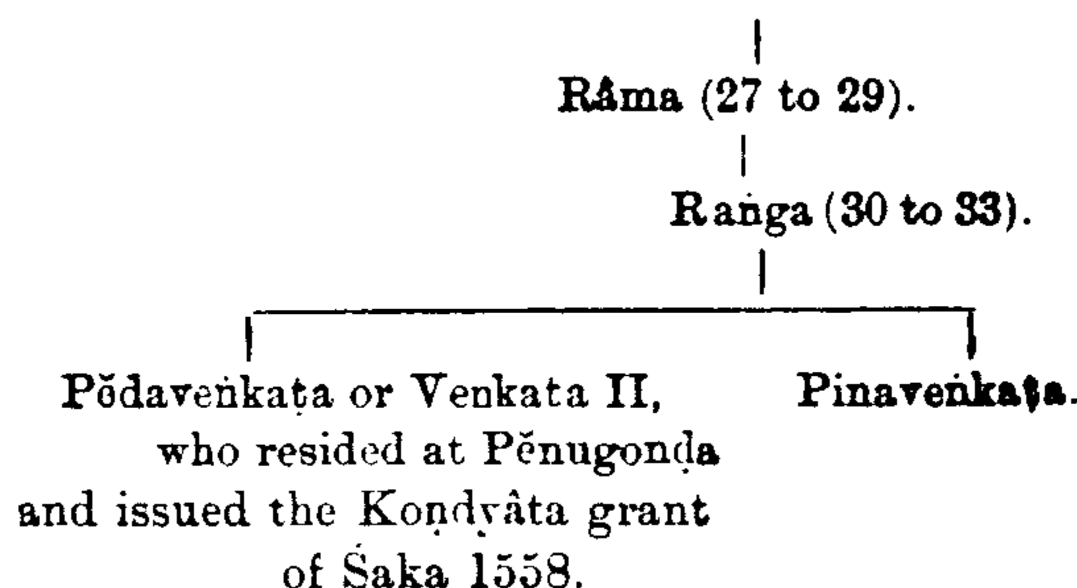
[4] *Indian Antiquary*, vol. II, p. 371. Dr. Burgess has provided me with an excellent photograph of this grant.

[5] A king 'Sâluva Narsinha' is mentioned among the successors of Bukka of Vijayanagara by Wilson, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. XX, p. 7.

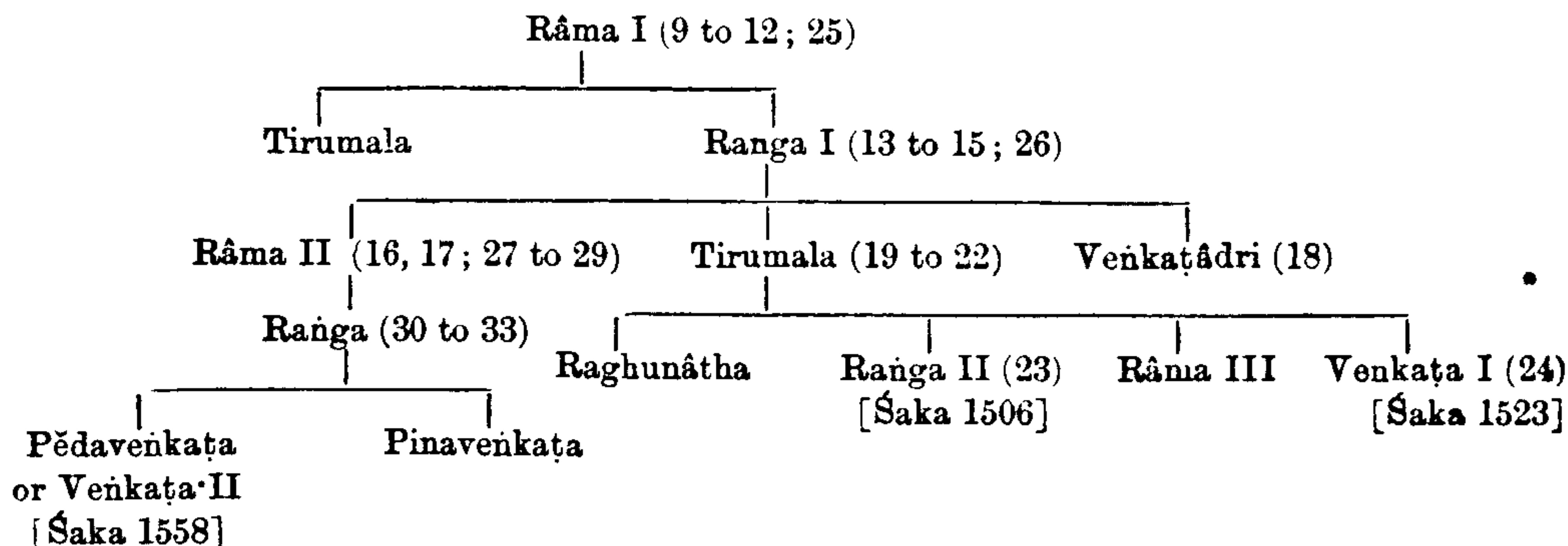
[6] Stanzas 1 to 19 of the Viḷâpâka grant = stanzas 1 to 16, 18 to 20 of the Koṇḍyâta grant.

the Devanhalli grant of Śaka 1506[7]) and Veṅkata I, who issued the Viḷâpâka grant of Śaka 1523. The Koṇḍyâta-grant mentions the reigns of both Raṅga II and Veṅkaṭa I, and continues the *Vaṁśâvalî* from Râma III, the elder brother of Veṅkaṭa I, thus :—





Veṅkaṭa II cannot have belonged to the fourth generation after Veṅkaṭa I, as the difference between the dates of their grants is only 35 years. If one supposes that the genealogist has confounded Râma I with Râma III, the two branches of the *Vaṁśâvalî* may be combined thus :—



Veṅkaṭa II would then have been a very distant relation of Raṅga II and Veṅkaṭa I, the last two kings of Karṇâṭa of the other branch.[8]

The earlier half of the *Vaṁśâvalî* has scarcely any historical value, and is evidently compiled from different sources. The first or mythical part serves to connect the kings of Karṇâṭa with the *Somavaṁśa* or Lunar-race; hence Veṅkaṭa I and Veṅkaṭa II profess to be *Atreyagotrajas* or descendants from the race of Atri, the Moon's father.[9] Nanda is the representative of the old dynasty of Pâṭaliputra, which was overthrown by the Maurya Chandragupta. Chaḷikya, after whom Veṅkaṭa I and II call themselves Châḷikyachakravartins, or emperors of the race of Chaḷikya,[10] seems to represent the celebrated Châlukya dynasty; Bijjaḷa the Kaḷachuris; and Bukka the princes of Vijayanagara. The Viḷâpâka and Koṇḍyâta grants throw no light on the confused accounts which we possess of the later kings of Vijayanagara.[11] Although the kings of Karṇâṭa may have been related to the kings of Vijayanagara, it is impossible to say how they descended from those Vijayanagara princes whose inscriptions have been published.[12]

Raṅga II is the first prince who is called king of Pĕnugoṇḍa in the Koṇḍyâta grant. He and his two successors Veṅkaṭa I and Veṅkaṭa II bear in their respective grants the titles 'lord of the town of Âravîṭi,'[13] and

[7] Mr. Rice has misunderstood the stanza treating of the birth of Raṅga II, which runs thus in the Viḷâpâka grant (20):

अनंतरं तत्तनय[:] प्रतीतप्रकास्ति हस्तापजितद्युशाखी ।
भावेंगळांबाचिरपुण्यराशि[:] श्रीरंगराय[:] श्रितभागधेय: ||

Mr. Rice's king Viśâkhi is the Kalpadruma (*dyuśâkhî*) and belongs evidently to the same race as the famous Valabhî king Śîlâditya 'Musalli' and the late Gurjara prince 'Śrî-Datta Kuśalî.'

[8] Since the above was written, Dr. Burgess has sent me a photograph of a grant of king Raṅga dated Śaka 1566 which proves my arrangement of the Karṇâṭa *Vaṁśâvalî* to be correct, as it calls Veṅkaṭâdri the younger brother of Veṅkaṭa II's grandfather (*khyâtas tasya pitâmahânujatayô*).

[9] Viḷâpâka grant, 32; and Koṇḍyâta grant, 42.

[10] Viḷâpâka grant, 33; and Koṇḍyâta grant, 43.

[11] Ravenshaw and Wilson, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. XX, p. 1.

[12] Mr. Fleet has given a list of the Vijayanagara inscriptions published by himself, and of other unedited ones, in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch R. As. Soc.*, vol. XII, p. 336. That passage of the Koṇḍyâta (and Viḷâpâka) grant which treats of the privileges granted to the donee (58 to 62) and the comminatory stanzas at the end of the grant (66 to 70) resemble literally the corresponding passages of a Vijayanagara grant published by Colebrooke, *Miscellaneous Essays*, 2nd. ed., vol. II, p. 254.

[13] The only other prince who receives this *biruda* in the *Vaṁśâvalî* is Pinnama II.

'lord of the town of Kalyâṇa.' Both the Viḷâpâka (stanzas 22 to 40) and Koṇḍyâta grants (stanzas 34 to 47) contain a long passage which praises in general terms, and enumerates the Sanskṛit and Kanarese *birudas* of the two Veṅkaṭas. Of each of the two it is said that, having been anointed by the spiritual teacher of his family, Tâtayârya, he vanquished the Yavanas, i.e. the Muhammadans; and that he gained the throne of Karṇâṭa by the strength of his arms,[14] just as the kings of Vijayanagara, the Karṇâṭa princes, ruled over smaller dignitaries, called Nâyakas or lieutenants.[15] The Viḷâpâka grant seems to have been issued at the request of a certain king Liṅga 'of whom the king Ballâḷarâya[16] was afraid,' who resided in Nellaturi (probably Nellatur, between Madras and Chittûr), and was the son of Velûribomma (or Bomma of Velûr?) and grandson of Vîrappa Nâyaka.[17] A few inscriptions of the Balam Nâyakas have been translated by Mr. Rice; in one of them dated Śaka 1500 or 1578 A.D. Kṛishṇappa Nâyaka acknowledges king Raṅga II as ruling sovereign.[18] Although the kings of Karṇâṭa had their tributaries, their title, *Maṇḍalîka*, or provincial chief,[19] seems to imply that they were or had at least been at the time of the assumption of that title vassals to some other power, the inscriptions do not say to which. In any case it is nothing but an empty boast when Veṅkaṭa I says that he was 'praised by the kings of the Kâmbhojas (*sic*), Bhojas, Kâḷiṅgas, Karahâṭas, &c., who were his doorkeepers,'[20] and if it is asserted of both Veṅkaṭas that they were 'honoured by the Âraṭṭas and Magadhas.'[21]

The stanzas of both the Viḷâpâka and Koṇḍyâta grants were composed by the 'poet' Râma, the son of Kâmakoṭi and grandson of an unnamed Sabhâpati. The engraver of the Koṇḍyâta grant was Achyutârya, the son of Gaṇapârya[23] and grandson of Vîraṇâchârya, while the Viḷâpâka grant was engraved by Kâmayâchârya, the son of Gaṇapaya and younger brother of Vîraṇa, evidently an elder brother of Achyutârya.

The South-Indian origin of the author and the engraver of the Koṇḍyâta grant manifests itself in several peculiarities The *Visarga* is very often omitted, especially before sibilants. For initial *i*, *e*, *u* we find *yi*, *ye*, *vu* (*yiva*, stanza 28 and *yiti*, st. 54; *yetân*, 15 and *yeká*, 69; *vuttarâśâ*, 56) and vice versâ (*târtîka* for *târtîyika*, 5[24]); *ṛi* for *ru* (*śṛita*, 9, *dṛima*, 25, *śṛitavat*, 26, *viśṛita*, 30, *viśṛṛita*, 28) and *ri* for *ṛi* (*âkriti*, 28).[25] The aspirates are not seldom confounded with the unaspirated letters, *ś* with *s*. In two cases *y* is doubled (*kamanîyya*, st. 32, and *raṅganâthâyya*, 52) and several groups are assimilated (*chaḷikka*, 5; *annâ* for *ahnâ*, 6, *abhishichchamânâ*, 20; *anuvrajjâ*, 31; *châḷikka* and *mâṇikka*, 43; *sayyukta* and *sayyuta*, 59).

The alphabet employed in the Viḷâpâka and Koṇḍyâta grants is the Nandinâgarî. The excellent preservation of the Koṇḍyâta plates enables me to give a few additions and corrections to Dr. Burnell's table of that alphabet.[26] The new letters are—ग्री î, ऐ *ai*, ढ *ḍha*, फ *pha*, ल *ḷa*; among the groups of consonants ङ्ग,

[14] Viḷâpâka grant, st. 23 and 40; and Kondyâta grant, st. 36 and 47.

[15] About the Nâyakas of the kings of Vijayanagara see Burnell, *South Indian Palæography*, 2nd ed., p. 55, note; Mr. Fleet, *l.c.*, p. 343; and *Ind. Ant.*, vol. X, pp. 63, 64, 66.

[16] Ballâḷa was the name of three kings of the Hoysaḷa dynasty, which had, however, been destroyed by the Muhammadans long before Liṅga's time. See Mr. Fleet's *Kanarese Dynasties*, p 64.

[17] The passage referred to (stanzas 57 to 61) stands between two stanzas corresponding to stanzas 61 to 62 of the Koṇḍyâta grant. The first stanza is much obliterated; I read the whole as follows:

[ख्यात्यनुकूलगोत्राब्धिसुधांशोर्महसां प्रभोः ||
शिवादिवादिमूर्धन्यशिवशास्त्राभिमानिनः | ५७]
महादेवमहीदेवप्रतिष्टा-(read ष्ठा) निरतस्य ह |
बल्लाळरायभूपालमनोभीतिप्रदाइनः (read °यिनः) | [५८]
विद्वज-(read ज्ज)नहृदां-(read दं) भोजकुलाभ्युदयभास्वतः |
श्रीनेल्लटुरिवीराख्यक्षेत्रस्थानवतस्सदा | [५९]
वीरप्पनायकक्ष्मापपौत्रस्यामित्रकर्षिनः (read °णः) |
वेलूरिबोंमनृपतेः (|) पुत्रस्यातियशस्विनः [| ६०]
श्रीमतो लिंगभूपालविज्ञप्तिमनुपालयन् | [६१]
श्रीवीरवें[क]टपतिमहारायमहीपतिः |
सहिरण्यपयोधारापूर्वकं दत्तवान्मुदा || [६२]

Dr. Burnell, l. c., appears to have misunderstood the passage, as he represents Vîrappa Nâyaka as the grandfather of Veṅkaṭa I. The name Vîrappa occurs several times in the list of the Nâyakas of Madura found in Wilson's *Historical Sketch of the Kingdom of Pâṇḍya*, *Journal of the Roy. As. Soc.* vol. III, p. 241. See also Dr. Caldwell's *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, 2nd ed. pp. 142 and 146 of the Introduction.

[18] *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 220.

[19] Viḷâpâka grant, st. 29; or Koṇḍyâta grant, st. 41.

[20] Viḷâpâka grant, st. 39.

[21] Viḷâpâka grant, st. 32; and Koṇḍyâta grant, st. 42.

[23] This is the same person as Gaṇappayâchâri the son of Vîraṇṇa (*sic*) who engraved the Devanhaḷḷi grant.

[24] *traî*, *dâine*, and *pradâinaḥ*, Viḷâpâka grant III*a*, 3; IV*a*, 11; IV*b*, 14.

[25] *ru* for *ṛi* in *tisrushu*, Viḷâpâka grant II*b*, l. 6.

[26] *South Indian Palæography*, 2nd ed., plate xxi.

छ, or छ *chchha*, ज्ञ *jña*, ट्ट *ṭṭa*, द्य *dya*, and द्र *dra*, deserve to be noticed. हु is *hu*, not *hṛi* and *kshu*, ळि is *ḷi*, not *ṭi*, as Dr. Burnell has read it, and the group *ṅma* is thus ङ्म.

Both the Viḷâpâka and Koṇḍyâta grants bear at the end the name of Śrî-Veṅkaṭeśa (Vishṇu), the tutelar deity of the two Veṅkaṭas,[27] in bold Kanarese characters, just as the name of Śrî-Virûpâksha (Śiva) occurs at the end of the Vijayanagara grants.

Transcript.[28]

Plate I.

[1] [29]श्रीवेंकटेशाय नमः [॥] यस्य संपर्कपुण्येन नारीर-
[2] त्नमभूत्सिला । यदुपास्यं सुमनसां तद्वस्तुद्वंद्वमा-
[3] श्रये । [१] यस्य द्विरदवक्त्राद्याः पारिषद्याः परश्शतं । विघ्नं
[4] निघ्नंति भजतां विश्वक्शेनं तमाश्रये । [२] जयति क्षीरज-
[5] लधेर्जातं संवेक्षणं हरेः । आलंबन चकोराणांमम-
[6] रायुष्करं महः । [३] पौत्रस्तस्य पुरूरवा भूधमुतस्तस्यायुरस्या-
[7] त्मज(ः।)स्संजज्ञे नहुषो ययातिरभवतस्माच्छ पूरुस्ततः ।
[8] तद्वंसे भरतो भभूव नृपतिस्तत्संततौ शंतनुः (।) तत्तुर्यो वि-
[9] जयोभिमंन्युरुदभूतस्मापरीक्षिस्ततः । [४] नंदस्तस्या-
[10] ष्टमोभुत्समजनि नवमस्तस्य राज्ञश्चाळिक्कक्ष्माप-
[11] स्तत्सप्तमश्रीपानिरुचिरभवद्राजपूर्वो नरेंद्रः । तश्या-
[12] शिद्विज्जाळेंद्रो दशम इह नृपो वीरहेमाळिरायस्तार्ति-
[13] ईको मुरारौ कृतनतिरुदभूत्तस्य मायापुरीशः । [५] तत्तु-
[14] र्योजनि तातपिन्नमहीपालो निज्ञालोकनस्तश्चा-
[15] मित्रगणस्ततोजनि हरन् दुर्गाणि सपाहितात् । अन्नै-
[16] केन स सोमिदेवनृपतिस्तस्यैव जज्ञे सुतो वीरो राघव-
[17] देवराडिति ततः श्रीपिंन्नमोभूनृपः । [६] आरवीटिनग-
[18] रीविभोरभूधस्य बुक्कधरणीपतिसुतः । येन साळु[व]-
[19] नृशिंह्यराज्य(राज्ञा)मप्येधमानमहसा स्थिरीकृत [।७]
[20] श्वाकामिनीश्वतनुकांतिभिराक्षिपंतीं बुकावनी-

Plate II A.

[1] [30]पतिलको भुधकल्पशाखी । कल्याणिनीं कम-
[2] लनाभ इवाब्धिकन्यां बल्लांबिकामुदवहद्वहुमान्य-
[3] सीलां । [८] सुतेव कलशांबुधेसुरभिळाश्भुगं माधवात्कु-
[4] मारमिव शंकरत्कुलमहीभृतः कंन्यका । जयंतममरप्र-
[5] भोरपि शचीव बुकाधिपाच्छृतं जगति बल्लमालभत रामरा-

[27] Those two kings belonged to the Karṇâṭaka Vaishṇava Dâsas, about whose literature Dr. Kittel has given interesting particulars (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. II, p. 307). The following names of Vishṇu occur in the Koṇḍyâta grant: Kuṇḍalliśvara, Murâri, Sâriṅgadhara, Śeshagiriśvara, Śrirâma, Śrîveṅkaṭeśa, Hari.

[28] The abbreviation V. in the notes refers to the Viḷâpâka grant.

[29] *Plate* I. Line 2, read °भूच्छिला. L. 4, विष्वक्सेनं V. L. 5, सन्वेक्षणं V. आलंबनं चकोराणाममरा° V. L. 6, बुधसुत° V. L. 7, read °भवत्तस्माच्च. L. 8, read तद्वंशे; बभूव V. read शंतनुस्तत्तुर्यो. L. 9, °भूत्तस्मात्परीक्षित्ततः V. L. 10, °भूत्समजनि V. राज्ञश्चाळिक्क° (read राज्ञश्चाळिक्य°) indistinctly V. L. 11, read °त्सप्तमः; तस्यासीद्विज्जळेंद्रो V. L. 12, °स्तार्तीईको (read °स्तार्तीयीको) V. L. 13, °भूत्तस्य V. read तत्तुर्योजनि. L. 14, निजालोकनभस्त्रामित्र° V. L. 15, सत्ताहितात् V. अंन्हैकेन (read अह्नैकेन) V. L. 17, read °भून्नृपः. L. 18, °भूदस्य V. °पतिस्सुतः V. read साळुव-नृसिंहराज्यम्. L. 19, °कृतं V. L. 20, स्वःकामिनी[:] स्वतनु° V. बुक्का° V.

[30] *Plate II A.* Line 1, बुध° V. L. 2, इवाब्धिकन्यां V; read °द्वहुमान्यशीलाम्. L. 3, °बुधेस्सुरभि° V. L. 4, शंकरात्कुल° V. L. 5, बुक्काधिपाभृतं (read °पाच्छुतं) V.

[6] जं सुतं । [९] सहश्रैसपत्या सहितमपि यशिंधुजनुषां सपा-
[7] तस्यानीकं समिति भुजशौर्य्येण महता । विजित्यादत्ते-
[8] [श्मा]दवनिगिरिदुर्गं विभुतया विधूतेंद्रकासपुडयमपि
[9] विद्राव्य सहसा । [१०] कंदनवोलिदुर्गमुरुकंदळदद्रुदयो बा-
[10] हुबले(य)न यो भहुतरेण विजित्य हरेः । संन्निहितस्य त-
[11] त्र चरणांबुषु भक्ततया ज्ञातिभिरर्पितं सुधयति श्म नि-
[12] षेव्य विषं । [११]'श्रीरामराजक्षितिपस्य तस्य चिंत्तामणेर-
[13] थिकदंबकानां । लक्ष्मीरिवांभोरुहलोचनस्य लकांबि-
[14] कामुष्य महिष्यलासीत् । [१२] तस्याधिकैसमभवस्तनय-
[15] स्तपोभिश्रीरंगराजनृपतिशासिवंशाधीपः । आसन्
[16] समुल्लसति धामन यस्य चित्रं नेत्राणि वैरिसुदृशां च
[17] निरंबनानि । [१३] सतीं तिरुमलांबिकां चरितलीलयारुं-
[18] द्धतीप्रथामपि तितिक्षया वसुमतीयशो रुंद्धतीं । हिमांशु-
[19] रिव रोहिणीं हृदयहारिणीं शद्गुणैरमोदत स धर्मिणीम-
[20] यमवाप्य वीराग्रणीः । [१४] रचितनयविचारं रामराजं च धी-
[21] रं वरतिरुमलरायं वेंकटाद्रिक्षितीशं । अजनयत स
[22] येतानानुपूर्व्याकुमारानिह तिरुमलदेव्यमेव राजा म-

Plate II B.

[1] [31]हौजाः । [१५] सकलभुवनखंठकानरातीन् समिति
[2] निहत्य स रामराजवीरः । भरतमनुभगीरथादि-
[3] राजप्रथितयशाः प्रशशास चक्रमूर्व्याः । [१६] वितरणपरिपा-
[4] टीं यस्य विद्याधरीणां नखरमुखरवीणानादगीता निशंम्य ।
[5] अनुकलमयमावालांबुबिंबापदेशादमरनगरशाखी लज्ज-
[6] या मज्जतीव । [१७] व्यराजत श्रीवरवेंकटाद्रिराजक्षितौ लक्ष्मणचारु-
[7] मूर्त्तिः । ज्यघोषधूरीकृतमेघनादकूर्वंन् सुमित्राशयहर्ष-
[8] पोषं । [१८] त्रिषु श्रीरंगक्ष्मापरिबृढकुमारेष्वधिरणं विजित्या-
[9] रिक्ष्मापान्स्तिरुमलमहारायनृपतिः । महौजः सांम्राज्ये
[10] सुमतिरभिषिक्तो निरुपमे प्रशास्तुर्वीं सर्वामपि तिसृषु मू-
[11] र्त्तिष्विव हरिः । [१९] यशश्विनामग्रसरस्य यस्य पट्टाभिषेके स-
[12] ति पार्थिवेंदोः । दानांबुपूरैरभिषिच्चमाना देवपदं भूमि-
[13] रियं द्धधाति । [२०] सामादयो विधिमुखादिव सत्यवाचा सामाद्यु-
[14] पायनिवहा इव सायुगीनात् । रामादयो दशरथादिव रा-
[15] जमौले तस्मादमेयशसस्तनया बुभूः । [२१] राजा ततोभूद्रघुना-
[16] मा श्रीरंगरायाश्रितपारिजातः । श्रीरामराजशिशिरांभुरू-
[17] व्याः विख्यातिमान् वेंकटदेवरायः । [२२] श्रीरंगरायसहजेषु ते-

L. 6, सहस्तैस्ससत्या V. read यः सिन्धु°; सपादस्यानीकं V. L. 7, °दत्तेस्माद° V. L. 8, विधूतेंद्रः कासप्पोडयमपि V. L. 9, °दभ्युदयो V. L. 10, बहुतरेण V. L. 11, स्म V. L. 13, लक्कांबिका° V. L. 14, तस्याधिकैस्सम° V. read °भवत्तनयस्तपोभिः. L. 15, read °नृपतिः; शशिवंशदीपः V. L. 16, धामनि V. L. 19, सद्गुणै° V. L. 22, read एतानानुपूर्व्यात्कु°; °देव्यामेव V.

[31] *Plate II B.* Line 1, °कंटका° V. L. 3, read चक्रमुर्व्याः. L. 4, read °गीतां. L. 6, read °राजः. L. 7, read ज्याघोष°; °दूरीकृतमेघनादः कुर्वन् V. L. 8, °रिभृड° V. L. 9, read °क्ष्मापांस्ति°; महौजा[:] V. L. 10, read प्रशास्त्युर्वीं. L. 11, read यशस्वि°. L. 12, °षिच्यमाना देवीपदं V. L. 13, दधाति V; read सत्यवाचः. L. 14, read सांयुगीनात्; L. 15, read °मौलेस्तस्मादमेययशस° and बभूवुः; an unedited grant reads °रघुनाथनामा. L. 16, the same grant reads श्रीरंगराजः, श्रीरामराजः, and °भुरुव्यां (:). L. 17, read श्रीरङ्गराजः.

[18] षु पारं गतो नीतिपयःपयोधेः । अष्टासु दिक्षु प्रथितस्स
[19] लेभे पट्टाभिषेकं पेनगोंडराज्ये । [२३] अथ श्रीवेंकटपति-
[20] देवरायो नयोज्वलः । अवनीमासिषत्कीर्त्या दिशो दश वि-
[21] शोभयन् । [२४] तज्जायससुद्म[ल]ज्जावहचरितरामराजवि-
[22] भोः । जातास्तिरुमलराजख्या[त]श्रीरंगरायोपि । [२५] तयोश्री-
[23] रंगरायस्य तनया विनयाधिकाः । अजायंत दयावंत-

Plate III A.

[1] [32]श्रृतवंतो यशश्विनः । [२६] श्रीरंगरायनृपते(:)स्तनयेषु
[2] तेषु पारं गिरामधिगता कविपुंगवानां । रत्नेषु कौ-
[3] स्तुभ इवांबुधिसंभवेषु श्रीरामरायनृपतिसुचिरं वि-
[4] लासीत् । [२७] पूर्वं विश्रृतरामराजनृपतेश्रीरामभद्राकृतेः (।)
[5] कल्याणोदयशालिनस्तनुभवा पंच प्रपंचावने । दक्षा नी-
[6] तिपथानुगास्समभवन् क्षीरापगाकामिनो (।) गीर्वाणा-
[7] लयभूरुहा यिव बुधश्रेणीष्टदानोत्सुकाः । [२८] याज्ञाविज्ञित-
[8] सुग्रीवाः प्राज्ञावनकृताग्रहाः । सर्वे ते विबुधग्राह्या(:) गु-
[9] णै रुचिरविग्रहाः । [२९] विख्यातचर्येषु नृपेषु तेषु श्रीरंग-
[10] राजश्शिशिरांशुरुर्व्याः । विश्वत्रये विश्रृतकीर्तिरासीत् सौ-
[11] रेषु शालेष्विव पारिजातः । [३०] यद्धेरीघनभांकृतिश्रवणतो
[12] भीत्या महत्या रणे प्रत्यर्थिक्षिति(क्षिति)पैः फलायनप-
[13] रैः मुक्ता लुठंतश्रमात् । कांताराभरणीभवंति कलशाच्छ-
[14] त्रध्वजंकांचिता(।)न्युन्मार्जंत्याधिभूपदानि तदनुव्रज्जा-
[15] भिया किं हयाः । [३१] श्रीरंगराजस्य तपोविशेषैः संतोषण-
[16] श्शेषगिरीश्वरस्य । कारुण्यभूम्ना कमनीय्यशोभौ पुत्रा-
[17] वहूतां पुरुहूतभोगौ । [३२] पेदवेंकटेंद्रपिनवेंकटाधिरा-
[18] डितिनामका प्रकृतिपालनात्सुकौ । खरदूषणप्रहति-
[19] दक्षिणावुभौ ददतः प्रमोदमिव रामलक्ष्मणौ । [३३] श्रीशा-
[20] ली पेदवेंकटेंद्रनृपतिर्जैष्टो वयोभिस्तयोः (।) शौर्यौदा-
[21] र्य्यगभीरथाधृतिकला(:)पूर्वैश्च सर्वैर्गुणैः । यस्याराति-

Plate III B.

[1] [33]नृपालभेदनकलायात्रासु सेनारजःपूरैर्भूर्ज-
[2] [ल]धिर्भवेदिति हरिश्चित्तेश्च धत्ते स्थितिं । [३४] श्रीरंगरा-
[3] जेंद्रकुमारकेस्मिन् वीरोत्तमे वेंकटदेवराये ।
[4] पट्टाभिषिक्ते पेनुगोंडराज्ये तदाभिषिक्ताः सुधियोपि
[5] हंम्ना । [३५] यथा रघुकुलोद्वहस्वयमरुंधतीजानिना स्वगो-
[6] त्रगुरुणा सुधीतिलकतातयार्येण यः । यथाविधि यश-

L. 19, read पेनुगोण्ड°. L. 20, read नयोज्ज्वलः and °मशिष°. L. 21, read तज्ज्यायसः सुरद्रुमलज्जा°. L. 22, read °राजः ख्यातः and तयोः. L. 23, read दयावन्तः.

[32] *Plate III A.* Line 1, read श्रुतवन्तो यशास्विनः. L. 2, read °धिगतः. L. 3, read °नृपतिः, and व्यलासीत्. L. 4, read विश्रुत°, °नृपतेः, and °भद्राकृतेः. L. 5, read °नुभवाः. L. 7, read इव and प्रज्ञाविजित°. L. 10, read विश्रुत°. L. 12, read पलायनपरैर्मुक्ता लुठन्तः. L. 14, read °ध्वजाङ्काञ्चिता° and °व्रज्याभिया. L. 15, read संतोषिणः. L. 16, read कमनीय°. L. 17, read °वभूतां. L. 18, read °नोत्सुकौ. L. 20, read °ज्यैंष्ठो. L. 21, read °गभीरता°.

[33] *Plate III B.* Line 5, read °द्वहः. L. 6, read यशास्विना.

[7] श्चिना विरचिताभिषेकक्षणाद्विभिद्य यवनाशरान्विज-
[8] ते प्रशासन् मही। [३६] यथाविधि महीसुरोत्तमकृताभिषे-
[9] कोत्सवे यदीयकरवारिदे कनकवृष्टिदे सर्वतः । य-
[10] शोमयतरंगिणी दशदिगंतरे जृंभते सतां प्रशमि-
[11] तोभवत्कृपणतोरुदावानलः । [३७] यस्मिन्वेंकटरायभूभृ-
[12] ति वहत्युर्वीं मुदानिभराः (।) कूर्मो वेंकटनाथता-
[13] मुपगतस्तद्रक्षणे दीक्षितः । शेषोप्येत्यमषवेषम-
[14] चला दुर्गत्वमप्याश्रिता(।)स्संतोषं दधते भजंति
[15] करिणां रूपेण चाशागजाः । [३८] वाराशिगांभीर्यवि-
[16] शेषधुर्यश्चौराशिदुर्गैकविभाळवर्यः ' पराष्ट-
[17] दिग्रायमनःप्रकामभयंकरः शार्ङ्गधरांतरं-
[18] डाः । [३९] हतरिपुरनिमेषानोकहो याचकानां (।) होसबि-
[19] रुदरगंडो रायराहुत्तमिंडः । महितचरितधन्यो
[20] मान्नियान् शामुलादि प्रकटितबिरुदश्रीः पाटिता-
[21] रातिलोकः । [४०] सारवीररमया समुल्लसन् आरवीटि-

Plate IV A.

[1] [54]पुरहारनायकः । कुंडलीश्वरमहाभुजश्र-
[2] यन् मंडलीकधरणीवराहतो । [४१] आत्रेयगोत्र-
[3] जानामग्रसरो भूभुजामुदारयशाः । अतिबिरुद-
[4] तुरगधट्टो मतिगुरुरारट्टमगधमान्यपदः । [४२] शल्या-
[5] रिनीतिशाली कल्याणपुराधिपः कलाचतुरः । चाक्रिचक्र-
[6] वर्ती माणिक्महाकिरीटमहनीयः । [४३] ऐबिरुदरायरा-
[7] हुतवेश्यैकभुजंगबिरुदभरितश्रीः । [४४] राजाधिराजबि-
[8] रुदो राजराजसमाहितिः । मूरुरायरगंडांको मेरुलंघि-
[9] यशोभरः । परदारेषु विमुखः पररायभयंकरः । [४५] शिष्टसं-
[10] रक्षणपरो दुष्टशार्दूलमर्दनः । अरीभगंडभेरुंडो हरिभक्ति-
[11] सुधानिधिः । [४६] सोयं नीतिजितादिभूपतिततिसुमशाखी सुधीसा-
[12] थानां भुजतेजसा स्ववशयन् कर्नाटशिंहासनं । आ सेतोर-
[13] पि चाहिमाद्रि विमतान् संहृत्य शासन्मुदा (।) सर्वोर्वीं प्रच-
[14] कास्ति वेंकटपतिश्रीदेवरायाग्रणीः ॥ [४७] वसुबाणकळेंदु[ग]-
[15] णिते शकवत्सरे । धातृसंवत्सरे नाम्नि मासि चाषाढनामनि [।]
[16] पक्षे वळक्षे पुण्यर्क्षे द्वादस्यां च महातिथौ । [४८] श्रीवेंकटेशपादाब्ज-
[17] संनिधौ श्रेयसां निधौ ॥ श्रीमत्कौशिकगोत्राय वरापस्तंब-
[18] सूत्रिणे । [४९] यशश्विने यजुश्शाखाध्यायिनेभीष्टदायिने । यज-
[19] नादिमषट्कर्मभजनात्पावनात्मने । [५०] श्रीरामचरणा-

L. 7, read °षेकः क्षणाद्विभिद्य यवनासुरान् (?); विजयते V. L. 8, read °सन्महीम्. L. 12, read °निर्भरां. L. 13, for त्यमष° the metre requires ᴗ ᴗ – ᴗ. L. 17, °तरंगः V. L. 20, सामुलादि V. L. 21, read °सन्नारवीटि°.

[54] *Plate IV A.* Line 1, read °भुजः. L. 5, चाळिक्क° (read चाळिक्य°) V. L. 6, read माणिक्य°. L. 11, read °ततिः सुत्रामशाखी V; read °सार्थानां, V. L. 12, read कर्णाट°; °सिंहासनं V. L. 15, read संवत्सरे धातृनाम्नि. L. 16, read द्वादश्यां. L. 18, यशस्विने V.

[20] भोजभ्रमरायितचेतसः । वीरवेंकटरायेंद्रनृपचित्तानु-
[21] वर्तिने । [५१] लक्कराजस्य पौत्राय सिंगराजस्य सूनवे । राज-
[22] न्यास्थानरत्नाय रंगनाथांय्य धीमते ॥ [५२] जगत्ख्यातजयं
[23] कोंडतोंडमंडलभूषणं । पडवीडुमहाराज्ये परंद्रा-

Plate IV B.

[1] मिश्वपत्तुगं । [५३] आमूरुकोट्टविख्यातं आंजनाडुवि-
[2] [35]शोभितं । गुडियातस्य शीमायां विडुग्राम यिति [श्रु]तं [। ५४]
[3] गूडनगरग्रामस्य प्राचीभागमुपाश्रितं । कौंडिन्यनाम-
[4] नद्याश्च दक्षिणस्यां दिशि स्थितं । [५५] चित्तातूरुमहाग्रामपश्चिम-
[5] स्यां दिशि स्थितं । वेट्टायिनेत्तरत्नस्य वुत्तराशामुपाश्रितं । [५६]गो-
[6] पालश्रीपुरमितिप्रतिनामसमन्वितं । ग्रामं कोंड्या[त]नामा-
[7] नं शोभितं शोभनैर्गुणैः । [५७] सर्वमान्यं चतुश्शीमासहितं च स-
[8] मंततः । निधिनिक्षेपपाषाणसिद्धसाध्यजलान्वितं । [५८] अक्षि-
[9] ण्यागामिसय्युक्तं गणभोज्यसभूरुहं [।]वापीकूपतटाकैश्च क-
[10] च्छारामैश्च सय्युतं [।५९] पुत्रपौत्रादिबिर्भोज्यं क्रमादाचंद्रतारकं [।]
[11] दानादमनविक्रीतियोग्यं विनिमयोचितं । [६०] परीतः प्रयैत-
[12] स्निग्धैः पुरोहितपुरोगमैः[।] विविधैर्विबुधैश्रौथपथिकै-
[13] रथिकैर्गिरा [। ६१] श्रीवीरवेंकटपतिमहारायमहीपतिः [।] सहि-
[14] रण्यपयोधारापूर्वकं दत्तवान्मुदा ॥—॥ [६२]

Plate V.

[1] श्रीवेंकटपतिरायक्षितिपतिवर्यस्य कीर्तिधुर्य्यस्य ॥
[2] शासनमिदं सुधीजनकुवलयचंद्रस्य भूमहेंद्रस्य ॥ [६३] श्री
[3] [36]श्री [।] वंकटपतिरायोक्याः प्राह पौत्रस्सभापतेः । कामकोटिसुतो
[4] रामकविशासनवाङ्मयं [।६४] श्रीवीरणावार्यवरेण्यपौत्रो वराच्यु-
[5] तार्यौ गणपार्यपुत्रः । सूक्त्यालिखत् वेंकटरायमौलेः पद्यानि हृद्यान्यथ
[6] शासनस्य ॥ [६५] दानपालनयोर्मध्ये द्राना श्रेयोनुपालनं । दाना स्वर्गमवाप्नोति
[7] पालनादच्युतं पदं । [६६] श्वदताद्विगुणं पुंण्यं परदत्तानुपालनं । परदत्तापहारेण स्वद-
[8] त्तं [निष्फलं भवे]त् । [६७] स्वदत्तां परदत्ता वा यो हरेत वसुंद्धरां । षष्टिर्वेषसहस्रा-
[9] णि [विष्ठा]यं जायते क्रिमिः । [६८] येकैव भगिनि लोके सर्वेषामेव भूभुजां । न भो-
[10] ज्या न करग्राह्या विप्रदत्ता वसुंद्धरा । [६९] सामान्योयं धर्मसेत्तुं नृपाणां का-
[11] ले काले पालनीयो भवद्धि [।] सर्वानेतान् भाविनः पार्थिवेंद्रान् भूयो भू-
[12] यों याचते रामचंद्रः ॥=॥ [७०]
[13] श्रीवेक-[14]टेश

20, read °चेतसे. L. 22, read °नाथाय.

[35] *Plate IV B.* Line 2, read सीमायां and इति. L. 5, read उत्तरा°. L. 7, read चतुःसीमा°. L. 9, read °संयुक्तं गणभोज्यं. L. 10, read संयुतम्; °दिभिर्भोज्यं V. L. 11, दानाधमन° V. read प्रयतैः. L. 12, read °बुधैः श्रौत°. L. 13, °रथिकै° V.

[36] *Plate V.* Line 3, read वेङ्कटपतिराजोक्त्या. L. 4, read °कविः; the ङ्म of °वाङ्मयं is badly executed. L. 5, read °लिखद्. L. 6, read twice दानात्. L. 7, read स्वदत्ताद्वि°. L. 8, read परदत्तां and षष्टिं वर्ष°. L. 9, read विष्ठायां and एकैव भगिनी. L. 10, read °सेतुर्नृपाणां. L. 11, read भवद्भिः and सर्वानेतान्. L. 13, Colophon : श्रीवेंकटेश V.

THREE INSCRIPTIONS FROM KAṆHERI.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, GÖTTINGEN.

The three inscriptions from Kaṇheri of which I submit transcripts and translations[1] are those mentioned in vol. IV of *Archæol. Survey of W. India*, p. 64, l. 5, and p. 70, l. 3. My transcripts are chiefly made from excellent paper impressions by Dr. Burgess, but I have also consulted the eye-copies published by Dr. West in vol. VI of the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the R. Asiatic Society*. The first of the three inscriptions is Dr. West's No. 15; the two others, which formerly were considered as only one inscription, and which by Dr. West are given as No. 43, I denote by No. 43A and 43B. Portions of No. 15 and of No. 43A have been read by Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl Indrâjî, whose translation is given in the *Journal Bombay Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. XIII, p. 11, and in Burgess, *Inscriptions from the Cave-temples of W. India*, p. 61 and 62.

No. 15 contains six lines. The first three lines are each 11′ 8″ long, the two next each 17′ 7½″, and the last is 11′ 8½″ long. The letters are about 2″ high; they are not carved very regularly, but broader and deeper than in the other inscriptions. The inscription is in a fair state of preservation.

No. 43A contains five lines, each of which is 7′ long. The letters are about 1½″ high; though faintly cut, they are regularly and skilfully formed. Excepting the final portions of the upper three lines, the inscription is well preserved.

No. 43B, separated from No. 43A by two vertical lines, also contains five lines, each of which is 7′ 6″ long. The letters are somewhat smaller than in 43A, and they are faintly and irregularly cut. To what extent the inscription has suffered may be seen from Dr. West's copy.

The language of the inscriptions is Sanskrit, and the alphabet employed old Devanâgarî. The forms of the letters are essentially the same as in the Sâmangaḍ copper-plate grant of Śaka 675, published at p. 110 of vol. XI of the *Ind. Antiquary*. As regards medial *vowels*, the signs used for *u* and *û* and for the diphthongs may be seen from the following *aksharas* taken from No. 15: पु *pu*; षू *shû*; मे *me*; के *ke*; तै *tai*; रो *ro*, यो *yo*; गौ *gau*. Each of the three inscriptions shows slight peculiarities as regards the shape of several letters; in No. 43A the stroke used for the medial *â* (and *o*) is drawn lower down than in No. 15; the *r* which is written above another consonant is angular in No. 43A and rounded in No. 15; *tha* following upon a consonant is in No. 15 denoted by ⊖ (न्थ = *ntha*), in No. 43A by 8 (स्थे = *sthe*); such and other differences will be better seen from representations than from any verbal description which I might give here.

Each of the three inscriptions is dated; No. 15 *Âśvina badi* 2, Śaka 775 = September 12th, A.D. 854; No. 43A Śaka 799 = A.D. 877-8; and No. 43B, I believe, Saṁvat (*i.e.* Śakasaṁvat) 765 = A.D. 843-4.

The inscriptions record the erection of certain buildings at Kaṇheri and the grant of certain sums of money to be expended for the benefit of the monks of that monastery, and they are interesting chiefly as proving that Buddhism was by no means extinct in Western India during the second half of the 9th century A.D. Besides, they furnish for the reign of the Râshṭrakûṭa king Amoghavarsha (Śarva, *Ind. Antiquary*, vol. XII, p. 180), the dates Śaka 765 (?), 775, and 799; for that of his vassal Pullaśakti, the Silâhâra chief of the Koṅkaṇ, the date Śaka 765 (?); and for that of Pullaśakti's successor Kapardin (II, Laghu) the dates Śaka 775 and 799; and they mention Jagattuṅga (Govinda III) as the predecessor of Amoghavarsha, and Kapardin (the older), likewise a vassal of Amoghavarsha, as the predecessor of Pullaśakti. It also deserves to be noticed that the name of the last-named prince is written पुल्लशक्ति, not पुल्लसक्ति as in the grant of Chittarâjadeva. (*Ind. Antiquary*, vol. V, p. 277) and in the grant from Khârepâṭan (*l. c.* IX, p. 33). For the rest I refer the reader to Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl Indraji, *Journal As. Soc. of Bombay*, vol. XIII, p. 11-13; Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 35;

[1] An article in German on these inscriptions will be found in the January number of the *Nachrichten der Ges. der Wissenschaften*, Göttingen.

the same scholar's inscriptions in vols. XI and XII of the *Ind. Antiquary*; Bühler, *l. c.* vol. VI, p. 59 and vol. V, p. 276; and Telang, *l. c.* vol. IX, p. 33. For the capital of the Koṅkaṇ, Puri, mentioned in No. 43B see *Ind. Antiquary*, vol. V, p. 278, Plate II.A, line 5, and vol. IX, p. 35, Plate III, line 64, and the notes of the editors of the inscriptions.

No. 15.

Transcript.

(1) ओं स्वस्ति शकनृपकालातीतसम्वत्सरशतेषु सप्तसु पंचसप्ततिष्वंकतः (अपि सम्व)त्सरशः ७७५ तद-
न्तर्गतप्रजापतिसम्वत्सरान्तःपातिआश्विन[9]वहुलद्वितीया(यां बुध)दिने अस्यां सम्व(त्सर)-
(2) मासपक्षदिवसपूर्वायां तिथौ परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीमज्जगत्तुंगदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभ-
ट्टारकमहाराधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीमदमोघवर्षदेवप्रवर्द्धमा-
(3) नविजयराज्ये तत्प्रसाकृतः अशेषकोंकणवल्लभः श्रीपुल्लशक्तिः समधिगतपञ्चमहाशव्दमहासामन्तशे-
खरः तत्पादानुध्यातसमधिगतपञ्चमहाशव्दमहासान्तशेखरः श्रीपें[3]पर्दिरा(ज्ञः प्रवर्द्ध)-
(4) मानविजयराज्ये इहैव गौडविषयादागतः परमसैगतः गौमिनः अविघ्नाकरेण अस्मीं श्रीकृष्णगिरिमहा-
राजमहाविहारे उपशमको[ल्हिवेश्मि]का(:[4]सची)वरिकाः समेता अक्षैनीतिः द्राम्मशतैकेन कारापिताः
इयं चाक्षयनीतीर्यावदहं जीवामि तावन्ममोपभोगः ममोपरतौ क्षश[लैः[5]] कारी विरूप्यानश्यं दा-
(5) तव्या न परिपन्थना कार्या यः प्रलोपिष्यति स[6] अवीचिपरी(तापकुम्भी)पाकादिषु नरकेषूत्पत्स्यते श्वा-
नोद्गीर्ण्णगोमांसं स भक्षयिष्यत्येव व्यवस्था (चा)र्यसंघस्य पुर(तो) आरोच्य प्रतिष्ठाप्य लिखापिता सा-
क्षिणश्चात्र पात्तियाणकयोगनामा चिख्यल्लप(ल्लि)काआचार्यश्चात्र साक्षी । पु(ण्यं)[7] म[न्त्री]साक्षि-
(णां) भो-
(6) भो दि(व्य वुद्ध श्री[8])कदाचीदपात्रं स(त्वापा)चारिणो साध्वाचारस्य प्रतिपादयिष्ये स पात्रेणोपति(ष्ठे)-
त्तस्य पा(पाद)र्गैनादेवावश्यं दातव्यं अत्र यक्षिंचिदूनाक्षरमधिका(क्षरं) यत्तत्सर्वं प्रमाणमि[ति]

Translation.

Om ! Hail ! On Wednesday, the second of the dark half of Âśvina in the Prajâpati year, when seven hundred seventy-five years—in figures, too, 775 years—of the era of the Śaka kings had passed,[9] on the aforesaid (second) lunar day of the said half of the said month and year; during the prosperous reign of victory of the supreme lord (*Parama-bhaṭṭâraka*), the sovereign of great kings, the supreme ruler,[10] the illustrious king Amoghavarsha (*Amoghavarsha-deva*),—who remembers the supreme lord (*Parama-bhaṭṭâraka*), the sovereign of great kings, the supreme ruler, the revered illustrious king Jagattunga (*Jagattunga-deva*); during the prosperous reign of victory of the illustrious king Kapardin (*Kapardi-râja*), chief among the great feudatories, who has attained the five titles commencing with 'Great,' and who remembers the revered illustrious Pullaśakti, chief among the great feudatories, who had attained the five titles commencing with 'Great,' the lord of the whole Konkaṇa (*Konkaṇa-vallabha*) graciously granted to him by (Amoghavarsha)[11] ;—

[2] The *aksharas* which I have read आश्विन might at first sight be read माशिर, but a more careful examination shows that the first *akshara* is really आ and the last न; the व also appears clearly under श.

[3] The *akshara* following upon the last श्री of this line is प with the sign ~ above it; below it क appears to me to be visible.

[4] °कोल्हिवेश्मिकाः सची°—Only कोलि and का are quite clear. Under ल there are traces of another letter which I take to be ह. Between लि and का I believe to recognise व, ि, and traces of श under which another letter must have stood. See No. 43A, line 3.

[5] क्षसलैः—Of लै only the lower part (ल) is quite clear.

[6] स before अवीचि° may have been सो.

[7] पुण्यं मन्त्रीसाक्षिणां—Only पुण्य मन्तीसाक्षिण is quite clearly visible; about the *r*-stroke under न्ती I am doubtful.

[8] श्री may have been श्रीः.

[9] Read °प्रजापतिसंवत्सराः—तदन्तर्गतप्रजापातिसंवत्सरान्तः पात्याश्वित° appears to be equivalent to प्रवर्तमानप्रजापति-संवत्सरान्तर्गताश्विन°.—The fact that Âśvina badi 2 of the current Śaka year 776 (= the 12th of September 854 A.D.) *was* a Wednesday, proves that the figure 775 is correct; the current year 776 however was by the rules and tables known to me a Śrîmukha, not a Rajâpati year.

[10] Read महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर°.

[11] I read तत्प्रसादीकृताशेषकोंङ्कणवल्लभसमधिगतपञ्चमहा-शव्दमहासामन्तशेखरश्रीपुल्लशक्तिपादानुध्यातसमधिगतपञ्चमहा-शव्दमहासामन्तशेखरश्रीकपर्दिराजप्रवर्धमानविजयराज्ये.

(I), the *Gomin* Avighnâkara, a devout worshipper of the Sugata, come hither from the Gauḍa country, have had hall-mansions (suitable) for meditation built at this great monastery of the famous mount of Kṛishṇa, and have given as a perpetual endowment one hundred *Drammas* (from the interest of which the monks) shall receive clothes.[12] And this perpetual endowment is for my own use so long as I live. On my death competent persons shall fix the interest, which shall necessarily be given (for the above-mentioned purpose).[13] None should seek to obstruct this. He who should (wrongfully) appropriate[14] (any part of the capital or interest) will be born again in the *Avîchi*, *Parîtâpa*, *Kumbhîpâka* and other hells; verily he shall have for his food the flesh of cows vomited forth by dogs.

The deed has been approved of in the presence of the worshipful community,[15] has been confirmed, and has afterwards been caused to be written. Witnesses thereof are the *Pâttiyâṇaka* named Yoga, and the *Âchârya* of Chikhyallapallikâ.[16]—Religious merit to [the donor (?) and] the witnesses.[17])

O, O, heavenly Buddha! (Let) fortune (attend)! Never are worthy recipients those who wrong the beings. To him, whose conduct is good, will I give; he may approach as a worthy recipient! To him verily shall be given, because sin is not found in him.

Whatever in the above may be deficient in letters, whatever may contain too many letters, all has authority.[18]

No. 43 A.

Transcript.

(1) (ओं) स्वस्ति शकनृपकालातीतसम्वत्सरशतेषु सप्तसु नवनवत्यधिकेष्वंकतः ७९९ महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्री-

(2) मदमोघवर्षदेवप्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्ये तत्प्रसादीकृतकोंकणवल्लभमहासामन्तशेखरश्रीकपर्दिप्रवर्द्धमानाधिपत्ये (श्री)मत्कृष्णागिरिमहावि-

[12] इहैव...कारापिता :—I omit the word महाराज before महाविहारे, and would put the main part of the sentence thus: इहैव गौडविषयादागतेन परमसौगतेन गोमिनाविघ्नाकरेणास्मिञ्श्रीकृष्णगिरिमहाविहार उपशमकोल्हिवेश्मिका:...कारापिता:. The sense of the words अक्षैनीतिः द्राम्मशतेकेन would in the older inscriptions probably have been expressed by some such sentence as अक्षयनीवी च दत्ता द्रम्माणां शतमेकम्, and that of the words सचीवरिका: समेताः (for which one expects सचीवरिका: alone, or चीवरिकसमेता:) either by चीवरिकार्थम् or by a separate sentence containing the words चीवरिकं दातव्यम् (See the inscriptions, particularly those from Kaṇheri, in vols. IV and V of Burgess, *Archæol. Survey of W. India*).— कोल्हि I take to be the word *Koḍhi* of the older inscriptions (*l. c.* vol. IV, p. 88, Mahâd 2; vol. V, p. 76, Kaṇheri 5; p. 79, Kaṇheri 15; p. 83, Kaṇheri 22). See No. 43A, line 3.

[13] I read इयं चाक्षयनीवियावदहं जीवामि तावन्ममोपभोगः। ममोपरतौ कुशलैः कारी निरूप्यावश्यं दातव्या।. The word कारी I take to be equivalent to कारिका, for which according to the *St. Pet. Dictionary* the meaning 'interest' is given by lexicographers.

[14] Read यः प्रलोप्स्यति सोऽवीचि° and compare *e.g. l. c.* vol. IV, p. 86, Kuḍa 10, *yo lopayet paṁchamahâpâtakasaṁyuktobhavet.*

[15] Read पुरत आरोच्य, and see No. 43A, line 5. Compare also *l. c.* IV, p. 102, Nâsik 7, l. 4 *eta cha sarva srâvita nigamasabhâya nibadha cha phalakavâre charitrato ti.*

[16] Read चिख्यल्लपल्लिकाचार्ये°; अत्र साक्षी after आचार्यश्च appears superfluous.—Chikhyallapallikâ probably was a neighbouring village at or near which there was a monastery; compare Chikhalapadra *l. c.* IV, p. 102, Nâsik 7, and modern names like Chiklee, Chikhulthân, etc.—The Pâttiyâṇaka or Pattiyâṇaka Yoga is mentioned as a witness also in No. 43A, together with the *Gomin* Avighnâkara, the donor in this inscription, and the *Âchârya* Dharmâkaramitra. For the meaning of *Âchârya* see Kern, *Buddhismus*, II, p. 37 and 72 (German edition). *Gomin* probably denotes here a learned lay-brother who may have held some high office on the establishment of the monastery, and may thus have been at hand as a respectable witness. The Pattiyâṇaka also was probably some official, and I suspect that the word is connected with पत्रिका 'a document.' Professor Bühler compares *paṭṭiyan* 'heir, administrator' (Wilson, *Revenue Terms*).

[17] With the phrase पुण्यं...साक्षिणां compare पुण्येन तिरेम in No. 43A, line 5. I am not at all certain that मन्त्रिन् ever means 'donor,' but cannot suggest anything else. ी *might* stand for ि, as it does in कदाचीद° in line 6.

[18] In the postscript commencing with कदाचिद° we have at least to read कदाचिदपात्रं सत्वापाचारिणः and अत्र यत्किंचि°. Should my translation be right, the singular in कदाचिदपात्रं and the Instrumental case in स पात्रेणो पतिष्ठेत् would be ungrammatical. For the concluding sentence see *e.g. Ind. Antiquary* vol. V, p. 279, line 14.

(3) हारे भद्रश्री[विष्णु[19]]र्भिक्षूणां तत्रस्थार्य(संघस्य) द्रम्माणां शतमेकं (दत्वो)पशमनसदृशां चीवरिकादिलाभसमन्वितां को(ल्हिवेश्मि)कां[20] क्षि[त्यां[21] न्यवीविश]त्सेयमार्यभि-रे-

(4) वानुकम्पामुपादाय यावच्चन्द्रार्कादयः मतपन्विता(स्ता)वत्मतिपाल्या य(स्तु) न प्रतिपालयिष्यति स पंचानन्तर्यकर्म्मका- - र्यवीच्यादिषु महदुःखमुनभविष्यति व्यवस्थेयं

(5) चार्यसंघस्य पुरतो आरोच्य म-तिष्ठाप्य लिखापिता। साक्षिणश्चात्राचार्यधर्म्मोकरमित्र(:) गोम्यविघ्नाकर(:) पत्तिया[णक]योग(:)[22] पुण्येन तिरेमेति (श्री[23])अ

Translation.

Om! Hail! When seven hundred and ninety-nine—in figures 799—years of the era of the Śaka kings had passed; during the prosperous reign of victory of the sovereign of great kings, the supreme ruler, the illustrious king Amoghavarsha (*Amoghavarsha-deva*); during the prosperous rule of the illustrious Kapardin, chief among the great feudatories, the lord of Konkaṇa (*Konkaṇa-vallabha*) graciously granted to him by (Amoghavarsha);—

Vishṇu—may fortune be propitious to him!—gave[24] one hundred *Drammas* to the monks of the worshipful community dwelling at the great monastery of the famous mount of Kṛishṇa, and caused to be built in the ground a hall-mansion suitable for meditation, where (the monks) shall receive clothes and other (gifts). Out of compassion with the worshipful monks[25] this (hall and the endowment connected therewith) shall be preserved so long as the moon and the sun and the other (luminaries) retain their brilliancy.[26] He who should fail to preserve them will be guilty of the five sins which carry with them immediate retribution,[27] and shall suffer great pain in the *Avîchi* and the other (hells).

This deed has been approved of in the presence of[28] the worshipful community, has been confirmed, and has afterwards been caused to be written. Witnesses thereof are the *Âchârya* Dharmâkaramitra, the *Gomin* Avighnâkara, (*and*) the *Pattiyâṇaka-yoga*.

May we be saved through religious merit! May fortune attend!

No. 43 B.

Transcript. [29]

(1) ओं (श्री)महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपृथ्वीवल्लभश्रीमदमोघवर्षश्रीमहारा(ज्ञ): मवर्द्धमानविजयराज्ये तत्मसा(दावाप्त)महा(सा)मन्तको-

(2) ङ्कणवल्लभ (श्री[कपर्द्दिपादानुध्या]त) श्रीपुल्लशक्तिम(हाधिपे) पुरीप्रभृतिकोङ्कणविषयं (सर्व्वेव): प्रशासति तत्पादानुजीवी पुराणा(मा)त्यो (भद्र)-

(3) श्रीविष्णु (-प्तो- -ध्य)क्षश्रीपू(र्ण्ण)हरिसुतः श्रीकृष्णगिरौ श्रीमदार्यसंघं प्रणम्यातिकृपया- -ति(श्रीभगवत(त्मीत्य)र्त्थे विंशतिं ([द्रम्मा]णां)

(4) ([इ]हास्मि[न्ने]व वि[हारे व्यस्तव्या]कीर्ण्ण[परिष्कारणा]र्त्थं द्रम्माणां) त्रयं चीवरी(भ्यो) आर्य) संघ(स्य द्रम्माणां) पञ्च दा(प)नीयाः (पुस्तका[र्त्थमे]को द्रम्मः)

(5) (अक्षैनी[वि]र्द्रम्मा)श्चत्वारिंशच्चत्वारिंश(त् कांचन)द्रम्मशतं विंशत्युत्तरं (रचै)तेषां द्रम्माणां कल(त्रपुत्रव)त्प्रतिपालनीया सम्व (७९५)

[19] The two *aksharas* which I have read विष्णु look at first sight like विव or विन, but I believe I am right in reading the first sign वि, and am certain that the second is neither व nor न, and that the lower portion of it contains a ण. Compare (भद्र)श्रीविष्णु.. in No. 43B, lines 2 and 3. Between भद्रश्री and विष्णु there appear traces of a Visarga.

[20] कोल्हिवेश्मिकां—The letters कोलिवेशिकां I consider to be certain; besides there is under the ल a sign which I believe to be ह, and one under श in which I recognize म.

[21] क्षित्यां न्यवीविश°—क्षि is certain, the following *akshara* somewhat indistinct; in what remains of the next four *aksharas* I believe I can recognize traces of न्यवीविश°. Compare *udâraṁ nyavîviśad veśma yatîndra(sevyam)*. in Ajanta Inscriptions No. 3, l. 18; Burgess, *Archæol. Survey*, vol. IV, p. 125.

[22] पत्तियाणकयोग:—ण has almost entirely disappeared; what there is of the following *akshara* looks somewhat like व, and may have been को. The final Visarga is very indistinct and the ग preceding it looks like the modern ग़.

[23] श्री may have been श्री:. Below line 5 West's copy has five more *aksharas*.

[24] Read दत्त्वोपशमनसदृशीं.

[25] Read °मार्यभिक्षोरे°.

[26] Read प्रतापान्विता°.

[27] See Childers *s. v. pañchânantariyakammaṁ*.

[28] Read पुरत आरोच्य.

[29] Some of the *aksharas* enclosed in square brackets are very indistinct, and it may be doubtful whether I have read them all correctly; but I believe that the number of *aksharas* given by me will be found to be right in every case.

EASTERN CHALUKYA GRANT OF THE 18TH YEAR OF JAYASIṀHA I.

I.

IIa.

J. Burgess. From the original plates. W. Griggs, Photo-lith.

EASTERN CHALUKYA GRANT OF THE 18TH YEAR OF JAYASIṀHA I.

II b.

III a.

III b.

J. B

Translation.

Om! During the prosperous reign of victory of the [illustrious] sovereign of great kings, the supreme ruler, the lord of the earth (*Prithvî-vallabha*), the illustrious Amoghavarsha, the illustrious great king; while the illustrious [great ruler] Pullaśakti is governing Purî and [all] the other parts of the Konkaṇa country,—(Pullaśakti) who [remembers] the great feudatory, [the revered illustrious Kapardin], the lord of Konkaṇa (*Konkaṇavallabha*) [obtained] by him through the grace of (Amoghavarsha)[25];—the old minister and devoted servant of (Pullaśakti), Vishṇu [. .],—may fortune [be propitious to him]!—the son of the illustrious Hari, [the superintendent . . .], after having made obeisance to the illustrious worshipful community at the famous mount of Kṛishṇa, ...[26] out of great kindness twenty [*Drammas* to please] the illustrious holy one; three [*Drammas* for the repair of what may be damaged or ruined here in this monastery]. For clothes[27] of the worshipful community five [*Drammas*] shall be expended, [for books one *Dramma*. The perpetual endowment[28] (amounts to)] forty [*Drammas*], forty, (and) a hundred and twenty *Drammas* [in gold. The disposition[29] (as to the expenditure)] of these *Drammas* should be guarded like wife [and children]. In the year [765].

SANSKṚIT AND OLD-CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo.C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

(*Continued from p. 124.*)

No. CXLIV.

The original plates[1] containing the inscription now published were found by a Brâhmaṇ in digging the foundations of a wall for the compound of his house at 'Pedda-Maddâli,' in the 'Nûrzivîd' Division of the Kṛishṇâ District in the Madras Presidency. They were obtained by me, for the purpose of editing the inscription, through the kindness of Mr. R. Sewell, C.S.

The plates are three in number, each about 6⅞″ long by 3¼″ broad. The edges of them are raised, so as to serve as rims to protect the writing; and, with the exception of a fold at the right corner and of a crack at the bottom of the third plate, the inscription is in a state of perfect preservation throughout. The ring, on which the plates are strung, is about ⅜″ thick and 4½″ in diameter; it had not been cut when the grant came into my hands. The seal on the ring is oval, about 1⅜″ by 1¼″. It has, in relief on the surface of the seal itself, and not on a countersunk surface as is usually the case,—at the top, a moon; in the centre, the legend *Śrî-Sa*[*r**] *vva-siddhi*; and, at the bottom, apparently the remains of the name *Jayasiṁha*, but the letters are almost entirely broken away and illegible. The weight of the three plates is 53⅜ tolas, and of the ring and seal, 50⅝ tolas;—total, 104 tolas. The language is Sanskṛit throughout.

The grant is one of the *Mahârâja* Jayasiṁhavallabha or Jayasiṁha I., of the Eastern Chalukya family, and is issued from the city of Udayapura. It records a grant of the village of Peṇukapaṛu, on the east of (*the village of*) Mardavalli or perhaps Maddâvalli, in the *vishaya* of Gudrahâra. And it is dated in the eighteenth year of his reign, *i.e.* in or about Śaka 582 (A.D. 660-1).

Text.[2]

First plate.

[1] Svasti Śrîmad-vijay-Ôdayapurât bhagavapvi(t-Svâ)mi-Mahâsêna-pâd-ânu-

---

[25] I read तत्प्रसादावाप्तकोङ्कणवल्लभमहासामन्तश्रीकपर्दि°.

[26] After कृपाया some such verb as ददाति 'presents' must have stood.

[27] Read चीवरीभ्य आर्य°.

[28] Read अक्षयनीवि°, and compare No. 15, line 4.

[29] For the distribution of the interest compare the Inscriptions in vol. IV and V of the *Archæol. Reports of W. I.*, and the Valabhi grants in vols. I, IV, V, VI, and VII of the *Ind. Antiquary*. The first-mentioned sum of 20 *Drammas* I consider had to be given for the support and comfort of the monks and for the गन्धपुष्पधुपदीपतैलादि specially mentioned in other inscriptions. The total sum to be yearly expended was 29 *Drammas*, which according to the legal rate of interest would require a capital of about 200 *Drammas*. The fact that this capital is in the above denoted by the expression 40 * 40 * 120 *Drammas*, may be accounted for by assuming that (as *e.g.* in Nâsik inscr. No. 10, *Arch. Survey* IV, p. 104) it was entrusted not to one, but to several persons or guilds.

[1] No. 3 in Mr. Sewell's published *List of Copper-plate Grants*. Noticed by me, *ante* Vol. X. p. 243, No. 7.

[2] From the original plates.

[2] dhyâtânâ[ṁ*] sapta-lôkamâtṛibhi[3][ḥ*] sapta-mâtṛibhiḥ[4] parivarddhi[tâ*]nâṁ bhagavan-N[â*]râyaṇa-

[3] prasâda-samânâ(sâ)dita-varâhalâñchhan-êkshaṇa-kshaṇa-vaśîkṛit-[â*]śêsha-

[4] mahîkshitâm Mânavya-sagôtrâṇâṁ Hâriti-putrâṇâṁ[5]m=aśvamêdh-â-

[5] vabhṛitha-snâna-pavitrîkṛita-gâtrâṇâ[ṁ*] Chalukyâṁ[6]nâṁ kulam=alaṅkarishṇâ(shṇô)ś=chatu-

[6] r-udadhi-salila-samullaṁghita-kîrttêḥ Śrî-Kîrttivarmmaṇaḥ pautrâ(traḥ) samâśrit[â*]-

[7] n[âṁ*] kâmadhênu-charitasya anêka-ripu-durgga-pramathan-âvâpta-vi-

Second plate; first side.

[8] shamasiddhêḥ yashya(sya) cha sa(śa)stram=âpanna-trâṇâya vigrahaḥ=par-âbhi-

[9] mâna-bhaṁgâya śiksh[i*]taṁ vinayâya vibhav-ârjjana[ṁ*] pradânâ-

[10] ya pradânan=dharmmâya dharmma[ḥ*] śrêyô-vâptayê tasya tanaya[ḥ*]

[11] śaśadhara iva sarvva-lôkaḥ[7]-hṛiday-ânandakaraḥ su-

[12] ra-gaja iv=âvichchhinna-dâna-saliia-ki(kî)nna(rṇṇa)-nikêtaḥ Cha-

[13] kradhara nâ(i)v=âpratihata-chakra[ḥ*] Drôṇa iva kṛip-ânugataḥ sva-bâ-

[14] hu-pâ(ba)l-ôpârjjita-sarvvasiddhiḥ samara-śata-saṅkaṭ-ê(ô)tkadha(ṇṭha)-vijaya-

Second plate; second side.

[15] vîra-dhvajaḥ Śrî-Jayasiṁhavallabha-mahârâjaḥ parama-brahma-

[16] ṇyô mâtâpitṛi-pâd-ânudhyâta[ḥ*] sa[r*]vv[â*]n=êvam=âjñâpayaty=Astu vô vidi-

[17] tam=asmâbhiḥ Gudrahâra-vishayê Mardda(?ddâ)valli-pûrvva-pârśvê Peṇukapa-

[18] ṛu-nâma-grâma[8]-grâmâ(mô) vishuva-nimittê vijaya-râjya-saṁvatsarê[9]

[19] ashṭâdaś[ê*] Pogulûra-vâstavyasya Bhâradvâja-sagôtrasya Bhâ-

[20] radvâja-sûtrasy=âdhîta-vô(vê)da-dvayasya Śivaśarmmaṇa[ḥ*] pautrâya gṛihi(hî)-

[21] ta-sâhasrasy=âdhigata-vêda-dvayasya Dêvaśarmmaṇaḥ putrâya

Third plate; first side.

[22] shaṭkarmma-niratâya aśîti-tarkâya Guptaśarmmaṇê sarvva-kara-pa-

[23] rihârêṇ=âgrah[â*]rîkṛitya pratigrahô dattaḥ [|*] na kaiśchid=apy=asy=ôpari bâ)

[24] dhâ karanî(ṇî)yâ [||*] Uktañ=cha bhagavat[â*] vêda-vyâsêna Vyâsênâ(na) [|*] Bahubhir=vva-

[25] sudhâ dat[t*]â bahubhiś=ch=ânupâlitâ yasya yasya yadâ bhûmi-

[26] s=tasya tasya tadâ phalaṁ [||*] Shashṭi-varsha-sahasrâṇi svarggê môdati bhû-

[27] vi(mi)dâ(daḥ) âkshêptâ ch=ânumantâ cha tâny=[ê*]va narakê vasêt [||*] Mantrî purôhita(?tâ)sya(?)

[28] yath=Êndrasya Bri[10]haspatiḥ[11] [|*] A(â)jñaptis=Siyaśarmm=âsya Vâjapêy-êjya(jyô?-Yabhu(?su)chiḥ

Third plate; second side.

[29] radaḥ ...ûṭakatanaḥ damuna dalita nôga[12]

NOTE ON A BHAUMA-YANTRA.

BY E. HULTZSCH, PH.D., VIENNA.

The subjoined Nâgarî-inscription is transcribed from an ink-impression sent by Dr. Burgess to Professor Bühler. The former obtained it at Mahu in Mâlwâ. It is a *Yantra* or auspicious diagram, and consists of a large triangle divided into 21 smaller ones, each of which contains a name of the planet **Bhauma** or Mars in the dative case preceded by the

[3] This *bhi* is written above the line, having been probably at first omitted.

[4] The lower part of this *visarga* is spoilt by the next letter, *pa*. running into it.

[5] This *anusvâra* is a mistake.

[6] This *anusvâra*, again, is a mistake.

[7] This *visarga* is a mistake.

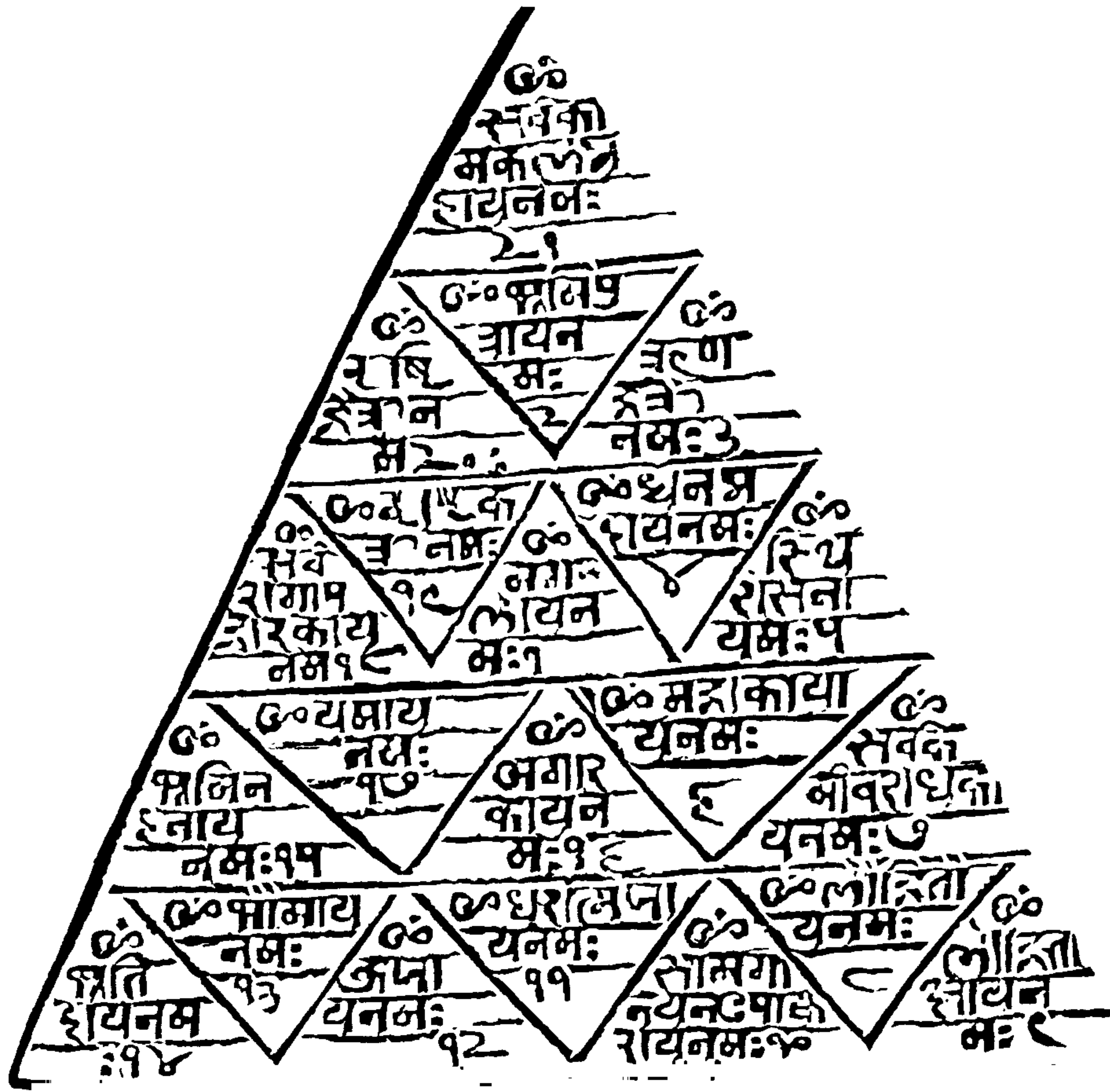
[8] These two syllables, *grâma*, are superfluous.

[9] These four *aksharas*, especially the *va*, are of quite a different type from the rest of the inscription. In the fourth *akshara*, *rê*, it seems almost impossible not to see the numerical symbol for 100.

[10] This *bṛi* was at first omitted and then inserted below the line.

[11] The lower part of this *visarga* is spoilt by the next letter, *a* (*â*), running into it.

[12] This last line is quite unintelligible.



YANTRA PLATE

holy syllable *Ôṁ*, and followed by the word *namaḥ* 'adoration.' A number is attached to each invocation, No. 1 standing in the centre triangle, and Nos. 2 to 21 being arranged as on a dial-plate. The names Nos. 2, 11, 12, and 15 are synonyms of Bhauma (No. 13), and mean 'the son of the earth.' With the epithet *ṛiṇahartṛi* 'the destroyer of debts' (No. 3), compare *ṛiṇântaka*, a name of Mars, in the *St. Petersburg Dictionary*. Yama (No. 17), is elsewhere used as a name of the planet Saturn.

On *vṛishṭihartṛi* 'the destroyer of rain' (No. 20), see Varâhamihira's *Bṛihatsaṁhitâ*, chap. VI, where Mars is repeatedly said to cause drought by his appearance.

Transcript.

ओं मंगलाय नमः १
ओं भूमिपुत्राय नमः २
ओं ऋणहर्त्रे नमः ३
ओं धनप्रदाय नमः ४
ओं स्थिरासनाय [न]मः ५
ओं महाकायाय नमः ६
ओं सर्वकर्मावरोधकाय नमः ७
ओं लोहिताय नमः ८
ओं लोहिताक्षाय नमः ९
ओं सामगानय[नृ]पा[क]राय[1] नमः १०
ओं धरात्मजाय नमः ११
ओं कुजाय नमः १२
ओं भौमाय नमः १३
ओं भूतिदाय नमः १४
ओं भूमिनंदनाय नमः १५
ओं अंगारकाय नमः १६
ओं यमाय नमः १७
ओं सर्वरोगापहारकाय नमः १८
ओं वृष्टिकर्त्रे नमः १९
ओं वृष्टिहर्त्रे नम[:] २०
ओं सर्वकामफलप्रदाय नमः २१

NOTE ON THE SAME.

BY S. M. NÂṬEŚA ŚÂSTRI.

This *Yantra* is better known by the name of *Aṅgâraka-yantra*. Aṅgâraka or Mars, the son of the earth and hence the name Bhauma, is the 3rd of the *Navagrihâḥ*, or nine planets of the Hindu system. All these *grihas* have good or bad influences on the horoscope of a person according to their positions. Aṅgâraka (Mars) and Śani (Saturn), are the most dreaded for their malignant influences. Any person supposed to be thus afflicted gratifies these *grihas* by describing their names in *Chakras* or *Yantras* in a copperplate, and worshipping these diagrams in his house.

CHINGHIZ KHÂN AND HIS ANCESTORS.

BY HENRY H. HOWORTH, F.S.A.

(*Continued from p. 115 ante.*)

XXV.

Chinghiz Khân was now the over-lord of the Nomadic world of Asia. From the Yellow Sea to Lake Balkhash he was accepted as undisputed master; so undisputed that within these limits we do not read that he had henceforward any rebels to oppose or civil strife to appease. This vast area, the nursing ground of so many invaders of the West, had not fallen into his hands bit by bit, but it had previously, as we have seen, been largely integrated into two or three important kingdoms, and when these fell, there fell at once into the conqueror's power large bodies of disciplined men and large districts already organized. Further, Chinghiz had given crushing blows to the two settled empires of Eastern Asia, which bordered upon the steppes he loved so well. He had given such staggering blows to the Kin empire and that of Tangut, that there was little to fear from them if he determined to turn his back on the East and try a more venturesome campaign against a power of equal dignity with his own. He was now in fact to march his beardless, slant-eyed, yellow-skinned warriors across the fair plains of Irân, where men had patiently for centuries collected the treasures of Eastern culture in art and literature and were little aware that a master of shepherds was at hand, who was to sweep it all away; to trample down the cynosure of Islâm and all its proudest monuments, and to leave

[1] I am unable to explain this word. The first of the two *aksharas* enclosed in brackets is read doubtfully, the second obliterated.

his footprint in indelible characters there. The empire of Khuârezm, against which Chinghiz Khân was now to array his men, had been hastily conquered, and had had but a short term of greatness. It had succeeded to that of the Seljûk Turks.

This empire, like several others in South Western Asia, was founded by a Turk, who had been originally a slave.

The sovereigns of Persia were in the habit of purchasing young Turks, who were captured by the various frontier tribes in their mutual struggles, and employing them in their service. They generally had a bodyguard formed of them, and many of them were enfranchised and rose to posts of high influence, and in many cases supplanted their masters. The founder of the Khuârezmian empire was such a slave, named Nushtikin, in the service of the Seljûk Sulṭân Malik Shâh. He rose to the position of a chamberlain, which carried with it the government of the province of Khuârezm, that is, of the fertile valley of the Oxus and the wide steppes on either side of it, bounded on the west by the Caspian, and on the east by Bukhara. He was succeeded by his son, Kutbu'd-dîn Muhammad, whose service to the Seljûk rulers, Barkiarok and Sanjar, obtained for him the title of Khuârezm Shâh, a title which was borne by the rulers of that province before the Arab invasion. He was succeeded by his son, Atsiz, who several times took up arms against his sovereign Sanjar, and became virtually independent of him. He was ruler of Khuârezm when Yeliu Taishi, the founder of the empire of Kara Khitai, entered his dominions, and having been defeated by him, he was obliged to become his tributary. He was succeeded in 1156 by his son Il Arslan who, on Sanjar's death in 1157, conquered the western part of Khorasân. He left two sons, named Takish and Sulṭân Shâh, between whom a long struggle ensued. Takish was eventually victorious. He also conquered the Seljûk ruler Toghrul, and sent his head to the Khalif at Baghdad. By this conquest Irak Ajem was added to his dominions. With the deaths of Toghrul and Sanjar, the Seljûk dynasty in Persia came to an end, and Takish obtained the investiture of their States from the Khalif. Takish was succeeded in 1200 by his son, Alaiu'd-dîn Muhammad who, by the conquest of Balkh and Herat completed the subjection of Khorasan to the Khuârezmian empire.

Shortly after Mazanderan and Kerman were reduced to obedience. He then broke off his allegiance to the ruler of Kara Khitai, whose dependent in Transoxiana, named Osman, became his man. He also conquered a portion of Turkistân as far as Uzkend, where he placed a garrison. Some time after, having quarrelled with Osman, who had meanwhile become his son-in-law, he attacked and took him prisoner and afterwards put him to death.

He then appropriated his dominions and made Samarkand his capital.

In 1212-13 he annexed the principality of Ghur, and three years later attacked and subdued the country of Ghazni. When he captured its chief town he discovered proofs that the Khalif had been intriguing against him. He accordingly determined to depose him and marched a large army westwards. On his way he received the submission of the rulers of Azerbaijan and Fars, and at length entered the dominions of the Khalif, which at this time were limited to the provinces of Irak-Arab, and Khuzistân. Muhammad occupied the former province, and proceeded to divide it into various military fiefs, but this was the extent of his aggression in this direction. A terrible storm overtook his troops on the mountains of Asaḍâbad, and after losing many of them, the rest were attacked by the Turkish and Kurdish tribes and suffered terribly; a fate which popular superstition naturally assigned as the result of so unholy a war. Muhammad deemed it wise to retire, and his retreat was probably hastened by his quarrel with the Mongols. He gave Irak Ajem as an appanage to his son Roknu'd-dîn, the provinces of Kerman, Kesh and Makran, were assigned to Ghiathu'd-dîn; Ghazni, Bâmian, Ghur, Bost, &c., which formed the old Ghur empire were assigned to Jelalu'd-dîn, while to his youngest son, whom he had fixed upon as his heir, was assigned Khuârezm, Khorasân, and Mazanderan. From this enumeration it may be gathered that Muḥammad was a very powerful sovereign. He controlled an army of 400,000 men and his dominions at the invasion of the Mongols stretched from the Jaxartes to the Persian Gulf, and from the Indus to Irak Arab and

Azerbaijan.[1] Besides the empire which he inherited and carved for himself within the borders of Irân, the Khuârezm Shâh dominated also over a considerable stretch of the western part of the steppe lands of Turan, namely those occupied by the Kankali Turks. His father, Sulṭân Takish, had married Turkan Khatun, the daughter of Jinkishi, chief of the tribe Bayaut, which was a section of the Yemeks, who again were comprised under the generic name Kankali.[2] With her there passed into Khuârezm several of her relatives with their tribes, who joined Muḥammad's service. Through her influence they exercised great authority in the empire and were even a menace to himself. She was a strong-willed woman, headed their faction, and exercised a power equal to his own. She acquired a large appanage, employed seven secretaries to do her work, and took the title of Khudâvand Jihân (*i.e.* sovereign of the world.)[3] Minhaj-i-Siraj calls the father of Turkan Khatun Ikran Khân of Kipchak.[4] In another place he calls her the daughter of Kadr Khân, Khân of Kipchak.[5] Muḥammad's wife, as well as his mother, belonged to the Bayaut tribe.[6] Through these connections, there can be small doubt that he exercised great authority in the steppes of the Kankalis.

Two such rulers as Muḥammad and Chinghiz Khân, both ambitious, both powerful, and both carvers very largely of their own fortunes, were hardly likely to live in close proximity without a cause of quarrel, and Chinghiz Khân, it must be said, had plenty of reasons to urge for his aggression besides the somewhat unprovoked attack on his men who were pursuing the Merkit princes, to which reference has already been made.

The Musalmâns of Persia, both Tajiks and Arabs, were famous traders. From early times they had made enterprising voyages into various remote countries, and the trade with Siberia for furs and fossil ivory was largely in their hands. They permeated the East, no doubt, in all directions. We have seen that when Chinghiz Khân meditated his attack on China he had by him one of these western travellers, named Jafar, or Jafar Khoja, whom he employed as a spy.[7] He was no doubt but a type of many others. Abulghazi expressly says that there were no towns among the Mongols, and that the merchants who traded with them for kumash (cloths) furs, &c., found it very profitable.

Minhaj-i-Siraj, the author of the *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, tells us that Muḥammad, wishing to know the extent of Chinghiz Khân's power, and ambitions also of making conquests in the farthest East, sent the Sayid Bahau'd-dîn Razi on a mission to the Mongol ruler, whom he found occupied in his Chinese campaign, as we have previously mentioned. On entering the presence of Chinghiz, the latter said:—"Behold, my affairs and my sovereignty have attained to such a pitch of grandeur, that the monarch of the empire of the setting sun has sent envoys unto me." He seems to have treated his visitor well, and requested when he dismissed him that envoys on both sides, and merchants and caravans should constantly come and go, and bring and take away with them choice descriptions of arms, cloths and stuffs, and other articles of value and elegance of both empires, and that between the two monarchs a permanent treaty should be maintained.[8] In his message he styled himself sovereign of the sun-rise, and refers to Muḥammad as sovereign of the sun-set. He also sent the Khuârezm Shâh a rich present, consisting of 500 camels, laden with gold, silver, silks, *khaz-i-khitai* (*i.e.*, Chinese silk brocade), *kunduz* (*i.e.*, furs of some kind), *samur* (*i.e.*, sable), targhu,[9] raw silk, and other elegant and ingenious things of Chin and Tamghaj.[10] This is the account as given by a contemporary, who tells us he had it expressly from the lips of the Bahau'd-dîn himself, yet it is strange that no other writer refers to the latter as Muḥammad's envoy at this time, and he was doubtless in a subordinate position. Juveni tells us the

[1] D'Ohsson, vol. I, pp. 175 and 195.

[2] Muḥammad of Nissa, quoted by D'Ohsson, vol. I, pp. 196 and 197.

[3] *Id.*

[4] *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, p. 240.

[5] *Id*, p. 254.

[6] D'Ohsson, vol I, p. 195.

[7] He is called Jabar or Chapar Khoja by the Chinese, and has a special biography in the *Yuan-shi*, where we read he was a native of Saiyi, perhaps Seistan. He was tall, had a splendid beard, large eyes and a broad forehead, was brave, a skilful rider and archer. He was with Chinghiz Khân when he fought against Wang Khân, in 1203. Bretschneider, *Notices of Mediæval Geography*, etc. 49 and 50.

[8] *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, p. 272.

[9] Major Raverty explains this is a silken fabric, red in colour, but Novairi distinctly says these tarkuls, as he calls them, were made of white camel's hair, and cost at least 50 dinars each. D'Ohsson identifies them with the Zambiloti robes made of white wool and camel's hair of great value, which were made, according to Marco Polo, at Calacia in Tangut. D'Ohsson, vol. I, pp. 201 and 202.

[10] *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, p. 966.

Khuârezm Shâh sent three envoys, of whom he names two, namely Aḥmad of Khojend, son of the Amir Husain San, and Aḥmad Taijikh (? the Tajik),[11] and they took with them gold embroidered cloths, thick cloths, fine cotton stuffs, &c. Abulfaraj says they were met at the Mongol frontier by the Guards, called Karakjia, and taken to their master.

We are told that Aḥmad exhibited his wares before the great Khân, and asked him an exorbitant price for them; two or three gold balishes for things only worth ten to twenty dinars. Chinghiz was enraged, and said, "This man fancies that we have never seen such things before;" and he ordered the riches of his wardrobe to be displayed before him,[12] and then had the merchant's goods confiscated, and had him put under arrest. When his two companions were introduced they diplomatically put no price on their goods, and merely said, "We have brought these for the emperor." This pleased him so much that he ordered a golden balish to be given them for each piece of golden tissue, a silver balish for every two pieces of fine cotton, and another for every two pieces of coarse cloth. He then summoned the merchant whose goods had been confiscated, and paid him after the same rate. The three traders were well treated, were supplied with food and also with white felt tents. On their departure Chinghiz ordered his relatives and the noyans and other grandees to choose two or three agents each, and to supply them generously with money, and then ordered the whole body to return with the merchants to the empire of Khuârezm to purchase some of its products, and no doubt also to report on the condition of the country. This caravan, according to Juveni and Rashidu'd-dîn, consisted of 450 Musalmâns. Abulfaraj says 150 Musalmâns, Christians and Turks.[13] Muḥammad of Nissa, who was a high official at the court of Muḥammad's son, and is therefore very reliable, says their number was only four, all subjects of the Sulṭân, whom he names, Omar Khoja, of Otrar; Al Jemal, of Meragha; Fakhru'd-dîn, of Bukhara, and Aminu'd-dîn, of Herat.[14] They were probably the four leaders of the caravan. The caravan was apparently preceded by three envoys specially sent by Chinghiz, who were named Mahmud Yelvaj, of Khuârezm; Ali Khoja, of Bukhara; and Yusuf Gemrga, of Otrar. The caravan took with them silver bars, musk, jade, and tarkul,[15] as presents for the Khuârezm Shâh, and they also bore letters which, we are told, were phrased as follows:—"I send you my greeting. I know your power and the vast extent of your empire. I know that you reign over the greater part of the world. I have the greatest wish to live at peace with you. I shall regard you as my dearest son. On your part don't forget that I have conquered China, and subjected to my authority all the Turkish tribes north of that empire. You know that my empire is an ant-hill of warriors, a mine of wealth, and that I have no occasion to covet other realms. I fancy we have a mutual reason for encouraging commerce between our peoples."[16]

This letter, it will be seen, breathed the arrogant spirit which pervaded all Mongol documents, and, although politely worded, Muḥammad was given to understand that his correspondent was really his patron, and that in addressing him as his son he really meant that he should consider himself his vassal. Muḥammad treated the envoys well, and in the evening he summoned Mahmud Yelvaj to him, and addressed him thus:—"You are a Musalmân, and a native of Khuârezm. Tell me the truth. Has your master conquered Tamghaj, or no?" At the same time he gave him a costly stone from his casket. "As true it is as that the Almighty lives, and he will shortly be the master of the whole world," was the answer. "Oh, Mahmud," the Sulṭân said, "You know the extent of my empire and my widespreading power. Who is this Khân of yours, who presumes to call me his son, and speaks to me in such an arrogant tone? How great is his army—how extended his power?" To which he replied; "The army of Temujin is to that of the Sulṭân as the light of a lamp beside the sun; like the face of a monster, compared to that of a Rumelian Turk." The result of this interview was the arranging of a treaty of peace between the two sovereigns. After which the envoys

[11] Erdmann, p. 356.
[12] Abulfaraj says the rich vestures which had been presented to him by the kings of Cathay.
[13] Abulfaraj, *Chron. Arab.*, pp. 284 and 285. Erdmann, pp. 356 and 357.
[14] D'Ohsson, vol. I, p. 206 note.
[15] *Vide* ante.
[16] D'Ohsson, vol. I, p. 202.

returned home to their master. Meanwhile the caravan proceeded, and arrived at Otrar.[17] Otrar was governed at this time by an uncle of Muḥammad, the Khuârezm Shâh, called Inaljuk, who bore the title Ghair Khân.[18] He was an avaricious person, and stirred by the sight of so much wealth determined to secure it, and craftily sent word to his master that these were not traders but spies, and further that they greatly disturbed the people by covert threats of some great catastrophe that was to happen.[19] He received orders to watch them, but this would not satisfy him. He invited them to a feast at his palace where he had them murdered. Only one person escaped, a camel-driver, who had gone to one of the public baths, and managed to escape by the fireplace.[20] This fortunate person fled to Chinghiz, and reported to him what had happened. The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, p. 143, has the briefest reference to the embassy, and its results, and merely reports that the Khoikhoi,[21] had killed Chinghiz Khân's envoy, Ukhun, and put to death a hundred men in all. In the account of the journey of Yeliu Chutsai who accompanied Chinghiz Khân in his western journey, we read, speaking of O-ta-la or Otrar: "One time the chief of this place ordered several envoys and several hundreds of merchants who were with them to be put to death, and seized upon their goods. That was the cause of the army being directed against the western people."[22]

The *Yuan-shi* merely says that in the summer of 1219, some envoys who had been sent by Chinghiz to the west were murdered.[23] DeMailla says that Chinghiz having sent some of his officers into the Si-yu to summon its princes to submit, they cut off the heads of his ambassadors at Odala.[24] The *Yuan-shi-lei-pen* says that the people of Si-yu massacred some people sent by Chinghiz Khân.[25]

When he heard of what had happened that irascible chief was naturally enraged, and sent off envoys to complain to Muḥammad about his subordinate's treachery, to acquaint the Sulṭân that the greater number of the murdered envoys were Musalmâns, and to remind him of the very different treatment his subjects had met with in Mongolia. He demanded that Ghair Khân should be surrendered, and offered him war as the alternative of refusal. The bearer of the message was a Turk, named Bagra, whose father had been in the service of Sulṭân Takish. But Ghair Khân was too powerfully connected to allow the Sulṭân to surrender him, nor does he seem to have been pleased with the tone of the letter, for he put Bagra to death, and sent back the two Mongols with their beards cut.[26] Chinghiz was so moved by this atrocity that he wept, and could not rest. He climbed a mountain, where, uncovering his head and throwing his girdle over his shoulder, he invoked the vengeance of God, and passed three days and nights fasting. Abulfaraj, to whom we owe the account, adds that on the third night a monk dressed in black and bearing a staff in his hand appeared to him in a dream and bade him fear nothing, that he would be successful in the campaign he meditated. On awaking, he repeated the dream to his wife, the daughter of Wang Khân, of the Keraits. She assured him that the monk was a bishop, who was in the habit occasionally of visiting her father and of giving him his blessing. Chinghiz Khân appealed to the Uïghur Christians if they had any such bishop among them. They accordingly summoned Mar-Denha, who wore his black tiara. upon which Chinghiz said that although the bishop was similarly dressed to the apparition which he had seen that his face was different. The bishop then said it must have been one of the Christian saints who had gone to him. After this adventure, we are told, Chinghiz treated the Christians with especial consideration.[27]

It will be confessed that Chinghiz Khân had enough provocation for the invasion he made of the West, but he had other reasons than those I have enumerated. The Khalif, who had

[17] Abulghazi, Ed. Desmaisons, 105; Erdmann, pp. 356—59.

[18] Abulghazi says he was offended because one of the envoys who had known him many years called him Inalchik instead of giving him his title of Inaljuk, *op. cit.* 105.

[19] Nissavi in D'Ohsson, vol. I, p. 206, note.

[20] Abulfaraj says he escaped from prison.

[21] *i.e.* the Muhammadans.

[22] Bretschneider, *Notes on Chinese Mediæval Travellers to the West*, p. 115. [23] Douglas, p. 88.

[24] *i.e.*, Otrar, *op. cit.* tome IX, p. 90.

[25] Gaubil, p. 35.

[26] D'Ohsson, vol. I, pp. 207 and 208; De la Croix, *History of Genghiz Khan*, p. 148 and 149.

[27] Abulfaraj, *Chron. Arab.*, pp. 285 and 286.

grown jealous of the power of the Khuârezm Shâhs, also made overtures to the Mongol chief. We are told that he summoned his advisers about him, and represented to them the danger the Khalifate stood in from the ambition of Muḥammad, and that he was determined to enter into communication with Chinghiz Khân, whose vazîr, Mahmud Yelvaj, was a Muḥammadan. The council, we are told, was much divided. The minority approved his suggestion, but the majority urged that it was impious and wrong to make allies of infidels in struggling with good Musalmâns. The Khalif, in reply, said that a Muḥammadan tyrant was worse than one who was an infidel, and that Chinghiz had numbers of Musalmâns about him, one of his chief ministers being one. His view prevailed, and a suitable envoy was chosen. In order that he might not be discovered in traversing the very crooked gauntlet he would have to pass, it was determined to write his passport on his bald head. Having given him the message he was to deliver they then tattooed his credentials in a few words on his head, in the violet colour called by them *nîl* (*i.e.*, Indian blue), in the manner De la Croix says they do to pilgrims at Jerusalem, and then sped him on his way. The envoy reached the chancellary of Mahmud Yelvaj in safety. He was received in secret audience by Chinghiz Khân, and when asked for his credentials bade them shave his head. They did so, and found that the Khalif proposed that he and Chinghiz should attack the empire of Khuârezm on either side. At that time, it would seem that Chinghiz was not disposed to fight, and gave the envoy a diplomatic answer, but the Khalif's invitation no doubt formed a considerable ingredient in the motives which afterwards moved him. This invitation, which eventually brought so much disaster upon the Musalmâns, has drawn much blame down on the Khalif's head. Mirkhond compares him to the three devout pilgrims in the fable, who one day met in the fields with a heap of rotting bones. They began to dispute about them, but could not agree as to what the animal was. They then determined to pray consecutively to God to revivify the animal. The first had hardly finished his prayer when a great wind arose and brought the bones together. When the second was praying the bones were covered with flesh, while in answer to the prayer of the third the object began to move with life. They then found it was a lion, who sprang upon them and devoured them.[28] We can see from these facts that Chinghiz Khân had numerous motives impelling him to march against the ruler of Khuârezm. He was accompanied by Yeliu Chutsai, whom we have mentioned as having been taken prisoner at Peking, and who had joined his service. He wrote an account of the great conqueror's march, which is only extant apparently in an epitome or abstract entitled, "Si-yu-lu, or an abstract of a journey to the West," which is found in the first chapter of the *Shu-chai-lao-hio-ts'ung-t'an*, a work written by Yu-tze, during the Yuan dynasty. It has been translated and edited with elaborate notes by Dr. Bretschneider. He begins by saying that in the spring of 1218, in the third month, he left for Yün-chung (Ta-tung-fu west of Peking), crossed the Tien-shan mountain, the Ta-tsi or stony desert, and the Shamo or sandy desert, and reached Chinghiz Khân's ordu. He says that the next year a vast army was raised, and set in motion westwards. The way led through the Kin-shan range, *i.e.*, the Ek-tagh or Chinese Altai. Here, he tells us, that even in the middle of summer masses of ice and snow accumulated on the mountains, and the army was obliged to cut its way through the ice. The pines and kui trees (? larches) were so high that they seemed to reach heaven. The valleys abounded in grass and flowers.[29] Ch'ang-Ch'un, who also crossed this range on his journey, says the mountains were very high and vast, with deep defiles and long slopes. He adds, there was no road for carts. The road over the mountains was planned and constructed by the third prince[30] at the time the army went to the west. So difficult was the pass when Ch'ang-Ch'un crossed, that he tells us the hundred riders who formed his escort were ordered at difficult ascents to pull their carts by ropes, and to place drags upon the wheels when descending. During three days he passed three successive ridges, and then reached the southern or rather the south-western side of the mountains.[31] Dr. Bretschneider learnt from Captain Mutussofsky that

[28] De la Croix. p. 138.

[29] Bretschneider. *Notes on Chinese Travellers to the West*, pp. 111 and 112

[30] *i.e.*, by Chinghiz Khân's third son, Chagatai.

[31] *Id.* pp. 27 and 28.

the Ek-tagh range is high, especially the northern part of it, which in some places is covered with eternal snow. It is traversed by four passes, only one of which, namely, that of Urmogaiti, is practicable for riders. Dr. Bretschneider adds:—"I have little doubt that Chinghiz with his armies passed by this defile. In his march to the west with a numerous cavalry he was always obliged to choose such roads as presented the most abundant pastures.[32] This pass leads to the sources of the Kiran river, an affluent of the Black Irtish, and the road leads down along the Kiran, on which river some years ago a new town, Tulta, was founded by Chinese from Kulja expelled by the Tungans. It is situated in a fertile valley, with rich pastures. The valleys of the Irtish and its tributaries all present luxuriant pastures."[33] It was in these pastures of the Irtish that Chinghiz Khân passed the summer of 1219. Rashid tells us expressly that he did so, and left for the west in the autumn of 1219.[34] The *Huang-Yuan* says that in the year Si-mao (*i.e.*, 1219), Chinghiz, at the head of his army, went to the western countries.[35]

In the narrative of Ch'ang Ch'un he tells us that in 1219 the emperor was in the wu-li-do (*i.e.*, ordu), of the Naimans, and Rashidu'd-dîn expressly puts the Naimans on the Irtish and the Ek-tagh Altai.

The Mongols were essentially an army of horsemen. Their horses were continually their first care, and it was always necessary they should find summer and winter quarters where forage was abundant. They found such quarters notably in these rich pastures of the Irtish, where they passed the summer of 1219. It was while he was there that Chinghiz sent to invite the famous sage, Ch'ang Ch'un, to go and visit him. We are told that he ordered his adjutant, Liu Chung-lu, to go and fetch him. Lui Chung-lu was a deserter from the Kin who entered the service of the Mongols when they invaded China, and he was valued by Chinghiz Khân for his skill in making arrows. He reported that he had received orders to go on this errand in the fifth month of 1219, when Chinghiz Khân was encamped at the ordu of the Naimans. Ch'ang Ch'un agreed to return with him, and chose nineteen of his disciples to accompany him. They set out in the early spring of 1220, and arrived at Yen or Peking in April. There he was received with great deference, and there he learnt that Chinghiz had already set out on his western campaign. Feeling afraid that at his great age he should not be able to bear such a long voyage, he wanted to stay till the great conqueror's return. He was also much troubled because Chung-lu had been ordered to escort in addition to himself, a number of young girls for Chinghiz Khân's harem, and he remarked, "Owing to actresses having been sent from the kingdom of Tsi to the kingdom of Lu, Confucius left Lu (which was his native country). Although I am only a savage of the mountains,[36] how can I travel in the company of girls."

Chung-lu therefore despatched a courier with a report, and Ch'ang Ch'un also sent an address to Chinghiz.[37] He did not wait for an answer, but set off, and we shall revert to him presently.[38]

It was apparently while wintering on the Irtish that Chinghiz Khân allotted sections of the peoples he had conquered to his mother, brothers, and children. He is reported in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* to have said:—"My mother with me created the empire. Of my children the eldest is Juchi, the youngest is Ochigin. He gave 10,000 houses or families to his mother and youngest brother. She was not content with this number, but said not a word. He gave 9,000 houses to his eldest son Juchi; to Chagatai 8,000; to Ogotai 5,000; to Tului 5,000; to his brother Khasar, 4,000; to Alchidai, 2,000; to Belgutei 1,500. Chinghiz had an uncle, Daritai, whom he wished to destroy, since he had supported Wang Khân, but Boorchi and the other two said to him to destroy one's relatives is the same as to extinguish one's fires. This uncle

[32] *Id.*, p. 112, note. [33] *Id.*

[34] D'Ohsson, vol. I, pp. 212—216.

[35] *Op. cit.*, p. 191.

[36] "Ch'ang Ch'un," says Dr. Bretschneider, "in speaking of himself, always uses this modest expression of *shan-ye*, Savage of the mountains."

[37] Bretschneider, *Notes on Med. Travellers to the West*, pp. 17 and 18.

[38] In the biography of Jabar Khoja in the *Yuan-shi* he is said to have been sent by Chinghiz to summon the sage, who asked him which he would prefer, honour and riches or a numerous posterity. He replied, After a hundred years honours and riches will be of no use to me, but I should wish my sons and grandsons to be prosperous, and continue my lineage. Cha'ng Ch'un replied, Your wish shall be realized, and it was, as Jabar died at the age of 118, and left many descendants. Bretschneider, *Notices*, etc. 50.

alone remains to you in memory of your father. It is true he is not wise, but for the sake of your father do not destroy him. Chinghiz was deeply touched, and his anger cooled down.[39] He also assigned these relatives camping grounds, for it must be remembered that a nomadic chieftain has to treat his clans like a settled one does his acres, and these clans have often no fixed abode, but only definite pasturing grounds.

We learn from the narrative of Ch'ang Ch'un's journey that the camping ground of Ochigin, called Timuge, lay along the Kerulon, and on lakes Kulun and Buyur.[40] Elsewhere Palladius suggests that his camp was on the river Khalkha, which falls into lake Buyur.[41] Rashidu'd-dîn says that the portion of Temugu, Ochigin, and his brother, Kachiun, was in Eastern Mongolia, near the Churchis (*i.e.* Manchuria), Kalalchin Alt, the river Olkui, and the ancient country of the Inkirasses.[42] Kachiun is the Alchidai of the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi.* We have no express statement in the Chinese authors about the locality of Khasar's ordu, but we read in the *Yuan-shi* that Chinghiz made the Kulierundurgin, *i.e.*, the hills of the Kerulon, the boundary between the portions of Anchin and Khasar. Anchin was the brother of Chinghiz Khân's wife, Burteh, and with his tribe, the Kunkurahs, according to Palladius, lived in the modern province of J o-k h e.[43] The portion of Khasar, according to Rashidu'd-dîn, was on the north-east of Mongolia, in the neighbourhood of the Arghun, of the lake Keule, *i.e.*, the Kulun and the river Kailar.[44] The chiefs of the modern Mongol tribes of Khorchin, Durbed, Khorlas, Durben, Keuked, Maominggan, and Urad, all claim descent from Juchi Khasar.[45] A portion of these were doubtless subject to Ochigin, and were taken away when his family sided against Mangu Khân. The portion of Belgutei was between the Onon and the Kerulon to the south-west of that of Alchidai, *i.e.*, of Kachiun.[46] The Kalmuk tribe of the Khoshots, according to Pallas.

In regard to his sons, Chinghiz assigned in the customary fashion the homeland of the Mongols to his youngest son Tului, who was the hearth-child, and to whom the Mongols were left as a special appanage. The Uirads were left to his son-in-law, Khutuktu Noyan, the chief of that stock.

Ogotai, the third son, apparently succeeded to the Naimans and the Kirghises, with his headquarters at Imil, near the modern Chuguchak.

Chagatai was left the tribes which nomadized between Almaligh and Kashgar, while Juchi, the eldest son, apparently dominated over the western dominions of the Gurkhan of Kara Khitai, with the tribes on the Chu, the Talas, and the Sari-su.

The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* goes on to say that Chinghiz, having given 10,000 houses to his mother Khuilun, and his brother Ochigin, sent to her as rulers of the cities four nobles, Guchu and others; to Juchi, three nobles, Khunan and others; to Chagatai, three nobles, Kharachar and others; and as Chagatai was of a stern disposition, he ordered Kokososi to speak to him often. To Ogotai he assigned Ilu and others; to Tului, Chedaya and another; to Khasar, Chebké; to Alchidai, *i.e.* Kachiun, Chaurkhaya.[47] This is as the account stands in the epitomized text published by Palladius. In the full text the names are probably set out.

On turning to Rashidu'd-dîn and Elbenegati, we find these facts set out in a general table of all the Mongol forces, which incorporates their version of the organization of the army of which we have given the version of the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* in an earlier chapter. I will now set out Rashidu'd-dîn's story at length as transcribed by Erdmann:—

I.—The *Life guard Hazareh*, under the emperor himself, with four adjutants. It was called the *Great ordu*, and was 1,000 men strong, and to it belonged the immediate body-guards of Chinghiz, and the guardians of the *ordu*. Its commander was the Tangkut Ujeghan, who had been adopted by Chinghiz as his fifth son when he was only eleven years old. All the couriers, runners, quarter-masters, &c., were also under his orders. On Chinghiz Khân's death he accompanied Ogotai to China, and left his command in charge of

[39] *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, pp. 133 and 134.
[40] *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, note 504.
[41] Bretschneider, *Notes on Chinese Med. Travellers to the West*, note 25.
[42] D'Ohsson, vol. II, p. 7 note.
[43] *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, note 507.
[44] D'Ohsson, vol. II, p. 7.
[45] See Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, vol. I, p. 434.
[46] *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, note 509.
[47] *Op. cit.*

his deputy Bureh, who was also a Tangkut. These life guards were divided into eight companies :—

(1) The first, or great company of the emperor, immediately commanded by Ujeghan Noyan, and afterwards by Bureh Noyan; (2) commanded by the Sunid Iltimur, chief marshal and high steward of the empress's *ordu*; (3) commanded by the Durban Burgi and chief marshal of the grandfather of Bulad Akhu, an important general in the empress's *ordu*; (4) commanded by Ulidai Kurji, who was a Jelair, and administrator of four *ordus*; (5) commanded by Albigar, a Kerait, a chief marshal in the ordu of the empress; (6) commanded by the Merkit Jemal Khoja, brother of Khulan Khatun; (7) commanded by Kheneg-khiadai, a grandee in the *ordu* of Bisulun Khatun; (8) commanded by Bisuntua, a Tartar, belonging to the empress's *ordu.*

II.—The centre, consisting of 101,000 men, of which details are apparently not preserved.

III.—The right wing, commanded by Burji Noyan, with his associate Buraghul Noyan. It consisted of 23 *hazarehs.*

(1) The life guards of Burji Noyan, the first of Chinghiz Khân's generals—he belonged to the tribe Urlat; (2) under Buraghul Noyan, of the Hushin Ordu; (3) under Jedi Noyan, of the Manckut tribe; (4) under Lengkhiadai, an Olkhound; (5) under Tului Jurbi, by birth a Khunegkhiat, the son of Mengelig Ijegeh, who married Chinghiz Khân's mother; (6) under Sugatu Jurbi, brother of the preceding; (7) under Bela Noyan, a Jelair; (8) under Argai Khesar Noyan, a Jelair, and relative of the preceding; (9) under Thugril, a Suldus; (10) under Sudun Noyan, a Suldus, and relative of the preceding; he lived till the time of Khubilai, and grew so old and foolish that he did not know his own wife; (11) under Sigi Khutukhu, a Tartar, saved as a boy when the Tartars were conquered; he called Chinghiz and his wife father and mother. Ogotai styled him Aka, and put him over Mangu Khakan; (12) under Du Yesukhah, of the Durban tribe; (13) under Mungkhel Turgan, a Barin; (14) this *hazareh* comprised four Uirad *hazarehs*, which were all subject to Khutukhu Bigi, who nominated the chiefs of the subordinate *hazarehs*; (15) this *hazareh* was very large, consisting of 10,000 men, mostly Barins, and was led by Bari Khurji Noyan; (16) commanded by Balughan Khalja, of the Berulas tribe; (17) commanded by the Olkhound Taiju Kurkan, a brother of Chinghiz Khân's mother, and father to the husband of Chinghiz's youngest daughter, Altalun; (18) under the Hederkin Mukhur-khuran; (19) under Yesun Tewatherkhi, an Uriangkut, and brother of Yesubukha Taishi, who was appointed commander of a *hazareh* of Khurjis; (20) under the Sunid Khedan Katbaul; (21) under Mengelig Ijegeh, who married the mother of Chinghiz; (22) this *hazareh* comprised four *hazarehs* of Unguts or Onguts, and was commanded successively by Aibukha, Alakush Tigin and Shengui; (23) this *hazareh* also was very strong, and as it comprised 10,000 men, it was deemed a *tumân.* It was led by Gugi Noyan and Mugtu Khian, sons of Khian, of the Khiat tribe.

IV.—The left wing was under the command of Mukhuli Kiwang, and his subordinate Nayashka Noyan, who was a Barin. It comprised twenty-five *hazarehs* :—

(1) This was immediately subject to Mukhuli, who was a Jelair. As he was much esteemed by Chinghiz, the latter gave him command of all the Jelairs, from whom he made up three *hazarehs*; (2) commanded by Yesubuka-taishi, who was a Uriangkut, son of Jelmeh Uheh. He was much troubled with the gout, and was moved about on a cart. His surname of Taishi, which was given to him by Ogotai, was derived from the Chinese, and means a great teacher; (3) led by the brothers Kehti Noyan, and Khujer Noyan, who belonged to the Urut tribe. This tribe was confided to them, and constituted four (minor) *hazarehs*; (4) commanded by Tutu Kurkan, of the tribe Angiras, who lived next the Kunkurads. He was one of Chinghiz Khân's fathers-in-law, and was by him placed over the whole tribe of Angirases, whom he divided into three *hazarehs*; (5) commanded by the Tartar Khutukhut Noyan, who was uncle to Chinghiz Khân's two Tartar wives; (6) headed by the five Kunkurad chiefs, Alji Noyan, Khutukhu Noyan, Nikhudar, Sengkhur, and Khia Butur. Chinghiz Khân's chief wife, Burteh, was sister to the first two, the others were his cousins, sons of Daritai, and brothers of Dai Noyan, the Padishah of the Kunkurads. This *hazareh* consisted of 5,000 men, and comprised the whole of the Kunkurad

tribe; (7) commanded by Khubuldan Sajan, of the Mengkuts, which tribe constituted his *hazareh*; (8) under the orders of Nayashkha Noyan, who was by birth a Barin. It comprised all the Barin tribe, and was formed into three minor *hazarehs*; (9) led by Sulu Noyan, a son of Mengelig Ijegeh of the Kunegkhiats; (10) commanded by Jelairtai Bisur, of the Jelair tribe; (11) under Ungur Noyan, of the Bayauts; (12) the two brothers, Ukhin and Kerju of the Jelair tribe, commanded this *hazareh*; they had formerly tended the sheep of Yissugei Baghatur; (13) the leader of this was Subutai Baghatur, of the Uriangkuts; (14) Dukhulkhu Jurbi, of the Arulats, and brother of Burghurjin Noyan, was the commander of this section; (15) Udaji, of the Wood Uriangkuts, led this *hazareh*; with his people he kept watch over Chinghiz Khân's grave, and did not take part in fighting; (16) led by Belgutei, the brother of Chinghiz; (17) this was led by Shenggu Kurkan, a Kunkurad, and the eldest son of Alji Noyan, who married Chinghiz Khân's daughter, Tumalun. This *hazareh* consisted of 4,000 Kunkurads; (18) this section was led by the brothers Uger Kiljeh and Kudu Kilja, of the Barin tribe; (19) commanded by Ugeteh Jurbi, who was a Sunid; (20) led by Temudar Noyan, also a Sunid, and Kurji, father of Mubareg Khurji; (21) comprised two smaller *hazarehs*, and was controlled by the Jelair Taishun and another; (22) led by the Jajirat Khushakun Sukh, and his twin brother of the same name. It comprised three minor *hazarehs*; (23) led by Munga Khalja, of the Mengkuts, a son of Kubulder Sajan; (24) the leader of this was Uyar Wachi, of the Kara Khitais. He willingly submitted to Chinghiz, who nominated him commander of this *hazareh*, which consisted of 2,000 Kara Khitaians; (25) led by Tughan Waishi, of the Jurchis, who also submitted willingly to Chinghiz, and was appointed commander of this *hazareh*, consisting of 10,000 Jurchis.

The army, thus constituted, consisting of a centre and two wings, Chinghiz entrusted to his youngest son, Tului.

I. To his eldest son, Juchi, he gave 4,000 men, forming four *hazarehs*:

(1) Under Munggur, a Saljiut, who, in Batu Khân's time commanded the left wing, and was succeeded by Jerkes; (2) Kingetai Khuman Noyan, of the Kinkats; (3) Hushitai, of the Hushins, a follower of Burji Noyan; (4) Baiku, who was in the right wing.

II. Chagatai also had 4,000 men in 4 *hazarehs*:

(1) Under Burlatai Kharajar, of the Berulas; (2) under Muger Noyan; (3) and (4), the commanders of these are unknown.

III. Ogotai, also had 4,000 men, who were divided into four *hazarehs*, of whom we only know two of the leaders, Ilugai, the Jelair, and Ilegtua, the Suldus.

IV. Chinghiz Khân's fifth son, Kulkan, also had 4,000 men in four *hazarehs*, of which we know the names of the leaders of two only, Khubilai Noyan, a Berula, and Tughril, of the Jaurjins.

V. His youngest brother, Ochigin Noyan, had 5,000 men in all, of whom 2,000 belonged to the Urnauts, 1,000 to the Baisuts, and the rest to the Jajirads, &c.

VI. Juchi Khasar's sons and grandsons led a *hazareh*, which belonged to him.

VII. Iljidai Noyan, the son of his brother Khajiun, was given a command of 3,000 men, comprising Naimans and others. Its most distinguished commanders were Akh Sudai, and Ujighash Kiwang.

VIII. Ulun Egeh, Chinghiz Khân's mother, also had a command of 3,000 Kurulas and Olkhounds.

These various sections with the main army under Tului formed altogether 230,000 men.

MISCELLANEA.

THE TRUE DATE OF BUDDHA'S DEATH.[1]

Oxford, Feb. 16, 1884.

I was much pleased to see in Prof. Peterson's letter, published in to-day's *Academy*, that Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl, to whose careful researches we owe already so many useful discoveries, has brought new and important evidence in support of my opinion that the date 486 (A.D. 430) in the Kâvî grant ought not to be reckoned from the Vikrama era (see *India, what can it teach us?* p. 285). I had read Mr Fleet's objections to my theory, or, to speak more correctly, to Mr. J. Fergusson's theory, in the pages of the *Indian Antiquary*

[1] From the *Academy*, March 1, 1884.

(November 1883, p. 293), but I thought it better not to answer his criticisms for the present. I have always felt a very high regard for Mr. Fleet's extremely important contributions to Indian archæology and chronology; and, though his remarks seemed to me not quite fair, I did not think that they called for an immediate reply. Mr. Fleet says that the only substantial objection which I brought forward against the date which he had assigned to the Kâvî inscription was that it would be destructive of my own theory that the Vikrama era was only invented by Harsha-Vikrama of Ujjayinî in A.D. 544. But surely this is hardly a fair statement. It might be fair, if coming from a lawyer, who cares for victory only, but not as coming from a scholar, who cares for truth. Mr. Fleet holds that the era of Vikramâditya began 56 B.C. I hold that it was invented in A.D. 544. We are both looking out for inscriptions either to confirm or to refute our respective theories. Mr. Fleet thinks he has at last discovered *one* inscription bearing a Vikrama date, though without the name of Vikrama, before A.D. 544, thus completely upsetting my theory. I should have been delighted if it were so; but I pointed out that it would seem strange that, between 56 B.C. and A.D. 544, this Kâvî inscription should be the only one dated according to an era which we are asked to believe was introduced nearly 500 years before, without ever occurring on any inscription whatsoever. I therefore recommended caution. I never ventured to refer the date of the Kâvî inscription to the Saka era; but I looked forward to some such *terminus a quo* as Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl has now discovered—namely, about A.D. 245[2]—that is, 300 years before the date when the Vikrama era was calculated, and 300 years after the date from which it was calculated. The fact remains, therefore, that, so far as we know at present, the Vikrama era has never been found on any inscription before A.D. 544.

It is always well, in researches which depend on discoveries that may spring upon us from day to day, not to be too positive, and not to be in too great a hurry. It is now more than twenty-five years ago that, in my *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, I laboured very hard to establish the date 477 B.C. as the real date of Buddha's death. Owing to the uncertainty of Chandragupta's reign, I allowed a latitude of about ten years, but adopted A.D. 477 as the best working hypothesis. Some scholars have accepted that date, others have doubted it, others, again have advanced some arguments against it. I still hold to it, though not with such unreasoning pertinacity as to consider any modification of it impossible. Nay, I feel so conscious of the purely tentative character of all dates before Alexander's invasion of India that when my friend Mr. Bunyiu Nanjio brought me the following extract, which, in the most startling manner, seems to confirm the date which I assigned to Buddha's death, I said to myself, what I now say publicly, that it is almost too good to be true. However, Mr. Bunyiu Nanjio's translation ought to be published, and everyone may then form his own opinion.

Mr. Bunyiu Nanjio writes:—

"In A.D. 664, or a few years later, under the great Thân dynasty (A.D. 618-907), Tâo-süen (Dôsen),[3] a Chinese priest and a contemporary of the famous Hiuen-thsang, compiled the *Tâthâṅ-nêi-tien-lu* (*Dai-tô-nai-ten-roku*), or *Catalogue of the Buddhist Books*, in sixteen fasciculi [see No. 1483 in my *Oxford Catalogue*]. In fasc. 4a, fol. 20a seq., under the notice of a work on the Vinaya, he writes: '*Shân-chien-phi-pho-shâ-lüh* (*Zen-ken-bi-ba-shâ-ritsu*, or *Sudarśana-vibhâshâ-vinaya*, No. 1125), a work in eighteen fasciculi, was translated by the foreign Śramaṇa Saṅghabhadra, whose name is translated Chun-hsien (Shu-ken, lit. "company-wise"), in the reign of the Emperor Wu (Bu), A.D. 483-493, of the former Tshi (Sei) dynasty, A.D. 479-502.'

"He then continues: 'There is a tradition, handed down from teachers to pupils, that after Buddha's *Nirvâṇa*, Yiu-po-li (U-ha-ri, *i.e.*, Upâli) collected the *Vinaya-piṭaka*. Then on the 15th day of the 7th month of that year, when he had received the *Tsz'-tsz'* (*Zi-shi*, lit. "self-throwing off restraint," *i.e.*, *Pravâraṇa* or *Pavâraṇâ*, or Invitation),[4] he worshipped the (MS. of the *Vinaya-piṭaka* with flowers and incense, and *added one dot* at the beginning of the *Vinaya-piṭaka*. Thus he did every year in the same way. When Upâli was going to enter *Nirvâṇa*[5] he handed it (*i.e.*, the *Vinaya-piṭaka*) over to his disciple Tho-siê-kü (Da-sha-ku, *i.e.*, Dâśaka). When Dâśaka was going to enter *Nirvâṇa*[6] he handed it over to his disciple Sü-chü (Shu-ku, *i.e.*, Śaunaka or Sonaka). When Śaunaka was going to enter *Nirvâṇa*[7] he handed it over to his disciple Sichiê-pho (Shitsu-ga-ba, *i.e.*, Siggava). When Siggava was going

[2] More correctly, A.D. 250, see *ante*, p. 77.—*Ed.* I.A.

[3] The Japanese sound of the Chinese characters is added after each Chinese name, whether it is a transliteration or an original.

[4] '*Pavâraṇâ* . . . the festival held at the termination of the Buddhist *vassa* or Lent.'—Childers' *Pâli Dictionary*, p. 374; *cf.* Oldenberg's *Buddha* (Eng. trans.), p. 374.

[5] 447 B.C.—*Sacred Books of the East*, vol. X, part 1, p. xliv.

[6] 397 B.C.

[7] 353 B.C.

to enter *Nirvâṇa*[8] he handed it over to his disciple Mu-chien-lien-tsz' Ti-sü-mu (Moku-ken-ren-shi Tai-shu-moku, *i.e.*, Maudgalyâyanîputra Tishya, or Moggaliputta Tissa (see *Dîpavaṁsa*). When Maudgalyâyanîputra Tishya was going to enter *Nirvâṇa*[9] he handed it over to his disciple Chân-tho-pho-shö (Sen-dâ-batsu-śia, *i.e.*, Chandavaggî) (see *Dîpavaṁsa*).

"'Thus these teachers handed it over successively till the present teacher of the Law of the *Tripiṭaka*.[10] This teacher of the Law of the *Tripiṭaka* brought (the MS. of) the *Vinaya-piṭaka* to Kwâṅ-cheu, or the province Kwang (*i.e.*, Canton). When he was embarking homewards from there, he handed (the MS. of) the *Vinaya-piṭaka* over to his disciple, Saṅ-kiê-pho-tho-lo (San-ga-batsu-dara, *i.e.*, Saṅghabhadra).

"'In the 6th [read 7th] year of the *Yuṅ-min* (*Yei-mei*) period, A.D. 489, Saṅghabhadra, together with the Śramaṇa Saṅ-i (Sô-i, a Chinese priest), translated this *Sudarśana-vibhâshâ*(*-vinaya*), in the chu-lin-sz' (chiku-rin-zi, lit. "Bamboo-grove monastery." *i.e.*, Veṇuvana-vihâra), in the province Kwang (*i.e.*, Canton). He stayed there, keeping the An-chü (An-go, lit. "easy-living").[11] In the middle (*i.e.*, the 15th day) of the 7th month of the 7th [read 8th][12] year of the *Yuṅ-miṅ* (*Yei-mei*) period, A.D. 490, the cycle of which was Kaṅ-wu (Kô-go), when he had received the *Tsz'tsz'* (*Zi-shi*, or *Pravâraṇa*), he worshipped (the MS. of) the *Vinaya-piṭaka* with flowers and incense, according to the law or rules of his preceding teachers, and *added one dot* (to the MS.). In that year, A.D. 490, there were 975 dots in all, one dot representing one year.

"'In the first year of the *Tâ-thuṅ* (*Dai-dô*) period, A.D. 535, under the Liâṅ (Riô) dynasty A.D. 502-556, Châo Poh hsiu (Chio Haku-kiu, a Chinese) met Huṅ-tu (Gu-do), a teacher of the *Vinaya* who was practising painfully at the Lu-shân (Ro-san, or the Lu-mountain, in China). From him he obtained this record of the dots having been added by holy men successively after Buddha's *Nirvâṇa*. The date in it (as marked by the dots) ended in the 7th [read 8th] year of the *Yuṅ-miṅ* (*Yei-mei*) period, A.D. 490, under the Tshi (Sei) dynasty. Then Poh-hsiu (Haku-kiu) asked Huṅ-tu (Gu-do), saying; "Why do we see no more dots added after the 7th [read 8th] year of *Yuṅ-miṅ* (*Yei-mei*) period?" Huṅ-tu (Gu-do) answered: "Before that (*year*) there were holy men who entered on the path, and who added these dots with their own hands; but I, who am deprived of the path, being an ignorant person, might only take hold of and worship it (the MS. of the *Vinaya-piṭaka*), and should never dare to add a dot."

"'Poh-hsiu (Haku-kiu) (afterwards) counted the number following these old dots down to the 9th year of the *Tâ-thuṅ* (*Dai-dô*) period, A.D. 543, the cycle of which was *Kwêi-hâi* (*Ki-gai*), under the Liâṅ (Riô) dynasty, A.D. 502-556, and obtained the total number of 1028 years.[13]

"'Following this number counted by Poh-hsiu (Haku-kiu), Chhâṅ-faṅ[14] counted it from the 9th year of the (*Tâ-thuṅ* (*Dâi-dô*) period, A.D. 543, down to the present[15] year, the 17th year of the *Khâi-hwâṅ* (*Kâi-kwô*) period, A.D. 597, the cycle of which was *Tiṅ-sz'* (*Tei-shi*), and obtained the total number of 1082 years.[16]

"'If so (only a little more than) a thousand years have just elapsed since the Tathâgata's *Nirvâṇa*. We are (therefore) not yet very remote from the time of the Sage (lit. still near to the Sage), so that we should heartily be glad and rejoiced. May we altogether diligently and sincerely promulgate the Law left (by the Sage)!"'

It would follow from these statements, as translated by my friend, Mr. Bunyiu Nanjio, that there was a MS. of the *Vinaya-piṭaka* in existence at the time of Saṅghabhadra, say A.D. 490, which contained 975 dots, and that each of these dots was believed to mark one year. This would give the year 485 as the year in which the MS. was written by Upâli, immediately after the death of Buddha. The dots were counted by Chao Poh hsiu in A.D. 535, by Chhân-fân in A.D. 597, not very long, therefore, before A.D. 664, when the story was written down.

The objections to this statement, as written down in A.D. 664, are palpable. First of all, we do not know that Upâli actually wrote a MS., and we read in the *Mahâvaṁsa* that the *Piṭakattaya* and the *Aṭṭhakathâ* were not written down before the

[8] 300½ B.C. [9] 233 B.C.

[10] The name of this teacher is not given, but he was evidently the teacher of Saṅghabhadra, as seen below.

[11] This name is still used by the priests of the Shin-shiu, and also some other sects, in Japan, for the summer term in the theological colleges. This term corresponds to the rainy season in India, when Buddha and his disciples are said to have lived or stayed together in one place, and discussed the law.

[12] The 6th and 7th year (*i. e.*, A.D. 488 and 489) must be changed into the 7th and 8th year (*i. e.* A.D. 489 and 490), not only because the cycle of the latter year, given in the text, corresponds to the 8th year or A. D. 490, instead of the 7th year or A. D. 489, as the text reads, but also because the distance between two later dates, given in the text below, is exactly in accordance with this emendation.

[13] *I. e.*, 975 (A.D. 490) + 53 (A.D. 543) = 1028.

[14] Ze a nan-ran was the compiler of a *Catalogue* of the Buddhist books in A.D. 597 (see No. 14 in appendix iii. of my *Catalogue*).

[15] This word 'present' seems to have been taken from Chhâ-fân's writing, because Dâo-suen was only about four years old in A.D. 597, and his catalogue was completed not earlier than A.D. 664.

[16] *I. e.*, 1028 (A.D. 543) + 54 (A.D. 597) = 1082."

reign of King Vaṭṭagâmani, 88-76 B.C. (see my Introduction to the *Dhammapada, Sacred Books of the East*, vol. X, p. xiii). Secondly, even if Upâli wrote a copy of the *Vinaya-piṭaka* it is not likely that that identical copy should have been carried to China. Thirdly, the process of adding one dot at the end of every year during 975 years is extremely precarious.

Still, on the other hand, there was nothing to induce a Chinese Buddhist to invent so modern a date as 485 B.C. for the council held immediately after Buddha's death. It runs counter to all their own chronological theories, and even the writer himself seems to express surprise that he should find himself so much nearer to the age of Buddha than he imagined. Let scholars accept the tradition for what it is worth. Whatever their conclusions may be they will all be grateful to Mr. Bunyiu Nanjio for having brought this curious tradition to their knowledge. For the present, and till we get new materials, I feel inclined to agree with my friend Prof. Bühler, when in his *Three New Edicts of Asoka* (*Ind. Ant.* vol. VI, p. 154), he says: "For all practical purposes, the date for the *Nirvâṇa* 477-78 B.C., fixed by Prof. Max Müller, by Gen. Cunningham, and others, is perfectly sufficient. The new inscriptions show that it cannot be very far wrong. The two outside *termini* for the beginning of Chandragupta's reign are 321 B.C. on the one side, and 310 B.C. on the other. For this reason, and because the Ceylonese date for the beginning of the Mauryas, 163 A.B., must now be considered to be genuine, the *Nirvâṇa* must fall between 483-82 B.C. and 472-71 B.C. If, therefore, the date 477-78 for the *Nirvâṇa* should eventually be proved to be wrong, the fault cannot be more than five or six years one way or the other"

F. MAX MÜLLER.

THE PROVERBS OF ALI BIN TALEBI.

Translated by K. T. Best, M.A., M.R.A.S., Principal, Guzerat College.

Continued from p. 124.

72. To be always wishing and never contented is the worst poverty.

73. The worst gift is that which is preceded by procrastination and followed by rebukes.

74. Take counsel before you apply your mind to anything and look carefully before you proceed.

75. Good advice keeps us from falling.

76. The friend of a fool is exposed to calamity.

77. Guard your fidelity from doubt, for doubt corrupts faith, as salt spoils honey.

78. To be silent until you are compelled to speak is better than to speak until you are told to be silent.

79. Lay aside your glory and put down your pride, and remember your grave; for thither you will go, and as you have sowed so will you reap, and as you have judged so will you be judged, and as you have given now so will you receive hereafter.

80. To seek too much gain is injurious to the mind.

81. Weakness of the eyes does not injure when the eyes of the mind are bright.

82. Life is wasted by the pleasures of hope.

83. The suspicion of a wise man is truer than the knowledge of a fool.

84. The victory of generous men is forgiveness, benevolence, and humanity, but that of the ignoble pride, insolence, and revenge.

85 Satan carries away the victory from him whom his own anger conquers.

86. To injure the weak is the height of injustice.

87. To injure those who submit to the command of another is the greatest sin.

88. To injure a benefactor is the greatest reproach.

89. The injustice of a man in this world is a proof of his misery in the next.

90. He errs in his benevolence who confers it on the unworthy.

91. He is acting against himself who rests content with this vanishing house (*i.e.* life), by substituting it for that which endures.

92. The goodness of man consists in this, that he keep himself from forbidden things and hasten to excellent virtues.

93. He becomes a sharer of exhilarating joy who turns away from the blandishments of the world.

94. You ought to pay attention to another life, then this world will be of little value.

95. You ought to use the advice of others, for this is the part of circumspection.

96. You should pay attention to sincere friends, for they are an ornament in prosperity and a help in adversity.

97. When poverty comes to an extremity there will be relief.

98. When poverty comes the virtues of men are shown.

99. In a time of public tumult the prudence of men is manifested.

100. When death threatens, the frustration of hopes appears.

101. I wonder at him who doubts about God when he sees His creatures.

102. I wonder at him who searches for a lost animal, and meanwhile lets his soul wander away without seeking for it.

103. Knowledge without action is like a bow without a string.

104. The slave of pleasure is viler than a man reduced to slavery.

105. To a sordid man it is easier to forgive many faults than to confer a few benefits.

106. The eye of love is blind towards the faults of the one loved, and its ears are deaf when they hear anything disgraceful about him.

(*To be continued.*)

BOOK NOTICE.

1. THE BUDDHIST ORIGINAL OF CHAUCER'S PARDONER'S TALE, by C. H. TAWNEY, M.A. (*Journal of Philology*, vol. XII.)
2. THE VEDABBHA JÂTAKA, translated with notes, by H. T. FRANCIS, M.A., Under-Librarian of the University Library, Cambridge. [Privately printed], Cambridge, 1884.

Pending the somewhat slow progress of the full translation of the *Jâtaka-book*, several interesting additions to the English literature of folk-lore have recently appeared as the result of the publication of Professor Fausböll's admirable text. Thus, Mr. Tawney had already given us a specimen of his skill in translating Pâli, as well as Sanskṛit, stories in his version of the *Gâmani-chaṇḍa-jâtaka*, which appeared in the *Journal of Philology*, vol. XI. It is also a matter of no small congratulation to find the too small band of writers who give us real information about original texts, and not mere generalities on Buddhist thought, now joined by a scholar like Mr. Francis, whose position gives him facilities for research in collections of Indian Buddhist literature hardly to be paralleled elsewhere.

Both publications are primarily designed to call attention to the resemblance between this *Jâtaka* and Chaucer's *Pardoner's Tale*, a resemblance which, it seems, had also been noticed by Dr. Morris; both, also, cite at some length the Italian parallel to Chaucer noticed by Prof. Skeat.

With regard to the style of the translations, both are in eminently readable English, though perhaps one may be excused for saying that, here and there, some of the peculiarities of Pali idiom peep out. As in translating Greek, one of the great difficulties is to represent and duly co-ordinate all the varied shades of meaning expressed by participles, especially aorist participles, so in Pali the excessive and sometimes rather monotonous use of the gerund in *tvâ* and *yâ* is at once characteristic, and often apt to carry the translator away from the usual form of English speech, and perhaps occasionally from the author's meaning.

Mr. Francis has added notes and illustrations which show a very careful consideration of the difficulties of language in the tale. Several suggestions are as ingenious as they are appropriate, by reason of their freshness and humour, to these freshest productions of the literature of India. Thus we read in Mr. Francis's Introduction—

"The moral is prominently brought forward in all the versions."

Chaucer writes:—

"My theme is alway oon and ever was
Radix malorum est Cupiditas."

Almost the same words occur in the Latin version, and it would seem as if the devil could quote Scripture in Pali as well as in other languages, for in the Buddhist story the robber who remains behind to guard the treasure says to himself, "Verily covetousness is the root of destruction," and immediately after the utterance of this moral sentiment, he conceives the project of murdering his fellow! Truly a veritable Oriental Pecksniff!"

In a note on the translation of the passage, Mr. Francis notices the possibility of taking the words as the sentiments of the author, and thus rendering, "It is said that covetousness." But I believe the translator's relish of the humour of his original has led him right here; for not only (as he observes) would *kira*[1] have been expected in that case, but the particles *cha nâma* gain greater point and emphasis. The occurrence of *esa* likewise favours the construction, so that we might paraphrase the sentence: "So this covetousness that these miserable fellows feel turns out nothing but (*eva*) the source of their ruin."

With regard to other remarks on the text in Mr. Francis's notes, passing over note 6, which is of course not to be taken *au sérieux* as an emendation; the correction of *sannahitva* or *sannayhitvâ*, (Fausböll, p. 255, l. 5), seems unnecessary. For the robber could perfectly well have girt on his sword and then have sat down, especially in the characteristic Oriental way expressed by the Pali phrase *ukkuṭikaṁ nisîdati*; moreover, loose belts seem to be no more uncommon in early sculptures than now.

In the last sentence, it seems neater and more symmetrical to take, with Mr. Tawney, the gerund *unnâdetvâ* as referring to the nominative *Bodhisatto* like the remainder of the string of gerunds. In most other points, save a curious little difference of opinion as to where the moon rose on this memorable occasion, the translators agree, and, it may be added, agree in presenting a high standard of English translation from the Indian languages, which have so often suffered from bald representations, to all who would seek to reproduce something of the freshness and vivacity of Eastern story-telling. CECIL BENDALL.

[1] The Pâli runs: "*Lobho cha nâm'esa vinâsamûlam evâ"ti . . . nisinno chintesi "Tasmiṁ âgate . . . yam nûnâhaṁ taṁ . . . ghâtessan" ti* . . .

KARṆÂṬA GRANTS No. II.

A GRANT OF RAṄGA II, DATED IN 1644-5 A.D.

BY E. HULTZSCH, PH.D., VIENNA.

THE subjoined grant has been transcribed from an ink-impression made over to me by Dr. Burgess, who received it from Sir Walter Elliot, K.C.S.I. As the Koṇḍyâta grant of Veṅkaṭa II,[1] this one consists of five plates, the first and last of which are inscribed on the inner sides only.

The grant was issued by one of the Râjas of Karṇâṭa, the unhappy successors of the famous kings of Vijayanagara. It records that in Śaka 1566 (or 1644-5 A.D.), the year *Táruṇa* (*sic*) of the cycle, Phâlguṇa (*sic*) śudi 12, king Raṅga II of Karṇâṭa granted the large village Kaḷḷakurśi surnamed Chinnamaśśeṭṭisamudra,[2] which was situated in the kingdom of *Tiruvadi*[3] to the Brâhmaṇa Koṇḍappa, the son of Yallamarâja and grandson of Mâgaṇṭimarâja, who belonged to the *Kauṇḍinya-gotra*, followed the *Âpastamba-sûtra*, and studied the *Yajuḥ-śákhá*. As in the Viḷâpâka and Koṇḍyâta grants, the composition of the stanzas is ascribed to Râma, the son of Kâmakoṭi and grandson of some *Sabhápati*. The engraver was Somanâthârya, the son of Kâmaya (who engraved the Viḷâpâka grant of Veṅkaṭa I[4]) and grandson of Gaṇapayârya (who engraved the Devanhaḷḷi grant of Raṅga I[5]).

Like other inscriptions of the Karṇâta dynasty, the Kaḷḷakurśi grant is written in the Nandinâgarî alphabet. A few ligatures of फ *pha* (plate III B, line 7) deserve to be noticed, viz. फा *phâ* (plate IV A, line 9), ष्फ *shpha* (plate V, line 9), and स्फ *spha* (plate III A, line 20). The latter *tha* has a peculiar shape, थ which is found alternately with the usual one, थ. Besides the common form of ख *kha*, there occurs twice another one in which the characteristic stroke occupies a different position, ख (plate II B, lines 8 and 12). The group *shṭa* is also written in two different ways, [illegible] and ष्ट.

The *Vaṁśâvali* of the present grant is identical with that of the Koṇḍyâta grant down to Veṅkaṭa II.[6] In my former paper I tried to remove the difficulty, that according to the *Vaṁśávali*, Veṅkaṭa II would belong to the fourth generation after Veṅkata I, while the difference between the dates of their grants amounts only to 23 years, by an artificial combination of the second part of the *Vaṁśavali* with the first one.[7] But the word *pûrvam* in stanza 28 of the Koṇḍyâta grant[8] points to a much simpler explanation, viz., that this stanza does not relate to the same Râma as stanza 27, but that the genealogist returns to Tirumala's elder brother Râma in stanza 28 after he has treated of Tirumala's great-grandson Râma in stanza 27. That Veṅkaṭa II was the grandson of Tirumala's elder brother Râma, is proved by the Kaḷḷakurśi grant in which Veṅkaṭâdri is called the younger brother of Veṅkaṭa II's grandfather.[9] The Kaḷḷakurśi grant shows further that—just as the two brothers Raṅga I and Veṅkaṭa I had been succeeded by a distant relation, viz., Veṅkaṭa II—Raṅga II was again very remotely related to Veṅkaṭa II, his predecessor on the throne of Karṇâṭa. Of Raṅga himself the grant relates nothing but that he was a devotee of Śrîveṅkaṭeśa[10] (*Vishṇu*), like his two predecessors, was honoured with presents by the kings of the Bhojas and Magadhas, bore some of the traditional *Birudas*, reigned over Karnâṭa, and 'ruled the whole earth.'

While the Karṇâta grants themselves contain little more than the kings' names, one important period of the history of the Karṇâta dynasty receives light from a grant of king

[1] *Ante*, p. 125.

[2] This village is at present the head-quarters of the Kaḷḷakurchi Tâluka in the South Arkat District of the Madras Presidency. See Mr. Sewell's *Antiquarian Remains of the Madras Presidency*, vol. I, p. 210.

[3] Tiruvadi is situated in the Cuddalore (Kûḍalûru) Tâluka of the South Arkaṭ District, lat. 11°46′ N., long. 79°36′ 35″ E. See Mr. Sewell's, *l. c.*, p. 212 (Tiruvâdi), and the *Imperial Gazetteer* (Tiruvadi). [Mr. S. M. Nateśa Śâstrî states that there is a town named Tiruvâdi 8 miles north-west of Tanjore. In the South Arkat district is a town called Tiruvadi. But 'Tiruvadirâjya' may not have any connection with the town. *Tiruvaḍi* in Tamiḻ means 'the sacred feet' and in several Southern Vijayanagar Grants the country is called 'Tiruvadi-râjya,' meaning the kingdom of the sacred feet (*i.e.* of the king of Vijayanagar.)—ED. *I. A.*]

[4] *Ind. Ant.*; vol. II, p. 371.

[5] Mr. Rice's *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 252.

[6] Stanzas 1 to 30 of the Kaḷḷakurśi grant = stanzas 1 to 9, 12 to 16, 18 to 28, 30, 32 to 35 of the Koṇḍyâta grant.

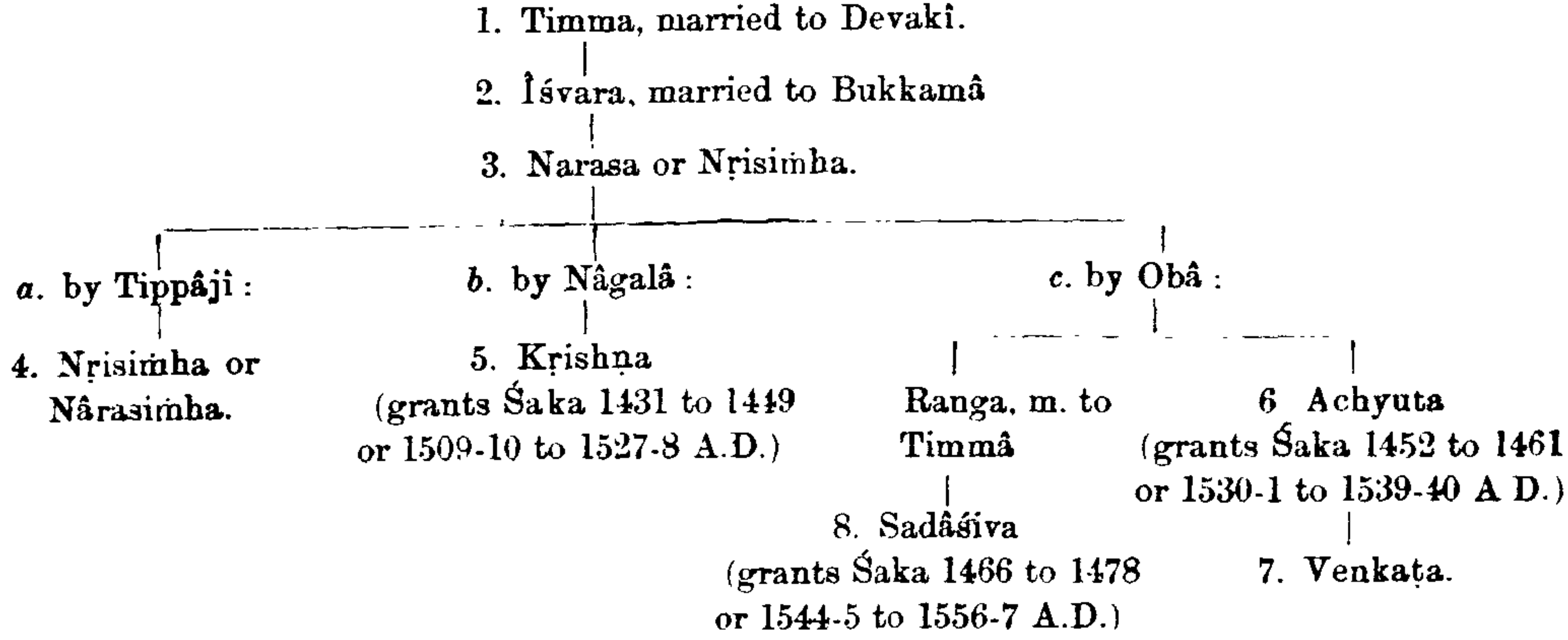
[7] *Ante*, p. 126.

[8] Stanza 25 of the Kaḷḷakurśi grant.

[9] Stanza 31.

[10] Veṅkaṭaśailanâtha or Śrîraṅgêśvara himself is said to have accorded Raṅga II's birth to his parents, pleased by their austerities. See stanzas 34 to 36.

Sadâśiva of Vijayanagara dated Śaka 1478 or 1556-7 A.D., the year *Nala* of the cycle.[11] This grant was made over to me by Dr. Burgess, and is marked 5 No. 7. The following is an abstract of its Vaṁśâvali which serves also to complete the genealogy derived by Mr. Fleet from his Vijayanagara grant No. III.[12]



Of Sadâśiva the grant says that after the death of his cousin Veṅkata he was anointed as king of Vijayanagara by his sister's husband, king Râma of Karṇâta. This Râma is identical with the second Râma of the Karṇâṭa Vaṁśâvali, the uncle of Raṅga I (grants Śaka 1497 to 1506 or 1575-6 to 1584-5 A.D.) and of Veṅkaṭa I (grants Śaka 1508 to 1535 or 1586-7 to 1613-4 A.D.), and with the warlike Râmrâj of whom Ferishta reports that he was put to death by the Musalmâns after the sanguinary battle of Tâlikota, Jan. 23, 1565 A.D.[13] The grant of Sadâśiva and the account of the European traveller Cæsar Frederick[14] show that Sadâśiva of Vijayanagara was a mere pageant in the hands of Râma of Karṇâṭa. This is the reason why Râma himself appears as the sovereign of Vijayanagara in the writings of both Muḥammadans and Hindûs.[15] After the battle of Tâlikoṭa the Musalmâns pillaged Vi-

[11] Earlier inscriptions of Sadâśiva were published by Mr. Fleet, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. X, pp. 64 and 66.

[12] *Jour. Bombay Branch R. As. Soc.*, vol. XII, p. 343. I subjoin the most important verses of Sadâśiva's new grant :—

तिप्पाजीनागलादेव्योः कौसल्याश्रीसुमित्रयोः ।
देव्योरिव नृसिंहेंद्रात्तस्मान् [read °त्] पङ्क्तिरथादिव । [१२]
वीरौ विनयिनौ रामलक्ष्मणाविव नंदनौ ।
जातौ वीरनृसिंहेंद्रकृष्णरायमहीपती । [१३]
रंगक्षितींद्राच्युतदेवरायौ
रक्षाधुरीणाविव रामकृष्णौ ।
ओबांबिकायां नरसक्षितींद्रा-
दुभावभूतान्मरगेंद्रसारौ [read °तां नरकेन्द्रसारौ ?] । [१४]
वीरश्रीनारसिंहः etc.

* * * * * * * *

कृतवति सुरलोकं कृष्णराये निजांशं
तदनु तदनुजन्मा पुण्यकर्माच्युतेंद्रः ।
अखिलमवनिलोकं स्वांशमेत्यारिजेता
विलसति हरिचेता विद्वदिष्टप्रदाता । [२४]

* * * * * * * *

क्षितिप्रतिष्टा-[read °ष्ठा°]पितकीर्त्तिदेहे
प्राप्ते पदं वैष्णवमच्युतेंद्रे ।
अद्ध्यास्य भद्रासनमस्य सूनु-
र्वीरो बभौ वेंकटदेवरायः [२७]
प्रशास्य राज्यं प्रशा-[read प्रस°]वाम्नरूपे
विद्वन्निधौ वेंकटरायभूपे ।
अभागधेयादचिरात्प्रजाना-
माखंडलावासमथाधिरूढे । [२८]
तिमांबावरगर्भमौक्तिकमणी रंगक्षितींद्रात्मजः (।)
क्षत्रालंकरणेन पालितमहाकर्णाटराज्यश्रिया ।
शौर्यौदार्यदयावता स्वभगिनीभर्त्ता[read °र्त्रा] जगत्रा-[read °त्रा°]यिना
रामक्ष्मापतिनाप्यमात्यतिलकैः कृताभिषेकक्रमः । [२९]
श्रीविद्यानगरीललामनि महासांम्राज्यसिंहासने (।)
संतानद्रुरिव स्फुरन्सुरगिरौ संहृत्य विद्वेषिणः ।
आ सेतोरपि चाहिमाद्रि रचयन्नाज्ञो निजाज्ञाकरा-
न्सर्वां पालयते सदाशिवमहारायश्चिराय क्षमां । [३०]

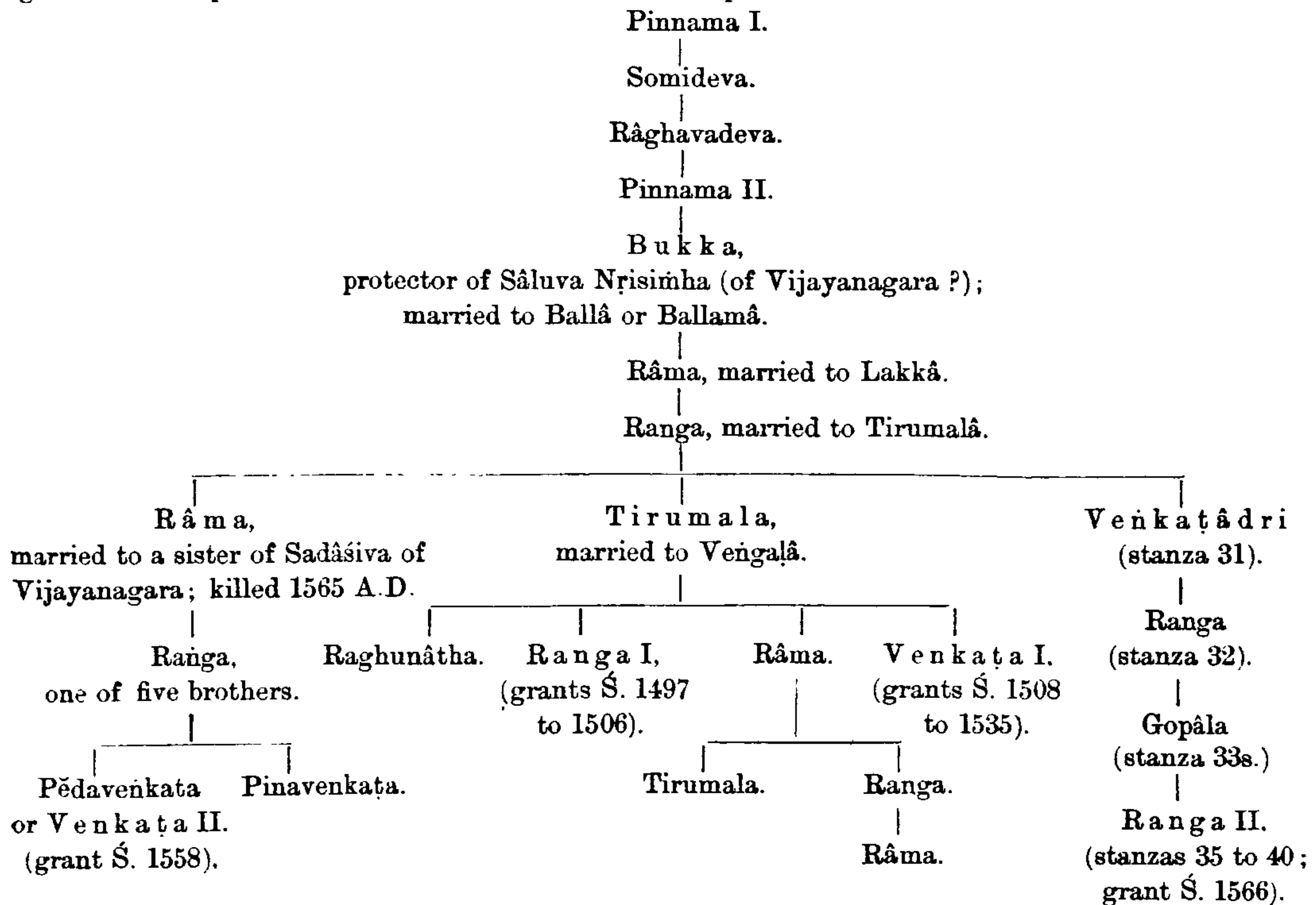
[13] Ferishta, translated by Briggs, vol. III, pp. 126 and 414.

[14] Cæsar Frederick relates that the kingdom of Vijayanagara was governed thirty years by three brother tyrants, viz., Ramaragio, Temiragio, and Bengatre (*i.e.*, Râmarâja, Tirumalarâja, and Veṅkatâdri of Karṇâṭa). They had been officers in the service of the king of Vijayanagara, after whose death they kept his infant son as a prisoner. Ramaragio became king, Temiragio governor, and Bengatre general. From the battle with the Moors, 1565 A.D., the second brother only saved his life. See Purchas, *His Pilgrimes*, vol. II, p. 1704.

[15] Wilson, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. XX, p. 12.

jayanagara, and the kings of Karnâṭa retired to Pĕnugoṇḍa and Chandragiri.[16] It was evidently because the Karnâṭa kings considered themselves as successors of the old dynasty of Vijayanagara, that they were induced to adopt, as they have done, the *Somavaṁsa*, a number of *Birudas*, and whole stanzas of the Vijayanagara grants.[17] Although there is no evidence from other sources whether the kings of the Karnâta *Vaṁśâvali* from the great Râma upwards are to be considered as historical persons or as mere fictions of the genealogists, it is worthy of note, that the king Sâluva Nṛisiṁha 'whose rule was made firm by,' *i.e.*, who was the protégé of, Râma's great-grandfather Bukka according to the Karnâta grants, may have been Sadâśiva's grandfather Nṛisiṁha or Narasa of Vijayanagara.[18]

Leaving out the mythical beginning, the Vaṁśâvali of the Râjas of Karnâṭa stands at present as follows:—



The following Karnâṭa grants were made over to me by Dr. Burgess,[19] (No. 2 excepted):—

No.	Number of plates.	Name of king.	Śaka year.	Year of the cycle.	A.D.	REMARKS.
1	5	1. Ranga I.	1497	Yuva.	1575-6	
2	5	Do	1506	Târaṇa.	1584-5	Abridged translation by Mr. Rice, *Mysore Inscr.*, p. 252.
3	5	2. Venkaṭa I.	1508	Vyaya.	1586-7	
4	9	Do.	1519	Hevilambi.	1597-8	From Madura.
5	5	Do.	1523	Plava.	1601-2	*Ind. Ant.*, vol II, p 371.
6	5	Do.	1526	Krodhi.	1604-5	
7	5	Do.	1535	Pramâdhîcha.	1613-4	
8	5	3. Venkaṭa II.	1558	Dhâtri.	1636-7	In the Madras Museum; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XIII, p.
9	5	4. Ranga II	1566	Târaṇa.	1644-5	The subjoined grant

[16] Wilson, *l.c.*, p. 15. Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, vol. IV, p. 229. Mr. Chisholm, *the Old Palace of Chandragiri*, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XII, p. 295.

[17] The names Bukka, Ranga, and Venkaṭa are also found in both the Vijayanagara and the Karnâṭa *Vaṁśâvalis*.

[18] This identification is supported by the first of the three lists of Vijayanagara kings compiled by Wilson, *l.c.*, p. 7, where this king is called Sâluva Narsinha.

[19] Besides I have to hand (10), the three first plates of an incomplete grant of Venkaṭa I, and (11), an evidently forged grant on six plates of Achyuta dated Śaka 1536 (for 1636 ?), the year *Vijaya*; the writer of this inscription has copied with terrible blunders the genealogy down to Venkaṭa I, and simply substituted the name Achyuta in the last stanza.

Transcript.

Plate I.

[1] श्रीवेंकटेशाय नमः । यस्य संपर्कपुण्येन नारीर-
[2] त्नमभूच्छिला । यदुपास्यं सुमनसां तद्वस्तुद्वंद्वमा-
[3] श्रये । [१] यस्य द्विरदवक्त्राद्याः पारिषद्याः परश्शतं [।] विघ्नं
[4] निघ्नंति भजतां विष्वक्सेनं तमाश्रये । [२] जयति क्षीरज-
[5] लधेर्जातं सव्येक्षणं हरेः । आलंबनं चकोराणाम-
[6] मरायुष्करं महहः । [३] पौत्रस्तस्य पुरूरवा बुधसुतस्त [20]
[7] स्ययुरस्यात्मजस्संजज्ञे नहुषो ययातिरभवत्तस्माच्च
[8] पूरुस्ततः । तद्वंशे भरतो बभूव नृपतिस्तत्संततौ नुः ।
[9] तत्तुर्यो विजयोभिमन्युरुदभूत्तस्मात्परीक्षित्ततः । [४] नंद-
[10] स्तस्याष्टमोभूत्समजनि नचमस्तस्य राज्ञश्चलिक्क-
[11] क्ष्मापत्स्तत्सप्तमश्रीपतिरुचिरभवद्राजपूर्वो नरें-
[12] द्रः । तस्यासीद्विज्जलेंद्रो दशम यिह नृपो वीरहेमा-
[13] लिरायस्तार्तीयीको मुरारौ कृतनतिरुदभुस्तस्य
[14] मायापुरीशः । [५] तत्तुर्योजनि तातपिन्नममहीपालो नि-
[15] जालोकन- (।) त्रस्तामित्रगणस्ततोजनि हरन् दुर्गाणि स-
[16] प्ताहितात् । अन्हेंकेन स सोमिदेवनृपतिस्तस्यैव जज्ञे
[17] सुतो (।) वीरो राघवदेवराडिति ततश्रीपिंनमोभुनृपः । [६]
[18] आरवीटिनगरीविभोरभुतस्य बुक्कधरणीपतिस्सु-
[19] तः । येन सालुवनृसिंहराज्यमप्येधमानमहसा

Plate II A.

[1] स्थिरीकृतं । [७] स्वःकामिनीस्वतनुकांतिभिराक्षिपंतीं (।) बु- [21]
[2] क्कावनीपतिलको बुधकल्पशाखी । कल्याणिनीं कमलना-
[3] भ यिवब्धिकन्यां (।) बल्लांबिकामुदवहद्बहुमान्यशीलां । [८] सुते-
[4] व कलशांबुधेस्सुरभिलाशुगं माधवात्कुमारमिव शंक-
[5] रात्कुलमहीभृतः कन्यका । जयंतममरप्रभोरपि शचीव
[6] बुक्काधिपाश्रुतं (।) जगति बल्लमालभत रामराजं सुतं । [९] श्रीरा-
[7] मराजक्षितिपस्य तस्य चिंतामणीरार्थिकदंबकानां । लक्ष्मी-
[8] रिवांभोरूहलोचनस्य लक्कांबिकामुष्य महिष्यलासींत् । [१०]
[9] तस्याधिकैस्समभवस्तनयस्तपोभिश्रीरंगराजनृपतिश्श-
[10] शिवंशदीपः । आसन्समुल्लसति धामनि यस्य चित्रं (।)
[11] नेत्राणि वैरिसुदृशां च निरंजनानि । [११] सतीं तिरुमलांबि-
[12] कां चरितलीलयारुंधतीं प्रथामपि तितिक्षया वसुमती-
[13] यसो रुंधतीं । हिमांशुरिव रोहिणीं हृदयहारिणीं सद्गु-

[20] Plate I. L. 6, read °रायुष्करं महः. L. 7, read तस्यायु°. L. 8, read °तौ शंतनुस्तत्तुर्यो. L, 10, read नवमस्तस्य राज्ञ-श्चलिक्य°. L. 11, read °क्ष्मापस्तत्सप्तमः. L. 12, read इह. L. 13, read °भूत्तस्य. L. 14, read तत्तुर्योजनि. L. 15, read दुर्गाणि. L 16, read अह्नैकेन. L. 17, read ततः श्रीपिन्नमो भून्नृपः. L. 18, read °रभूत्तस्य.

[21] Plate II A. L. 1, read स्वःकामिनीः. L. 3, read इवा-ब्धिकन्यां. L. 6, read °पाच्छ्रुतं. L. 7, read चिन्तामणेर°. L. 8, read °रिवाम्भोरुह°, °लासीत्. L. 9, read °भवत्तनयस्त-पोभिः. L. 12, read °यारुन्धतीप्रथामपि. L. 13, read °यशो.

[14] णैरमोदत स धर्मिणीमथमवाप्य वीराग्रणीः । [१२] रचितन-
[15] यविचारं रामराजं च धीरं (।) वरतिरुमलरायं वेंकटा-[22]
[16] द्रिक्षितीशं । अजनयत स येतानानुपुव्याकुमारानिह
[17] तिरुमलदेव्यामेव राजा महोजा । [१३] सकलभुवनकंट-
[18] कानरांतीन् समिति निहत्य स रामराधीरः । भरतम-
[19] नुभगीरथाद्रिराजः प्रथितयशाः प्रशसा चक्रमूव्याः । [१४]

Plate II B.

[1] व्यराजत श्रीवरवेंकटाद्रिराजक्षितौ लक्ष्मणचारुमूर्तिः [।][23]
[2] ज्याघोषदूरीकृतमेघनादः कुर्वन् सुमित्राशयहर्षपो-
[3] षं । [१५] त्रिषु श्रीरंगक्ष्मापरिबृढकुमारेष्वाधिरणं विजि-
[4] त्यारिक्ष्मापान् तिरुमलमहायनृपतिः । महोजास्सांम्रा-
[5] ज्ये सुमतिरभिषिक्तो निरुपमे प्रशास्त्युर्वीं सर्वामपि
[6] तिसृषु मूर्तिष्विव हरिः । [१६] यशस्विनामग्रसरस्य यस्य प-
[7] ट्टाभिषेके सति पार्थिवेंदोः [।] दानांबुपूरैरभिषिच्चमाना
[8] देवीपदं भूमिरियं दधाति । [१७] सामादयो विधिमुखादिव
[9] सत्यवाचः(।) सामाद्युपायनिवहा यिव सांयुगीनात् । रा-
[10] मादयो दशरथादिव राजमौलेः (।) तस्मादमेयशशस्तन-
[11] या बभूवुः । [१८] राजा ततोभूद्रघुनाथनामा श्रीरंगराजश्श्रि-
[12] तपारिजातः । श्रीरामराजश्शिशिरांशुरुव्यां(:।) विख्या-
[13] तिमान्वेंकटदेवरायः । [१९] श्रीरंगरायश्शहजेषु तषु पारं
[14] गतो नीतिपयःप्पयोधे । अष्टसु दिक्षुः प्रथितस्स लेभे पट्टा-
[15] भिषेकं पेनुगोंडराज्ये । [२०] अथ श्रीवेंकटपतिदेवरायो न-
[16] योज्वलः । अवनीमशिषत्कीर्त्या दिशो दश विशोभयन् । [२१]
[17] तज्जायसमुरदूमलज्जावहचरितरामराजविभोः [।]
[18] जातः स्तिरुमलराजख्यातश्रीरंगरायस्य तनया वि-
[19] नयाधिकाः । अजायंत दयावंतश्रुतवंतो यशश्विनः । [२३]
[20] श्रीरंगरायनृपतेस्तनयेषु तेषु पारं गिरामधिगत[:]

Plate III A.

[1] कविपुंगवानां । रत्नेषु कौस्तुभ यिवांबुधिसंभवेषु[24]
[2] श्रीरामरायनृपतिः शुचिरं व्यलासीत् । [२४] एवं विश्रुत-
[3] रामराजनृपतेः श्रीरामभद्राकृतेः कल्याणोदयशालि-
[4] नस्तनुभवा पंच प्रपंचावने । दक्षा नीतिपथानुगास्स-
[5] मभवन् क्षीरापगाकामिनो गीर्वाणालभूरुहा यिव बु-

[22] L. 15, read °मलराजं. L. 16, read एतानानुपूर्व्यात्कु°. L. 17, read महौजाः. L. 18, read रामराजवीरः. L. 19, read °थादिराजप्र°, प्रशशास. °मुर्व्याः.

[23] Plate II B. L. 1, read °राजः क्षितौ. L. 4, read °पांस्तिरु°, °महाराजनृपतिः, महौजाः. L. 7, read °षिच्यमाना. L. 9, read इव. L. 10, read °मौलेस्तस्मादमेययशसस्त°. L. 13, read °राजः सहजेषु तेषु. L. 14, read °पयोधेः । अष्टासु दिक्षु. L. 16, read °योज्ज्वलः. L. 17, read तज्ज्यायसः सुरद्रुम°. L. 18, read जातास्तिरुमलराजः ख्यातः श्रीरङ्गराजोपि ॥ २२ ॥ तयोः श्रीरङ्गराजस्य. L. 19, read दयावन्तः, यशस्विनः.

[24] Plate III A. L. 1, read इवाम्बुधि°. L. 2, read सुचिरं. L. 5, read °लयभूरुहा इव.

[6] धश्रेणीष्टदानोत्सुकाः । [२५] विख्यातचर्येषु नृपेषु तेषु श्रीरं-
[7] गराज(ः)श्शिशिरांशुरुव्याः । विश्वत्रये विश्रुतकीर्तिरा-[25]
[8] शीत् सौरेषु शालेष्विव पारिजातः । [२६] श्रीरंगराजस्य त-
[9] पोविशेषैः संतोषणश्शेषगिरीश्वरस्य [।] कारुण्यभूम्ना क-
[10] मनीय्यशोभौ पुत्रावहूतां पुरुहूतभोगौ । [२७] पेदवेंकटें-
[11] द्रपिनवेंकटाधिराडितिनामकौ प्रकृतिपालनोत्सुकौ [।]
[12] खरदूषणप्रहतिदक्षिणावुभौ ददतः प्रमोदमिव राम-
[13] लक्ष्मणौ । [२८] श्रीशाली पेदवेंकटेंद्रनृपतिर्जेष्टो वयोभिस्त-
[14] योशौर्यौदार्यगभीरताधृतिकलापूर्वैश्च सर्वैर्गुणैः [।]
[15] यस्यारातिनृपालभेदनकलायात्रासु सेनारजः पूरै-
[16] र्भूर्जलधिर्भवेदिति हरिश्चित्तेश्च धत्ते स्थितिं । [२९] श्रीरंगरा-
[17] जेंद्रकुमाराकेस्मिन् (।) वीरोत्तमे वेंकटदेवराये [।] पटा-
[18] भिषेके पेनुगोडराज्ये (।) तदाभिषिक्ताश्शुधियोपि हेम्ना [।३०]
[19] ख्यातस्तस्य पितामहानुजतया श्रीवेंकटाद्रिक्षमापा-
[20] लश्रीललनास्वयंवृतपतेः (।) जातानुकंपास्फदं ।

Plate III B.

[1] आसीदुद्धतशत्रुगंधकरटिप्रध्वंसवद्धौ व्रतो (।) हर्य-[26]
[2] क्षः कविलोकरक्षणकलाप्रत्यग्रभोजाकृतिः । [३१] तस्य
[3] श्रीरंगपतिक्षोणीपतिरात्मभूर्गुणाब्धिरभूत् । यश्शौदार्य-
[4] महिम्ना कल्पतरुः क्वापि नंदने वसति । [३२] राज्ञस्तस्य गुणा-
[5] ढ्रुतस्य सुकृतेः प्राचीनजन्मार्जितेः (।) पुत्रोभूत्पुरुहूतक-
[6] ल्पमहिमा (।) गोपालराजाग्रणीः । सर्वेषां विदुषां समी-
[7] हितफलं दत्वा जगत्यां स्वयं (।) यो विस्मरयति स्म दान-
[8] चतुरान् भोजादिमान् पाथिवान् । [३३] सोयं प्रियासहत्तर-
[9] सुकृती तपोभिराराधयद्वेंकटशैलनाथं [।] प्रीतस्तदानी-
[10] मगदीदभीष्टदायी स देवः कृपयातमेनं । [३४] पुत्रस्तन् धरणी-
[11] मवाप मधुना श्रीरंगरायाभिधो विख्यातश्चिनवेंकटेंद्र-
[12] नृपतेरुग्रैस्तपोवैभैवैः । पूर्वं श्रीवसुदेवभूवेलरिपोः कृष्णा-
[13] भिधोहं यथा नंदः प्रागिव तं सुतं कलयतां श्रीरंग-
[14] रायाभिधं । [३५] श्रीरंगेश्वरदत्तराज्यमहिमा श्रीरंगरा-
[15] याग्रणीः पादांभोजविनंम्रभोजमगधक्ष्मापार्पित-
[16] प्राभृतः । सर्वेषां पृथुवीभुजामधिशिरो विन्यस्तपादां-
[17] बुजः पृथ्वीं पालयते नयेन महता सप्तार्नवीमेघलां [। ३६]
[18] वारासिगांभीर्यविशेषधुर्यचौराशिदुर्गैकविभाळ-
[19] वर्यः [।] पराष्टदिग्रायमनः प्रकामभयंकरशार्ङधरांत-

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[25] L. 7, read °रुव्यों:. L. 8, read °रासीत्. L. 9, read संतोषिण:. L. 10, read कमनीय°, °वभूतां. L. 12, read °णावुभौ. L. 13, read °ज्यैष्ठो. L. 14, read °स्तयो:. L. 17, read °कुमारके°, पट्टा°. L. 18, read °षिक्ते, °गोण्ड°, °क्ता: सु°. L. 20, read °पाल:, °पतेर्जातानुकम्पास्पदम्.

[26] Plate III B. L. 1, read °बद्धव्रतो. L. 3, read यस्यौ°. L. 5, read सुकृतै:, °जन्मार्जितै:. L. 7, read विस्मारयति L. 8, read पार्थिवान्, °चर:. L. 10, read °यातेमेनम्. L. 12, read °वैभवै:; the r over the व of °वल° obliterated. L. 15, read °विनम्र°. L. 16, read पृथिवी°. L. 17, read सप्तार्णवीमेखलाम्. L. 18, read वाराशि°. L. 19, read °कर: शार्ङ्ग°.

Plate IV A.

[1] रंगः । [३७] सारत्रीररमया समुल्लसं आरवीटिपुर-[27]
[2] हारनायकः । कुंडलीश्वरमहाभुजश्रयन् मंडलीक-
[3] धरणीवराहतां । [३८] आत्रेयगोत्रजानामग्रसरो भूभु-
[4] जामुदारयशाः । [३९] सोयं नीतिजितादिभूपतिततिसु-
[5] त्रामश्शाखी सुधीसार्थानां भुजतेजसा स्ववशयन् कर्ना-
[6] टसिंहासनं । आ सेतोरपि चाहिमाद्रि विमतान् शंह्-
[7] त्य शासन्मुदा सर्वोर्वीं प्रचकास्ति सिंधुपरिघां श्रीरं-
[8] गरायाग्रणीः ॥ [४०] रसर्तुबाणचंद्राख्यगणिते शकवत्सरे [।]
[9] तारुणाख्ये महावर्षे मासि फाल्गुणनामेके । पक्षे वळक्षे
[10] पुण्यर्क्षे द्वादस्यां च महातिथौ । [४१] श्रीवेंकटेशपादाब्जसंन्नि-
[11] धौ श्रेयसां निधौ ॥ कौंडिन्यगोत्रजाताय वरापस्तंबसू-
[12] त्रिणे । [४२] यजुश्शाखावतामग्रयायिनेभीष्टदायिने । मृष्टांन-
[13] दानसंतुष्टशिष्टाचारद्विजन्मने । [४३] मागंटिमराजपौत्र-
[14] स्यातियशास्विनः । यल्लमराज(सु)पुत्राय कौंडप्पाख्याय
[15] धीमते । [४४] कांतं तिरुवदिराज्ये वळुदळंबट्टुचावडौ । य-
[16] यल्त्रानसूरिशीमायां पादूरिप्पत्तुविश्रुतं । [४५] श्रीआर्य्या-
[17] नेत्तग्रामस्य प्राचीं दिशमुपाश्रितं । कूटडिग्रामर-
[18] त्नस्य दक्षिणां दिशि संस्थितं । [४६] प्रख्यातमट्टग्राम-
[19] स्य पश्चिमाशामुपाश्रितं । वालत्ताल्लेमहाग्राम-
[20] स्योत्तरस्यां दिशि स्थितं । [४७] प्रख्यातचिन्नमश्शेट्टि-

Plate IV B.

[1] समुद्रप्रतिनामकं । कळ्ळकुर्शिमहाग्रामं सर्व-
[2] सश्योपशोभितं । [४८] सर्व्रमान्यं चतुश्शीमासहितं च[28]
[3] समंततः । निधिनिक्षेपपाषाणसिद्धसाध्यजला-
[4] न्वितं । [४९] अक्षिण्यागामिसय्युक्तं गणभोज्यं सभूरुहं[।]
[5] वापीकूपतटाकैश्च कच्छारामैश्च संयुतं [।५०] पुत्रपौत्रादि-
[6] भिर्भोज्यं क्रमादाचंद्रतारकं । दानादमनविक्रीति-
[7] योग्यं बिनिमयोचितं । [५१] परीतः प्रयतैस्निग्धैः पु-
[8] रोहितपुरोगमैः । विविधैर्विबुधैश्रौथपथिकैर्गि-
[9] रा । [५२] श्रीरंगरायभूपालो मानंनीय्यो मनास्विनां ।
[10] सहिरण्यपयोधारापूर्वगं दत्तवान्मुदा ॥ [५३] श्री ॥

Plate V

[1] वीरश्रीरंगरायक्षितिपतिवर्यस्य कीर्तिधुर्यस्य [।]

[27] Plate IV A. L. 1, read °ल्लसन्नार°. L. 2, read °भुजः. L. 4, read °ताति:. L. 5, read कर्णाट°. L. 6, read संहृत्य. L. 9, read °नामके. L. 10, read द्वादश्यां. L. 13, read मागण्टिममहाराजपौत्रायातियशस्विने. L. 15. The third akshara in the second Pâda of Śloka 45 is indistinct; it may have been ट्ट. L. 16, read °सीमायां. L. 18, read दक्षिणस्यां दिशि स्थितम्.

[28] Plate IV B. L. 2, read °सस्यो°, चतुःसीमा°. L. 4, read °संयुक्तं. L. 6, read दानाधमन°. L. 7, read प्रयतैः. L. 8, read °धैः श्रौतपथिकैरधिकैर्गिरा. L. 9, read माननीयो. L. 10, read °पूर्वकं.

[2] शासनमिदं सुधीजनकुवलयचंद्रस्य भूमहेंद्रस्य । [५४]
[3] वीरश्रीरंगरायोक्त्या(:) प्राह पौत्रस्सभापतिः [।] कामकोटिसु-२९
[4] तो रामकविशासनवाङ्मयं । [५५] वीरश्रीरंगरायक्ष्मापतिदे-
[5] शेन सोमनाथार्यः [।] शासनमलिखत्कामयतनयः श्रीगणप-
[6] यार्यपौत्रमणिः । [५६] दानपालनयोर्मध्ये दानाश्रेयोनुपालनं ।
[7] दानास्वर्गमवाप्नोति पालनादच्चुतं पदं । [५७] स्वदत्ताद्विगु-
[8] णं पुण्यं परदत्तानुपालनं । परदत्तापहारेण स्वदत्तं
[9] निष्फलं भवेत् । [५८] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुंध-
[10] रां । षष्टिर्वर्षसहस्राणि विष्टाषां जायते क्रिमिः । [५९] ऐकै-
[11] व भगिनी लोके सर्वेषामेव भूभुजां । न भोज्या न करग्रा-
[12] ह्या विप्रदत्ता वसुंधरा । [६०] सामान्योयं धर्मसेतुं नृपाणां
[13] काले काले पालनीय्यो भवद्भिः [।] सर्वानेतान् भाविनः पा-
[14] र्थिवेंद्रान् भूयो भूयो याचते रामचंद्रः । [६१] श्री ॥
[15] ಶ್ರಂರಾಮ

SANSKRIT AND OLD-CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo. C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.,

Continued from p. 138.

No. CXLV.

The original plates containing the inscription now published were found at Mâliyâ in the Junâgaḍh State. They are two in number, each about 11⅜″ long by 7¾″ high. The edges of them are raised into rims, and the inscription, though a little corroded by rust here and there, is in a state of almost perfect preservation throughout. There are two rings, both of which had been cut when the grant came into my hands. One of them is a plain ring, about 3/16″ thick, and is roughly circular, about 1½″ in diameter. The other ring is of the same thickness; but the shape of it is not circular, in consequence of the ends of it being turned up into the socket of the seal. The seal on this ring is roughly oval, about 1¾″ by 2⅛.″ It has, in relief on a countersunk surface,—at the top, the usual Valabhî bull, *couchant* to the proper right; and, below it, the legend *Srî-Bhaṭ[ár*]kkaḥ.* The weight of the two plates is 3 lbs. 1 oz., and of the two rings and the seal, 12½ oz.; total, 3 lbs. 13½ oz. The language is Sanskṛit throughout.

This is a Valabhî inscription, of the time of Dharasêna II. It is dated, in numerical symbols, in the year 252, on the fifteenth day of the dark fortnight of the month Vaiśâkha. And it records grants made, in the *padraka* of Śivaka, which seems to have been in some division of the country called Antaratrâ, the village of Ḍombhigrâma, the village of Vajragrâma, and the *padraka* of Bhumbhusa, to a Brâhmaṇ named Rudrabhûti, of the Vatsa *gôtra*, an inhabitant of the village or town of Unnata.

Text.[1]

First plate.

[1] Ôm Svasti Valabhîtaḥ prasabha-praṇat-âmitrâṇâṁ Maitrakâṇâm =atula-bala-sampanna maṇḍal-âbhôga-saṁsakta-saṁprahâra-śata-labdha-pratâpaḥ

[2] pratâp-ôpanata-dâna-mân-ârjjav-ôpârjjit-ânurâg-ânurakta-maula-bhṛita-mitra-śrêṇî-bal-âvâpta-râjya-śrîḥ parama-mâhêśvaraḥ Śrî-sênâpati-

Plate V. L. 3, read °पतेः. L. 4, read °कविः. L. 6, read दानाच्छ्रे°. L. 7, read दानात्स्व°, °दच्युतं, स्वदत्ताद्द्वि°. L. 10, read षष्टिं, विष्ठायां, एकैव. L. 12, read °सेतुर्नृ°. L. 13, read पालनीयो. L. 15, read ಶ್ರೀರಾಮ.

[1] From the original plates.

[3] Bhaṭârkkaḥ [||*] Tasya sutas=tat-pâda-rajô-ruṇ-âvanata-pavitrîkṛita-śirâḥ śirô-vanata-śatru-chûḍâmaṇi-prabhâ-vichchhurita-pâda-nakha-paṅkti-dîdhitir=ddî-

[4] n-ânâtha-kṛipaṇa-jan-ôpajîvyamâna-vibhavaḥ parama-mâhêśvaraḥ Śrî-sênâpati-Dharasênas= Tasy=ânujas=tat-pâda-praṇâma-praśastatara-vimala-

[5] maṇir[2]=Mmanv-âdi-praṇîta-vidhi-vidhâna-dharmmâ Dharmmarâja iva vihita-vinaya-vyavasthâ-paddhatir=akhila-bhuvana-maṇḍal-âbhôg-aika-svâminâ parama-svâminâ

[6] svayam=upahita-râjy-âbhishêkaḥ mahâ-viśrâṇan-âvapûta-râjya-śrîḥ parama-mâhêśvarô mahârâja-Drôṇasiṁhaḥ [||*] Siṁha iva tasy=ânujaḥ sva-bhuja-

[7] bala-parâkramêṇa para-gaja-ghaṭ-ânîkânâm=êka-vijayî śaraṇ-aishiṇâṁ śaraṇam=avavôbdhâ[3] śâstr-ârtha-tatvânâṁ kalpatarur=iva suhṛit-pra-

[8] ṇayinâṁ yathâbhilashita-kâma-phal-ôpabhôga-daḥ parama-bhâgavataḥ Śrî-mahârâja-Dhruvasênas=Tasy=ânujas=tach-charaṇ-âravinda-praṇati-pra-

[9] vidhaut-âśêsha-kalmashaḥ suviśuddha-bhya(sva)-charit-ôdaka-prakshâlita-sakala-Kali-kalaṅkaḥ prasabha-nirjjit-ârâti-paksha-prathita-mahimâ

[10] param-âdityabhaktaḥ Śrî-mahârâja-Dharapaṭṭas=Tasy=âtmajas=tat-pâda-saparyy-âvâpta-puṇy-ôdaya[ḥ*] śaiśavât=prabhṛiti khaḍga-dvitîya-bâhur=ê-

[11] va samada-para-gaja-ghaṭ-âsphôṭana-prakâśita-satva-nikashaḥ tat-prabhâva-praṇat-ârâti-chûḍâratna-prabhâ-saṁsakta-sakhya(vya)-pâ-

[12] da-nakha-raśmi-saṁhati[ḥ*] sakala-smṛiti-praṇîta-mârgga-samyak-paripâlana-prajâ-hṛidaya-rañjanâd=anvartha-râja-śabdô rûpa-kânti-sthairyya-

[13] gâmbhîryya-buddhi-sampadbhiḥ Smara-Śaśâṅk-ârdri(dri)râj-ôdadhi-Tridaśaguru-Dhanê-[śâ*]n=atiśayânâ(nô)=bhaya-pradâna[4]-paratayâ triṇa-va-

[14] vad=apâst-[â*]śêsha-sva-kâryya-phalaḥ pâdachâr=îva[5] sakala-bhuvana-maṇḍal-âbhôga[6]-pramôdaḥ parama-mâhêśvaraḥ Śrî-mahârâ-

[15] ja-Guhasênaḥ [||*] Tasya sutas=tat-pâda-nakha-mayûkha-saṁtâna-nirvṛitta-Jâhnavî-jal-ô(au)gha-vikshâlit-âśêsha-kalmashaḥ praṇayi-śata-

[16] sahasr-ôpajîvya-bhôga-sampat rûpa-lôbhâd=iv=âśṛi(śri)tas=sarasam=âbhigâmikair=guṇai[ḥ*] sahaja-śakti-śikshâ-viśêsha-vismâ-

[17] pit-âkhila-dhanurdharaḥ prathama-narapati-samatisṛishṭânâm=anupâlayitâ dharmmya-(rmma)-dâyânâm=apâkarttâ

[18] praj-ôpaghâta-kâriṇâm=upaplavânâṁ darśayitâ Śrî-Sarasvatyôr=êk-âdhivâsasya saṁhat-ârâti-

Second plate.

[19] paksha-lakshmî-parikshôbha-daksha-vikramaḥ kram-ôpasaṁprâpta-vimala-pârtthiva-śrîḥ parama-mâhêśvaraḥ mahârâja-

[20] Śri(śrî)-Dharasênaḥ kuśalî sarvvân=êv=âyuktaka-viniyuktaka-drâṅgika-mahattara-châṭa-bhaṭa-dhruvâdhikaraṇika-dâṇḍapâśika-

[21] râjasthânîya-kumârâmâty-âdîn=anyâṁś=cha yathâ-saṁbadhyamânakân samâjñâpayaty= Astu vaḥ saṁviditaṁ yathâ mayâ mâtâ-

[22] pitrô[ḥ*] puṇy-âpyâyanây=âtmanaś=ch=aihik-âmushmika-yathâbhilashita-phal-âvâptayê Antaratrâyâṁ Śivaka-padrakê Vîrasêna-

[23] dantika-pratyaya-pâdâvartta-śataṁ êtasmâd=aparataḥ pâdâvarttâḥ=pañchadaśa tathâ apara-sîmni Skambhasêna-pratyaya-pâdâvartta-śataṁ viṁś-âdhikaṁ

[24] pûrvva-sîmni pâdâvarttâ daśa Dombhi-grâmê pûrvva-sîmni Varddhaki-pratyaya-pâdâvarttâ navati Vajra-grâmê=para-sîmni grâma-śikhara-pâdâvartta-śataṁ

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[2] The reading here is quite distinct. But in No. LX. line 5, (*ante* Vol. VIII. p. 302), the reading is *mauli[ḥ*]*, instead of *maṇir*.

[3] Correct into *avabôddhâ*.

[4] In No. LX. line 14-15, the reading is *atiśayânaḥ śaraṇâgat-âbhaya-pradâna* &c.

[5] In No. LX. line 15-16, the reading is *phalaḥ prârthan-âdhik-ârttha-pradân-ânandita-vidvat-suhṛit-praṇayi-hṛidayaḥ pâdachâr=i(î)va*.

[6] In No. LX. line 16, the reading is *bhuvana-mah-âbhôga*.

[25] Vîki[7]dinna-mahattara-pratyayâ ashṭâviṁśati-pâdâvartta-parisarâ vâpî |§ Bhumbhusa-padrakê kuṭumvi(mbi)-Bôṭaka-pratyayâ(ya)-pâdâvartta-śataṁ
[26] vàpî cha |§ êtat=sôdraṅgaṁ sôparikaraṁ sa-vàta-bhûta-dhânya-hiraṇy-âdêyaṁ s-ôtpadyamâna-vishṭî(shti)kaṁ samasta-râjakîyânâm=a-
[27] hasta-prakshêpaṇîyaṁ bhûmichchhidra-nyâyêna Unnatanivâsî(si)-Vâjasanêyî(yi)-Kaṇva-Vatsasagôtra-brâhmaṇa-Rudrabhûtayê bali-charu-vaiśva-
[28] dêv-âgnihôtr-âtithi-paṁchamahâyâjñikânâṁ kriyâṇâṁ samutsarppaṇ-ârttham=â-chandr[1] ârkk-ârṇṇava-sarit-kshiti-sthiti-samakâlînaṁ putra-pau-
[29] tr-ânvaya-bhôgyaṁ udaka-sarggêṇa nisṛishṭaṁ [|*] Yatô=sy=ôchitayâ brahmadêya-sthityâ bhuṁjataḥ kṛishataḥ karshayataḥ pradiśatô vâ
[30] na kaiśchit=pratishêdhê varttitavyam [|*] [Â*]gâmi-bhadra-nṛipatibhiś=ch=âsmad-vaṁśa-jair=anityâny=aiśvaryyâṇy=asthiraṁ mânushyaṁ sâmânyaṁ cha bhûmi-
[31] dâna-phalam=avagachchhadbhir=ayam=asmad-dâyô=numantavyaḥ paripâlayitavyaś=cha [|*] Yaś=ch=ainam=âchchhiṁdyâd=âchchhidyamânaṁ v=ânu-
[32] môdêta sa paṁchabhir=mmahâpâtakai[ḥ*] ||[8] s-ôpapâtakai[ḥ*] ||[9] sa[ṁ*]yuktas=syâd=ity=Uktaṁ cha bhagavatâ vêda-vyâsêna Vyâsêna ||(|)
[33] Shashṭiṁ varsha-sahasrâṇi svarggê tishṭhati bhûmi-daḥ âchchhêttâ ch=ânumantâ cha |[10] tâny=êva narakê vasêt || Pûrvva-dattâṁ
[34] dvijâtibhyô yatnâd=raksha Yudhishṭhira ||(|) mahî[ṁ*] mahîmatâṁ śrêshṭha ||[1] dânâch=chhrêyô=nupâlanam || Bahubhir=vvasudhâ bhuktâ
[35] râjabhis=Sagar-âdibhiḥ ||(|) yasya yasya yadâ bhûmiḥ tasya tasya tadâ phalam=itiḥ[12] |(||) Likhitaṁ sandhivigrahika-Skandabhaṭêna ||
[36] Saṁ 200 50 2 Vaiśâkha ba 10 5 [||*]
[37] Sva-hastô mama mahârâja-Śrî-Dharasênasya || Dû[13] Chirbira[ḥ*] ||

INSCRIPTION FROM THE MAHÂDEVA TEMPLE AT KAṆASWA NEAR KOṬÂ.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN.

On page 795 of vol. I of his *Annals and Antiquities of Râjasthân*, Colonel Tod published in English the 'Memorial of a Gete or Jit prince of the fifth century, discovered 1820, in a temple at Kunswa, near the Chumbul river, south of Kotah.' Through the kindness of Dr. Burgess and Professor Bühler I have received paper rubbings of the original inscription, from which I have prepared the following transcript and short abstract of the contents.

From a remark on one of the two rubbings furnished to me it appears that the inscription occurs on the face of a stone built in the right-hand side wall of the Mahâdeva temple at 'Kunnuswa,' 2 kôs E. of Koṭâ. It measures 4′ 6″ by 1′ 2″, and contains 17 lines. It has been carefully and beautifully carved, and is, with the exception of four *aksharas* in the 9th line which appear to have entirely gone, well preserved. In a few places the rubbings are not as distinct as one might wish them to be, but with a little trouble and by the help of the metre nearly every *akshara* may be made out with almost absolute certainty.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, and it is entirely in verse. The alphabet used is essentially the same as that employed in the Jhâlrâpâṭhan inscriptions, published by Dr. Bühler in vol V, p. 180, and in the Kâmavana inscription, published by Paṇḍit Bhagvanlâl Indraji in vol. X, p. 34, of this *Journal*. In fact, the only important difference, as regards the shape of the letters, between the Kâmavana and the Kaṇaswa inscriptions consists in this, that in the latter medial (long) *â* is denoted by a wedge-shaped sign *after* the consonant, not by the sign placed *above* it. In

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[7] The vowels of these two syllables are quite distinct, but the consonants are very doubtful. There seems to be some fault in the copper here which prevented the engraver from forming these two syllables properly, and induced him then to leave a blank space before *vâpi* in the next line.

[8] and [9] In each case, the engraver seems to have formed the mark of punctuation by mistake for a *visarga*.

[10] This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

[11] This mark of punctuation, again, is unnecessary.

[12] This *visarga* is a mistake.

[13] Sc. *dûtakaḥ*.

line 1 there occurs the sign of the *Jihvâmûlîya* noticed by Dr. Bühler in the Jhâlrâpâṭhan inscriptions (vol. V, p. 181).

The inscription records the erection of a Śiva temple, accompanied by the grant of two villages, by a prince Śivagaṇa, son of Saṁkuka and Drenginî(?), grandson of Chirantana, and great-grandson of Dhavala (?), of the Maurya family, at Kaṇvâśrama ('Kunnuswa'). It is dated 795 of the 'Lords of Mâlava.' What era may here be referred to, I am not certain. It is to be hoped that other inscriptions from Râjputâna will soon become accessible, which may throw light on the expression, and which may tell us something more definite about the chiefs mentioned in *this* inscription.

Abstract of Contents.

Verses 1—5 express adoration to Śiva and invoke his blessings.

Verses 6 and 7 praise in general terms the illustrious Maurya family, and the liberal, fearless, famous and mighty princes of that race.

Verse 8. One of those princes, who ruled over the whole earth, was a lord of men 'white of character and white with fame.' The name of the prince is not distinctly given, but from the epithets applied to him I conclude that it was Dhavala.

Verses 9 and 10. He conquered his enemies on the battle-fields; from the defeats inflicted by him they have not recovered even now.

Verse 11. His son was Chirantana, 'the best of the twice-born,' a great warrior and known for other excellencies; even now the battle-fields are moist with the blood of enemies slain by him.

Verse 12. His son was the lord of men, the illustrious Saṁkuka, pious, righteous, just, and kind to those that approached him.

Verse 13. Saṁkuka's wife was Drengiṇî (?), the daughter of a twice-born, who bore to him a son,—

Verses 14 and 15. The illustrious lord of men Śivagaṇa, noted for his beauty and liberality, who in more battles than one defeated his enemies.

Verse 16. He ordered this temple of Parameśvara to be built,

Verses 17—19. in the Kaṇva-hermitage (Kaṇvâśrama, 'Kunnuswa,' 'Kunswa').

Verse 20. For perfumes and lights and for repairs he gave as a perpetual endowment two villages, the names of which are contained in the compound Sarvvâṇkâṁchoṇipadrakau. I do not venture to dissolve this compound, as I am unable to identify either of the villages on the maps in my possession.

Verses 21—23. Future princes shall take care of this temple and endowment; lasting fame and the blessings of the next world are secured by doing so.

Verse 24. The temple was built when 795 years of the 'Lords of Mâlava' had elapsed.

Verses 25 and 26. Name of the Kâyastha: Raushuka (?), son of Gomika; V. 27 of the sculptor: Śivanâga, son of Dvâraśiva; V. 28. of the poet: Devaṭa, son of Bhaṭṭa Surabhi; V. 29. of the architect: Ṇaṇṇaka, son of Kṛishṇa.

Verses. 30 and 31. Conclusion.

Transcript.

[1] ओं नमः शिवाय ॥ ओं [।।]
नमः स्सकलसंसारसागरोत्तारहेतवे ।
तमोगर्त्ताभिसंपातहस्तालम्बाय शम्भवे ॥ [१॥][1]
श्वेतद्वीपानुकाराः क्वचिदपरिमितैरिन्दुपादैः पतद्भि-
र्न्नित्यस्थैस्सान्धकाराः क्वचिदपि निभृतैः फाणिपैर्भ्भोगभागैः[।]
सोष्माणो नेत्रभाभिः क्वचिदतिशिशिरा ज(ह्नुक-)
[2] न्याजलौघै-
रित्थं भावैर्व्विरुद्धैरपि जनितमुदः पान्तु शम्भोर्ज्जटा वः॥[२॥]
भोगीन्द्रस्य फणामणीद्युतिमिलन्मौलीन्दुलोलांशवो
नेत्राग्नेस्फुरिभस्मधूमकपिशैर्ज्ज्वालाशिखाग्रैः क्वचित् ।
मुक्ताकारमरुन्नदीजलकणैराकीर्ण्णशोभाः क्वचि-
त्रेत्थं शाश्वतभूषणव्यतिकराः शम्भोर्ज्ज-
[3] टाः पान्तु वः ॥[३॥]
स्थाणोर्व्वः पातु मूर्द्धा सर इव सततव्योमगंगाम्बुलोल-
स्फूर्ज्जद्भोगीन्द्रपंकश्रथविकटाजटाजूटकह्लारहारी ।
मन्दं यत्र स्फुरन्त्यो धवलनराशिरोवारिजन्मान्तराले
स्पष्टःप्रोद्यन्मृणालांकुरनिकर इवाभान्ति मौलीन्दुभासः॥[४॥]
नेत्रक्रोडप्रसक्तोज्ज्वलदहनशिखा(भि-)
[4] य)भासां जटानां
भारं संयम्य कृत्वा सममममृतकरोद्भासि मौन्लीन्दुबिम्बं ।
हस्ताभ्यामूर्द्ध्वमुद्यद्रिशाशिखिवदनग्रन्थिमातत्य नागं
स्थाणुः प्रारब्धनृत्तो जगदवतु लयोत्कम्पिपादांगुलीकः॥[५॥]
चूडाचारुमणीन्दुमण्डितभुवः सद्भोगिनामाश्रयः
पक्षच्छेदभयार्त्तसंकटवतां रक्षाक्ष-

[1] Verse 1. Read सकल°.

V. 2. Sragdharâ.—Read °पैर्भ्भोग°.

V. 3. Śârdûlavikriḍita.—Read °मणि°.

V. 4. Sragdharâ.—Read मूर्द्धा: °विकटजटा°.

V. 5. Sragdharâ.—Read °प्रसक्तोज्ज्वल°. In the third line I read हस्ताभ्यामूर्द्ध्वमुद्यद्विषाशिखि°.

[5] मो भूभृतां ।
दूराभ्यागतवाहिनीपरिकरो रत्नप्रकारोज्ज्वलः
श्रीमानित्थमुदारसागरसमो मौर्यान्वयो दृश्यते ॥ [६ ॥][2]
दिङ्नागा इव आत्यसंभृतमदो दानोज्ज्वलैराननै-
र्विस्रम्भेण रमन्त्यभीतमनसो मानोद्धुरास्सर्व्वतः ।
सद्वंशत्ववशप्रसिद्धयशसो यस्मिन्प्रसिद्धा गुणैः
श्लाघ्या भद्र (तया)
[6] च सत्त्वबहुलाः पक्षैस्ससं भूभृतः ॥ [७॥]
इत्थं भवत्सु भूपेषु भुंजत्सु सकलां महीं ।
धवलात्मा नृपस्तत्र यशसा धवलोभवत् ॥ [८॥]
कायादिप्रकटार्ज्जितैरहरहः स्वैरेव दोषैः सदा
निर्व्वस्त्वा सततक्षुधि प्रतिदिनं स्पाष्टिभवय्यातनाः ।
रात्रीसंचरणा भृशं परगृहेष्वित्थं विजित्यारयोः ।
येनाद्यापि (विकीर्ण्ण)-
[7] तां सुविपदो नीताः पिशाचा इव ॥[९॥]
कोपाक्रान्तमहेभकुम्भविगलन्मुक्ताफलालंकृत-
स्फीतास्रस्रुतिमण्डिता अपि मुहुर्येनोर्ज्जितेन स्वयं ।
उन्नालैरिव पंकजैः पुनरपि च्छिन्नैः शिरोभिर्व्विषां
विक्रान्तेन विभूषिता रणभुवः त्यक्ता नरैः कातरैः॥[१०॥]
इत्थं तस्य चिरन्तनो द्विजवरस्स(न्वीर्य्येव)-
[8] त्रायुध-
प्रीतिप्रेतनरेन्द्रसत्कृति(मुदः पार्च्चं) प्रसिद्धो गुणैः ।
यस्याद्यापि रणांगणे विलसितं संसूचयन्ति द्विष-
(त्स्तु)ष्यच्छोणितमम्मेरा रणभुवः प्रेतपृयाः प्रायशः॥[११॥]
शब्दस्यार्त्थ इव प्रह्लादनपटोर्म्मार्गस्त्रयीसंज्ञितो
धर्म्मस्सेव्यविशुद्धभावसरलो न्यायस्य मूलं सतः ।
प्रामा (ण्यं)
[9] प्रगत [स्य ‒ ᵕ ᵕ ᵕ] यस्साध्यस्य संसिद्धये
तस्य [भूदभिसंय]तः प्रियसखः श्रीसंकुकाख्यो नृपः॥[१२॥]
द्रंगिणी नाम तस्यासीद्धर्म्मपत्नी द्विजोद्भवा ।
तस्यां तस्याभवद्वीरः [सूनुः]कृतगुणा[कर]ः ॥ [१३॥]
यशस्वी रूपवां दाता श्रीमां शिवगणो नृपः ।
शिवस्य नूनं सगणो येन तद्भक्ततां गतः ॥ [१४॥]
स-
[10] द्राघातदलत्तनुच्चविघटद्दिस्फुलिंगोज्ज्वल-
ज्वालादग्धकबन्धकण्ठकुहरप्रोन्मुक्तनादोल्बणे ।
नारा(जैर्म्म)थिताननाकुलखगप्रोद्गान्तरक्तासवं
प्रीतप्रेतजनो रणे रतधिया येनासकृच्चर्व्वितः ॥[१५ ॥]
ज्ञात्वा जन्म जरावियोगमरणक्लेशैरशेषैश्चितं
स्वार्त्थस्याप्ययमेव योग उचितः
[11] लोके प्रसिद्धः सतां ।
तेनेदं परमेश्वरस्य भवनं धर्म्मात्मना कारितं
यं दृष्ट्वैव समस्तलोकवपुषां नष्टं कलेः कल्मषं ॥ [१६॥]
पुष्पाशोकसमीरणेन सुरभावुत्फुल्लचूतांकुरे
काल्ये मत्तविलोलषट्पदकुलैर्व्याप्तद्धदिङ्मण्डले ।
जातेपाङ्गनिरीक्षणैककथके नारीजनस्य स्मरे
कॢप्तं सद्भ-
[12] वनं भवस्य सुधिया तेनेह कण्वाश्रमे ॥ [१७॥]
काल्येन्दोलाकुलानां तनुवलनभरात्प्रस्फुटत्कंचुकानां
कान्तानां दृश्यमानैः (कुचकलशभुजां) भोजिसंभोगचिह्नैः
यस्मि(न्प्रिया)भिमुख्यस्थितिझटितिनमच्छस्मिताद्र्ँक्षणानां
भ्रूभंगैरेव रम्यैर्हृदयविनिहितस्सूच्यते प्रेमबन्धः ॥ [१८॥]
म-
[13] त्तद्विरेफझङ्कारिसहकाराविराजिताः ।
संवीक्ष्य ककुभो बाष्पं मुंचन्ति पथिकांगनाः ॥ [१९॥]
धूपादिगन्धदीपार्त्थं खण्डस्फुटितहेतुना [।]
ग्रामौ दत्तौ क्षयो निमिः सर्व्वाङ्कांचोणिपद्रकौ ॥ [२०॥]
पालयन्तु नृपाः सर्व्वे येषां भूमिरियं भवे[त्]।
एवं कृते ते धर्म्मार्थं नूनं यान्ति
[14] शिवालयं ॥ [२१ ॥]
संसारसागरं घोरं अनेन धर्म्मसेतुना ।
तारयिष्यत्यसौ नूनं जन्यौ (चा)त्मानमेव च ॥ [२२॥]
यावत्ससागरां पृथ्वीं सनगां च सकाननां ।
यावदिन्दुस्तपेभानुस्तावत्कीर्त्तिर्भविष्यति ॥ [२३ ॥]
संवत्सरशतैर्यातैः सपंचनवत्यर्ग्गलैः [।]
सप्तभिर्म्मौलवेशानां मन्दिरं धुर्ज्जटेः

[2] V. 6. Śârdûlavikrîḍita.—Read °प्रकारोज्ज्वलः.

V. 7. Śârdûlavikrîḍita.—Read दानोज्ज्वलै°; °र्विश्रम्भेण; सत्त्व°; पक्षैस्समं.

V. 9. Śârdûlavikrîḍita.—Read निर्व्वस्त्राः; स्पष्टीभवद्यातनाः; °त्यारयो.—The Visarga before स्वैरेव, and the ि of क्षधि are very indistinct.

V. 10. Śârdûlavikrîḍita.—Read शिरोभिर्द्विषां; °भुवस्त्यक्ता.

V. 11. Śârdûlavikrîḍita.—Read °च्छुष्य°; प्रेतप्रियाः.—The lower portion of the *aksharas* मुदः पार्च्चं has disappeared.

V. 12. Śârdûlavikrîḍita; प्र in प्रह्लादन° is used as a short syllable.—Read प्रियसखः.—The य in सव्ये° is very indistinct. The स्य of प्रगतस्य is doubtful, and the following four *aksharas* are entirely gone. Of the letters put in brackets in the last line only the upper part of भिसंय and the ॢ of भू are visible.

V. 13. The द्रे of द्रें in द्रेंगिणी is clear, Anusvâra and *r* are uncertain; compare the name *Drangini*, Vol. X, p. 35.

V. 14. Read रूपवान्दाता श्रीमाञ्शिव°.

V. 15. Śârdûlavikrîḍita.—Read °गोज्ज्वल°; नाराचै°; चर्व्वितः.—The Anusvâra in °रक्तासवं is very indistinct.

V. 16. Śârdûlavikrîḍita.—Read उचितो; यद्दृष्ट्वैव.

V. 17 Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

V. 18. Sragdharâ.—Read °नमत्सस्मि°.—About the ि of न्प्रि in the third line I am not quite certain, and we expect a long vowel instead; the following या also is indistinct. The ख्य of °भिमुख्य might possibly be read ख्ये.

V. 19. The ि of °झङ्कारि° is very faintly visible.

V. 20. क्षयो निमिः evidently stands for अक्षयनीविः.

V. 21. The त् of भवेत् I have added.

V. 22. Read घोरमनेन.

V. 23. Read °स्तपेद्भानु°; °र्त्तिर्भवि°.

V. 24. The expression *sa-argala* for *adhika* I have not met with anywhere else.

[15] कृतं ॥ [२४ ॥]
अलुब्धः पृयवादी च शिवभक्तिरतः सदा ।
कारापको शब्दगुणः धार्म्मिकः शंसितव्रतः ॥[२५ ॥][3]
दक्षः प्राज्ञो विनीतात्मा शूरभक्तः पृयंवदः [।]
(तृ)तो[च रौषु] कश्मास्मि कायस्थो गोभिकांगजः ॥[२६]
उत्कीर्ण्णं शिवनागेन द्वारशिवस्य सूनुना ॥ [२७ ॥]
सूनुना भट्टसुरभेद्देवटेन

[16] श्रुतोज्वलाः ।
श्लोका अमी कृ[ता] भक्त्या मौलिचंन्द्रसुधाजुषः ॥[२८]॥
कृष्णसुतो गुणाढ्यश्च सूत्रधारोत्र णण्णकः ॥ [२९]॥
एतत्कण्वाश्रमं ज्ञात्वा सर्व्वपापहरं शुभं ।
कृतं हि मन्दिरं शम्भोः धर्म्मकीर्त्तिविवर्द्धनं ॥ [३०॥]
यतिहीनं शब्दहीनं मात्राहीनं तु यद्भवे[त्] ।
तत्सर्व्वं साधुचि-
[17] त्तेन मर्षणीयं बुधैस्सदा ॥ [३१] ॥

BOMBAY DANCING GIRLS.

BY K. RAGHUNATHJI.

The Dancing or Nâch Girls of Bombay are either Hindûs or Muḥammadans, and are known by the name of K a l â v a t î s,[1] or women possessed of the arts or *kalâ* of dancing and singing. Some call them Kulavantinîs or 'women of genteel birth,' and N a i k i n s,—a term applied to women who are born N a i k i n s, and who have undergone the ceremony of *śéja*. While mere children the females are called C h ê d v â s and the males C h ê d â s.

The ceremony of *śéja* is compulsory before a woman can style herself a N a i k i n. She places herself generally under the protection of some individual, as an ordinary married woman, and passes the greater portion of her time in dancing and singing. The money she earns is her own property, and her protector has no claim to it. But the money she earns by singing and dancing on Mondays, in the month of Śrâvaṇ (July-August) and on holidays is considered as charity money, to be applied towards charitable purposes, such as giving dinners to her caste fellows, or feeding Brâhmaṇs, and in case this latter is not attended to, excommunication follows. This is not made known to the party excommunicated till the heads of the caste, when invited for any ceremony, refuse to go to her house, and when asked the reason tell her what her offence was, and fine her from Rs. 150 to Rs. 200. On the fine being paid, the whole caste is invited to the feast, and she, coming before the dining table, with her hands joined, makes a low bow and begs forgiveness. This is granted, and then she dines with them, observing the caste of her master for the time being. A N a i k i n in the keeping of a Musalmân will not dine in the same line with one in the keeping of a Pârsi or a Banyâ, and so on. And in this way there may be seen a number of rows of these women at their feasts. Their castes are not fixed, but change with their masters. One may be a Musalmân to-day, and to-morrow a Prabhu or a Brâhman, and again on a later date a Pârsi or a Musalmân again.

Steele says these girls are sometimes purchased on a deed of sale, *kharidpatra*; given from friendship; or taken on receiving a present. They are taught the usual accomplishments of the profession, and sometimes eventually rise to the head of the establishment. They cannot leave their purchasers without consent of the latter, and the parties generally live harmoniously together. They exchange the appellation of 'mother' and 'daughter' and support each other; sometimes the girl's liberty is purchased by an admirer. At others, from rivalry, ill-treatment, or attachment to a favourite lover, they abscond, and the master becoming a loser in consequence complains to

[3] V. 25. Read पियवादी; °गुणो; संशित°.—The word कारापक is unknown to me, and शब्दगुण appears to be used in a sense which it does not convey elsewhere; the former seems to mean 'active, energetic,' the latter 'learned,' or 'eloquent.'

V. 26. Read पियंवदः; °स्मिन्काय°.—I am particularly doubtful about the consonant of the fourth *akshara* (रौ) of the second line, and about the vowel of the following षु.

V. 28. Read °सुरभेद्देवटेन; श्रुतोज्ज्वलाः; °चन्द्र°.—The ता of कृता I have added.—भट्ट° might be read भाट्ट°.

V. 30. Read शम्भोर्धर्म्म°.

V. 31. The त् of यद्भवेत् I have added.—Originally the sculptor had carved यतिहीनमर्थं.—After this verse there are six more *aksharas* which may be supposed to contain a *Mangala*, but which I do not understand; they are:—

क (or कै) टाकेयो (or यौ) वेपः ॥⊙॥

[1] These Kalâvatîs are one of the fourteen precious things or gems obtained from the churning of the ocean. The names of these fourteen gems are:—*Lakshmi*; *Kaustubha*; *Pârijâtaka*; *Surâ*; *Dhanvantari*; *Chandramâ*; *Kâmadhênu*; *Airâvata*; *Rambhâdidêvânganâ*: *Saptamukhiaśva*; *Hâlahâla*; *Haridhanu*, otherwise called *Sârng*; *Pâñchajanya*; and *Amṛita*.

the Sarkâr. Under the Native Government the girl was restored with remuneration for the injury sustained, unless a compromise was entered into by the seducer. A purchased girl is under the orders of the daughters and manager of the house. Naikins may purchase girls, their age and number not being limited. All property acquired by them is taken by their mistress, though a purchased girl sometimes is heiress to her companion. The son or daughter performs the funeral obsequies, and in default, the caste—which also may purchase a girl and establish her as successor to an heiress Naikin, with the ceremony of lighting a lamp in the house. The property is not taken either by the caste or Government.

Among dancing girls, a boy is married, and a girl may either be married or introduced to her profession at her parents' pleasure. Marriage is concluded according to caste custom, and the wife may remain creditably in private, under her husband's protection. A girl born of such marriage is under the orders of her parents, and need not follow the profession unless from choice. Children of Dancing Girls are of their mother's caste, and are entitled to inherit her property. During her life the mother has a right to the daughter's gains. They have no claims on their fathers, though occasionally a girl's husband or paramour will provide for her. But a son is heir in preference to an adopted girl. The latter is heiress, if neither son nor daughter is alive. Daughters inherit the mother's property in preference to sons. They cannot inherit other property, but may acquire it. If one in a family die, leaving a young child, the rest provide for its maintenance until of age and understanding sufficient to conduct its own affairs. Partition is not customary among them, a daughter of ability conducts the affairs of the family, and sometimes a son is the manager. Should one of the family separate, the rest provide maintenance. In gifts, in sales and pledges of property, it is customary for the manager to consult the Naikins before concluding the engagement. A family consisting of a mother, son, and daughter, on separation take *fârkhat*—the girl living separately provides for her own subsistence, but if in distress, her family will assist her. A temporary separation sometimes takes place. A mother dying and leaving a son and adopted girl, they may separate, sharing debts and property, but it is usual for a family to live together. Debts of all daughters contracted on account of *sansâr*, during community, are defrayed by the rest.

Hindûs extol music as the language of heaven and greatly enjoy it, but it is considered sinful to teach it to either men or women who are to lead a married life.[2] They invite these women on extraordinary occasions, such as the thread or marriage ceremony, birth-day, and house-warming, for it is said that without the jingling of their feet bells, a house does not become pure. A Kasbin, though she has learnt to sing and dance well, will be allowed to sing only in a few houses, but not to dance in a respectable Hindû house, neither will she be allowed to dance in the temples before the gods, as she is considered impure, and not a fit object for the performance of *nritta*. A Naikin will on no account dance or sing at a Bhâvin's house though offered a large gratuity.

The several performances of the dancing girls are:—*nâch*, or dancing with singing; *baithak*, or singing while seated; *kerba*, dancing in a male head-dress; *jalsa*, singing and sitting in turns; *pachambâ*, singing while sitting at the houses of leading members of their own community; and *phugadi*, dancing in a sitting posture and jumping in circles, before the idol Gaṇapatî.

The Hindû dancing girls are of four sects, viz:—Naikins, Bhâvins, Murlîs and Kasbins. Of these the first two belong to Goa and villages round it, being natives of that district; Murlîs belong to Jêjuri in the Poona zilla; and Kasbins are recruited from all places.

The Naikins, otherwise called Goekarins, or women from Goa, are regarded as born for the purpose of singing and dancing, and this is supposed to be in keeping with the practice in heaven, where the Rambhâs[3] are

[2] In the *Harivaṁśa* we read however of a pleasure party in which Baladêva, Krishṇa and Arjuna with their families spent the day in feasting, singing, and dancing. The Yâdavas too are said to have not only allowed their wives and daughters freely to sing and dance, but themselves joined the pleasure party and indulged in the presence of parents and seniors.

[3] The names of some of these Rambhâs are Mênakâ Urvaśî, Tilôtamâ, Mahêndrî, Pañchachûdâ, Kâvêrî, Ghṛitâchi, Gaṇdakî, Mahânandî and Kalâvatî.

for the entertainment of Indra and the other gods.

In Goa and the places round it, none but these women have a licence to dance. In lieu of marriage they perform the ceremony of *séja*, or marriage with a dagger; and until they have done this, they are debarred from performing before the gods in temples. As everywhere else, the Portuguese laid their hands on some of these women when they took possession of Goa, and forcibly converted them to Christianity, and not content with such conversion they kept them as their mistresses. Their descendants have ever since been free from caste prejudices in respect to carnal intercourse with people of other than their own caste. They do not observe Christian rites, but Hinduism in all its details. Their sisters, who either escaped from Goa or screened themselves from the Portuguese, will not dine with them. These and the other Naikins come to Bombay with the express object of carrying on their profession, and when they have succeeded in making a fortune, they either return to their native country or establish themselves as permanent residents.

"Dancing girls as a rule are handsome, with open smiling countenances, large sparkling eyes, regular features and an intelligent pleasing appearance. They are fair, with a softness of face and features, a gentleness of manner, with a peculiar grace and ease, which one would little expect to find among them. A lady-like manner, modesty and gentleness, beautiful small hands and taper fingers and their ankles neatly turned so as to meet the admiration of the connaisseur,—they draw all eyes on them to the oblivion of all else; whilst they themselves are under the impression that they have taken to a most honourable profession, by following which they are honouring the gods and are appreciated both by gods and men."

They are brought up in schools, and read and write Marâṭhi fluently. They not only sing but compose songs as well. They all speak Musalmâni, and a few of them English also. Formerly when their lovers forsook them they had to go to *Pantojis* and pay them for writing letters. But now some of the dancing girls do the writing themselves, sometimes filling their letters with the most obscene expressions, ending with abuse of their mothers, sisters and daughters. Some of the older Naikins are of a religious turn of mind. They have Brâhmaṇ priests in their service, who read to them the sacred books, and in return for such services receive handsome gifts. They visit temples and mosques, observe fasts and feasts, and feed Brâhmaṇs and faqirs.

Excepting the head, dancing girls shave themselves clean, not allowing even a hair to grow on the temples near the ears. Like other Hindû women, they divide the hair in front along the centre, comb it from both sides backwards, and tie it in a knot resting loosely on the neck. They dress like others in a long robe and tight fitting bodice, generally of English cloth, and sometimes of silk or other rich stuff with borders and trimmings of different patterns. When going out they muffle themselves with Kaśmîr shawls, and put on China velvet slippers. Except that it is costlier, the ceremonial dress of a dancing girl does not differ from that worn on ordinary occasions. The bodice is richly ornamented with gold, silver, and velvet, lace or pearls. The shawl is worked with flowers, birds and beasts in gold and pearls. As a rule they are wealthy and load themselves with jewellery. Daily they decorate the head with garlands of sweet-smelling flowers and perfume themselves.

The following are among their ornaments:— For the head *Chândanî*, *Môr*, and *Nâga*; for the ears *Bâlyâ*, '*Ering*', *Kâp*, and *Kudi*; for the neck *Aidorâ*, *Chiñchapati*, *Gâthle*, *Gôp*, *Pôt*, *Kâligâṭhi*, *Śâkli*, and *Vajratîk*; for the hands *Bâṅgdyâ*, *Tode*, *Jode*, *Pâṭlyâ*, *Veḷa*, *Ruiphûl*, *Gajre*, and *Nilâchyâpâṭlyâ*; for the fingers, rings of sorts; for the feet, *Śâkla*, and sometimes a *Bêdi*, and for the toes *Sâlê*. Except the feet ornaments, which are always of silver, no Hindû, excepting Râjas, who are considered incarnations of a god, ever think of putting gold on the feet,—the others are frequently of gold.

The food of the dancing girls consists generally of rice, pulse, vegetables, fruit, and butter; and of animal food—fish, mutton and fowls. Their drink is water, milk, coffee and sometimes liquor. They take two meals a day, one before twelve and the other before six P.M. In the night they are fed at the cost of their masters on spiced milk, fruit, and sweetmeats, betelnut leaves, and tobacco—for they are always chewing. They rub lime on the rough side of

betel-leaves and make them into small packets filled with betelnut, catechu, cardamum, cloves, nutmeg, mace, saffron, cinnamon, musk and almonds, and either spiced or simple tobacco. They smoke once or twice a day, and sometimes drink.

They speak Goanese, which differs from the language of Bombay, and on first arriving they are somewhat shy to sing in public, their pronunciation being strange; but they soon learn to sing both Marâṭhî and Hindustâni songs with taste, and it is difficult sometimes to distinguish a Hindû from a Muḥammadan dancing girl, from her voice. They are taught to sing and dance at the early age of five, the older girls learning after they adopt the profession. The lessons are given daily two hours before day-light, one of which is devoted to singing, and the other to dancing. In the evening after five the same time is given, so that each has to practice four hours a day, and in about three years she is supposed to have mastered both singing and dancing. By beginning their studies at the age of eight, these girls are able to appear at about twelve or fifteen, very rarely earlier. They practise the art till they are forty or fifty, if not previously rendered unfit by disease or premature old age.

Their dancing-masters are called Vastâdjis, and are paid for teaching the girl from Rs. 50 to Rs. 500, with other presents according to his ability. A contract is made which is dependent on the wealth and position of the party. The dancing-masters belong to the same caste as the girls, and are the sons and brothers of other dancing girls, both Hindû and Musalmân. They live by themselves, and are generally in poor circumstances. Their earnings they spend as fast as the money comes to hand, being addicted to drinking, smoking intoxicating drugs, and debauchery. They dress in tight-fitting, fine clothes, bright coloured turbans, carry sashes of fantastic colours, either on their shoulders or in their hands, and allow their hair to fall in ringlets on the back of the neck. They wear caps of silk and embroidery when they have not turbans on, English or native shoes, whalebone or other rich walking sticks, and gold or silver watches with Albert chains,—all the property of the dancing girls or their masters. Like their mothers and sisters, they are good-looking and quiet, but timid. They seldom offer prayers to their gods, and are so expert in singing and playing music that should a dancing girl err, while performing before her guests, they put her right by their playing, ask her to go on, and with a nod of the head and smiling faces, encourage her to sing.

In so great esteem is a Naikin held by the Hindûs that it was a compulsory practice amongst them to have the marriage string, *maṅgalasûtra*, strung by one of these women, for the reason that she is considered a married woman all her life, and the ceremony symbolizes the wish that the girl about to be married may live and die a married life.

The *śêja* alluded to above is the marriage of a Naikin with a dagger, from the age of eight to eleven, or before she arrives at puberty. But before the performance of the *śêja* ceremony the girl is taken to the temple of one of the following gods and goddesses, viz.:—Shântâ-Durgâ, commonly known by the name of *Sântâ-Cruz*, Mahâlakshmî, Vetâl Vîra, Ravalanâth or Maṅgêśa, and there, taking a flower, she sticks it slightly on the breast of the idol and prays to be informed what she should become,—a married woman or a Naikin. If the latter, the flower falls to the right, but if the former to the left,* and accordingly as it falls to the right or the left or does not fall, the omen is interpreted.

When a Naikin wishes to perform the *śêja* of her daughter, she consults a Brâhmaṇ priest as to the time and hour when the ceremony should be performed. The Brâhmaṇ consults his almanac, names the lucky day and hour, and a procession of Naikins dressed in rich clothes starts, accompanied by music, to the houses of their caste-fellows and friends, inviting them to the ceremony. On the *śêja* day, another girl, older than the one about to be married, is feasted and dressed in male attire, coat, turban and waist-cloth, and decked with jewellery to represent a bridegroom, and made to stand on a heap of rice with a dagger in her hand, the girl dressed in the garb of the bride is now brought and made to stand on another heap of rice in front of the

* It is left to the girl to demand whichever side she likes. Some stick two flowers on both sides of the image and demand that either the right or the left one may fall.

first with a garland of sweet-smelling flowers in her hands, and a cloth is held between them. The priest repeats verses from the *Purâṇas*, and the guests throw on the heads of the pair a few grains of rice at the end of each verse. At the proper time the curtain is dropped, the bride throws the garland of flowers round the dagger in the quasi bridegroom's hand and they are wedded. After exchange of gifts and distribution of betelnut and leaves, cocoanuts, and money to the Brâhmaṇs, the guests leave. In the night a procession starts, accompanied with music, and a number of Naikin guests, generally in this order :—A bullock cart with a band of pipers and drummers, a row of carriages full of well-dressed children, buglers walking, a band of Muḥammadan drummers, a band of Gujarâti drummers, two richly harnessed horses abreast ridden by little children in gay fancy dresses—the favourite sorts being English uniforms, and English, Pârsi, and Vânia ladies' costumes, a brass band of Goanese, behind the band dancing girls walking in a line, and immediately behind them the bride and the bridegroom, each on a richly caparisoned horse with gold and silver trappings, or in an English carriage and two, or even four, horses, on either side a couple of men wave silver fly-flaps, another couple fan them with silver or gold fans, and another holds over him a long-handled large red or green silk umbrella. After the couple walk the dancing girls and guests. On either side and behind the bride and bridegroom are the women guests, and wooden frames are carried with pots of artificial trees laden with fruit and flowers.

Should two such processions meet on the way the barbers lower the umbrellas, and hold them in front of the bride and bridegroom's faces, that they may not see each other. At each turn in the street cocoanuts are dashed on the ground to appease evil spirits, and then thrown away, and as they go, fireworks are let off.

In olden times, Naikins say, çelestial choristers, from *Svarga*, who form the orchestra of the gods, came down to marry them, but since the *Kali yug*, they do not expect these *Gandharvas*, and hence their marriage with the dagger.

The marriage expenses generally amount to from Rs. 200 to Rs. 500, and are shared by her mother, sister, or lover if she has already got a promise. Some of the well-to-do Naikins, besides their masters, have a gallant whom they feed, clothe and give monthly pay to, besides defraying their household expenses.

When a virgin is of age and first begins her profession, if Muḥammadan, the ceremony of *misi* is observed, when cardamums are distributed to the guests, turmeric is put on the girl's person, and a religious ceremony performed in honour of the *Pîrs*. The *misi* (a powder made of vitriol), is applied by several Naikins, one of whom holds hereditary office in the caste, who takes the girl on her lap and presents her with a robe. The *misi* of adopted girls is performed after that of born daughters (*pâlak-kanyâ*), but in other respects they have equal rights with the born daughters in a manner analogous to adopted sons. The women of the community are invited to a feast, and they in turn dance and sing; but if Hindû, the *garbhadhân* ceremony is observed.[5] The girl is made to sit by herself during three days, and in the evening her house is lighted, and she is dressed in rich clothes and her head encircled with garlands, and takes her stand in a window fronting the street. Musicians play, and offers are made for the hand of the maiden, the highest bidder being the winner. Offers sometimes are made beforehand, that is, when the girl is five or seven years old, and a score or two rupees paid in advance as earnest-money. On the evening of the fifth day, dancing girls collect at the maiden's house, and the winner of the girl's hand sits side by side with the virgin on low wooden stools, and the Brâhmaṇ priest officiating, performs a short ceremony. Then they rub one another with sweet-scented powders, and drink from one another's hands silver goblets full of spiced milk, and he presents her with a rich suit of clothes, consisting of a robe and bodice, and if well-to-do or fast-going, with jewellery; and the girl, dressing in that suit, he lifts her up, taking her in his left hand, leads her into a room, and seats her on a bed spread with sweet-scented flowers.

[5] Besides *garbhadhân*, the Naikins perform the fifth and the twelfth day ceremonies of a newly-born child. The *śêja* ceremony and the birth of a female child are hailed by them with delight and the ceremonies are performed with great *éclat*, and at much cost.—*Educational disabilities of the children of dancing girls in India* (Bombay, 1879). A member of the same community says, that the dancing girls are not married, because that would be offensive to their family deities.

Here he gives her the promised money, and she makes it over to her mother or sister; he then takes her to bed. Before closing the door, the mother addressing the lover says, "Sir, son-in-law (*jâvayajibâwâ*), the girl is made over to you, and you take care of her." He has her in his keeping for a month or two, and if after that he wishes to retain the girl, he has to pay her from twenty to a hundred and fifty rupees a month.

A Naikin is sometimes as faithful as she is fascinating, and will help her protector in his difficulties. The following story is told in illustration of the faithfulness of Naikins:—

The true one is the false one,
The false one true;
The Pâtel the dog of the town;
The Râja the ass of the crown.

There once lived a man who had a Naikin of great beauty. The man, doubting his wife's integrity, one day took home a goat's head covered under his waistcloth. On entering the house, he ordered his wife to lock the door after him. He then handed her a parcel containing gold and pearl ornaments and told her that he had robbed them from a child's person, and cut its head off, and brought it home to be buried in an inner room to avoid detection. The husband begged her, and the wife promised him, to keep the crime secret. But, like a woman, she spoke of it to a neighbour, who was her friend, and the neighbour spoke of it to her husband, and thus the story spread until the man was apprehended by the Pâtel and taken before the Râja who ordered him to be hanged the next day. A *batâki* was beaten, and the inhabitants invited to see the *tamâshâ*. The wife felt sorry, but she thought she had enough to eat for the remainder of her life, and therefore did not move in her husband's behalf. But his Naikin, hearing of what had happened, repaired to the Râja's palace, and prevailed with him to suspend the sentence until inquiries were instituted. The result was the honourable acquittal of the supposed murderer.

The money usually paid to a Naikin for dancing during ceremonies and on other festive occasions varies from 30 to 60 rupees a night, and she pays her two fiddlers at the rate of two annas to each, and three annas to the drummer out of every rupee, the balance remaining to herself. Generally, Naikins in well-to-do circumstances decline accepting a *Viḍâ*, unless a condition is made not to demand their presence in processions. This objection is more from pride than—as alleged—that the evil eyes of the passers-by might not fall on them and cause them loss of beauty.

Dancing girls or Naikins live either in *châls* or in *baṅglâs* furnished after the European fashion, according to the means at their command. These women sing all night when disengaged, and persons who visit them to hear their singing pay from one to twenty or more rupees per night. On Saturday nights their houses are full of visitors. This night is called by pleasure-loving people the *golden night*, and Sunday the *silver day*, but Monday is called by them the *black* or the *iron day*, as on Monday they have to attend to business.

When a dancing girl is wanted for an entertainment, a person who is in the habit of frequenting their houses is employed to make an engagement, and he goes with a rupee from one house to another for a few nights, although he has already determined which he will favour. This he does for the purpose of hearing the singing in different houses *gratis*. At last he goes to the one he has fixed upon, and from whom he expects a commission, and gives her the rupee wrapped up in betel leaves which she accepts as earnest-money. This is called the giving of the *Viḍâ*. There are several kinds of *Viḍâs*, but the *Viḍâ* given to a Naikin means that her singing is beyond any money value.

If the engagement be for a thread or marriage ceremony, the girl so engaged attends the house for a few hours on the night previous to the ceremony, and this is called *Mujurâ*, or singing by way of paying a compliment; for this purpose she sits down upon a carpet. On the day of ceremony she dances according to the appointment, and sings before the host and his friends. No females are present, the audience is entirely composed of males and children; but the females look through windows in the walls, which do not open but have holes or *jâlis*. If the woman becomes ceremonially unclean after the receipt of the earnest-money, she does not attend, nor does she return the earnest money, but the party engaging her is left to make a new engagement with someone else.

Muhammadan Dancing Girls.

The Muhammadan dancing-girls are known by the name of Kasbîs and Randîs, and come from Panjâb, Gwâlior, Sindh, and Haidarâbâd, the remainder being girls of Gujarât, Musalmân prostitutes, or else stray waifs from honest households. In northern Gujarât, living chiefly in the Gâikavâd's villages, are a tribe of prostitutes known as Pâtars; in their own villages they are cultivators, possessing lands, and during the hot and cold seasons making tours in the neighbouring towns and Native States for prostitution. They do not pretend to be either good singers or dancers. Neither do they belong to the regular guild (*jamât*) of other Musalmân dancing girls, but form a community of their own. They speak Gujarâti and dress like Hindû women. Another community that swells the ranks of prostitutes is that of Mirâsîs[6].

The foreign Musalmân prostitute is generally a dancer and singer. She is by courtesy termed *deredâr* and *tawaif*, and has from two to four *naurichis* or girls. It is not considered disreputable to be seen in her dwelling. Some of them are considered respectable, as they confine their favours to a single person, to whom they allow a pension. The girls in her house may either be her own daughters, or others obtained by doubtful means. They are taught to sing and dance, and their prostitution is not regarded as casting discredit on the head of the house. If the girls are her daughters, the *tawaif* exercises more control over them, their love connections and their caprices, so as to preserve the prestige of her house. The first connection of a girl of the above description is celebrated as *sarfarâz-honâ* (to be exalted), or *misi lagâna* (to apply the black dye). There are, however, no very pompous ceremonies attending this event. A girl is considered to have attained her maturity on the first signs of puberty. She then waits for an offer from some well-to-do person, but if she has waited any length of time without an offer, her patron goes a round of the neighbouring Native States with her—the surest mart for barters of this kind. The price of the loss of virginity varies from Rs. 100 to Rs. 2000, according to the beauty and accomplishments of the girl. The master has a right to the company of the girl for two months, during which time he is expected to present her with clothes, jewellery and money. The celebration of the event begins eight days before it actually takes place. Dinners are given by the girl's relations and friends to people of her tribe, at nights they dance and sing at her house. The cost of the feast is defrayed by the master. That night the girl, richly dressed, is sent to the house of the master in a carriage attended by either a man or woman-servant, when she passes the night with him and returns home the next morning, when a sumptuous breakfast awaits her. On this occasion, near friends of the house are feasted. This concludes the ceremony. Pregnancy, childbirth, and other occasions of rejoicing are observed as among other Muhammadans in the usual way.

There is a story among the Musalmâns to the effect that if faithful, a dancing girl is more faithful than a wife, and if false, she is so thoroughly; but she does not possess either quality beyond mediocrity. She is generally ready of wit, is more cultivated than a married woman, and owes much of her fascination to the fact that in a country where wives are not considered fit for society, she is a most charming and pleasant companion. Sometimes it has happened that a dashing, wicked dancing girl, has married and tamed down to the routine of Muhammadan daily life, and taken the marriage veil with constancy. There are others of them who though admired, courted, or flattered for their beauty, music and dancing, have led a comparatively virtuous life.

The Muhammadan *naikins* are the best singers of Muhammadan and Marâthî songs, and are adepts in paying all respect and compliments to visitors. They sing Hindustâni songs with taste and delicacy, and their general demeanour at entertainments is most agreeable and cheerful.[7]

With regard to the class of dancing girls who come from the Mufasal and Goa, a brief account may be given of the manner in which women of this sect come under the designation of Bhâvins. These Bhâvins, before they take the veil, are called by the name of

[6] *Gujarâtî Musalmâns*, p. 48.

[7] Munshi P. Latfulla.

zil, and the men are *zilgâs*. The term Bhâvin is applied to women in the service of the idols in temples in Goa and places round about, and women from Goa who have forsaken their lawful husbands call themselves by that title, asserting as their reason that in olden times married women were in the habit of forsaking their lawful husbands and joining the service of the temples. Some of these women have been presented to the gods in infancy by their parents, as the Murlîs are in Jêjuri.

As a Naikin has to obtain the permission of her gods before she performs *śéja*, so also has a Bhâvin to ask her gods whether she may take the veil. She has recourse to a flower omen, and prior to dedication her parents invite the head-men of the caste to a temple, and there tell them of their intention to offer their child to the god. A flower is stuck to the image in their presence, and the girl goes to the burning lamp, takes a handful of oil, and pours it on her head, and declares herself a Bhâvin. The guests are presented with betel-nut and leaves, and they depart. The parents then take the girl with them to their house, and a feast to the castemen ends the affair. The girl from that time should place her full faith (*bhâv*) in, and give herself to, the service of the god, and not practise prostitution, but live as an ascetic, and should the temple not be able to maintain her, she is fed at the expense of the caste.

The ceremony undergone by a married woman who forsakes her husband to be styled a Bhâvin, is to go to a temple and take a handful of oil or dip her fingers in one of the lamps continually burning near the idols, then to place the same on her head, and declare herself by that act to have become a Bhâvin in the presence of worshippers in the temple.

As a servant in attendance upon an idol her business is to attend to the temple lamps and to keep them trimmed, to sweep and cow-dung the floor, to turn the *chauri* over the idol, to serve the *hukâ* to the congregation, to keep the furniture in order, and to serve the visitors to the temple. A Bhâvin's name always ends with the name of the place of which she is a native, for instance, Emni-Pednekarin, *i.e.*, Emni, inhabitant of Pedne. A Bhâvin always trims a lamp with her fingers and not with small sticks as other Hindûs do. The trimming of a lamp with the fingers by any other than a Bhâvin is supposed to bring poverty, and this is particularly observed in all Hindû houses. These Bhâvins, tired of servitude, leave the temple, and try to enjoy their liberty as independent mistresses, and this course is eventually preferred. Such a one gets away from the temple by becoming the kept mistress of a person or persons who have the means to protect her; but others in the temples also are at liberty to hold illicit intercourse with persons of their own caste, these women being commonly known as Chedvâs, and the men Zilgâs. Such of the female descendants of these women as lead a moral life, adhere to the profession of their mothers, *viz.*, attending to the indoor duties of the temple. In their native place they are fed from the temple funds, and those who have young sisters, daughters, or other relatives with whom they can live, establish themselves as Kasbins. A register of these Bhâvins is kept, but as a rule, formal permission is obtained before any of them quits the temple and establishes herself in any pursuit, and this permission she obtains whether the pursuit be honourable or not, provided she annually sends a present, however trifling, to the temple.

No Bhâvin would consent to contract matrimony with a person of her own caste, or remain in his keeping, as prostitution, in their view, is more honourable; it enriches and makes them sole mistresses of their liberty and property, and their protectors are ever ready to be at their command.

Some of these Bhâvins, like the Naikins, learn to sing and dance, but they are not allowed to do so in Goa, as they are all considered low and the most debauched of their sex. The utmost a Bhâvin can earn in Bombay per annum is about Rs. 600, for they get no opportunity of forming connections with men of the higher classes, who generally visit the houses of Naikins. A person visiting the house of a Bhâvin is regarded as disreputable, for the only object of his visit apparently must be debauchery.

It is the general understanding amongst natives that whoever has a Bhâvin in his keeping reduces himself to poverty, for he is said to expose himself to the rage of the gods, by having carnal intercourse with their servant.

Bhâvins are descendants of pure Marâthas; but as they have degraded themselves to the post of '*temple cats*,' they have seats allotted to them behind the temples, whilst a Naikin dances before the gods, and amidst the gatherings of the great, and has a seat allotted to her before the gods.

The Bhâvins, properly speaking, have only one dance, called the *ghumat*, which is accompanied by a kind of drum called the *ghumat*. This dance generally takes place in the month of Shiṁga.

To celebrate this dance Zilgâs[8] raise a sum of money by subscription and hire a place in the neighbourhood of their dwellings where a canopy is erected, and on the floor is spread a carpet on which the members sit encircled by the spectators. At one end, one or more Bhâvins stand dressed in bodices and *sâḍis*, which are so tightly worn as to display their forms; their hair is lightly twisted into a knot behind, and sweet-smelling flowers encircle it. Behind stands a drummer with the drum called *ghumat*, made of cloth, having one end small and the other large, covered with leather, a *pakhwâj* and one *zânj*. On both sides stand Zilgâs beating cymbals, and clapping their hands, and the women dance. The dancers are led by the drummer, for they move their legs up and down, according to the rhythm of the beats on the drum. The dancers jump frantically about, singing licentious songs. None but the Zilgâs attend this entertainment, but if prevailed upon, a respectable person might enter the gathering, but only for a few minutes. For these dances subscriptions are raised by the Zilgâs among themselves. The dancing girls are paid about five rupees per night, and the balance is spent on a feast. This dance is cultivated by the Zilgâs for their own amusement.

A Bhâvin is as cunning as a fox, and will rob her protector of his last farthing, and be done with him as soon as she can, or when she finds him not so liberal as before, or his purse empty,—with a rod in her hand, she will show him out. She will be on terms of intimacy with some of her many visitors without her protector's knowledge, while he is by her side. In fact, they are a class of pick-pockets and cut-throats.

A certain Bhâvin possessed of an engaging form and face, it is said, attracted the notice of a householder, and attached herself to him. After some time he became aware of her infidelities, and giving her a large sum of money he ordered her out. The money was soon squandered and she applied for more, but was refused. She then told him that if he did not grant her a settlement for life she would burn down his house. He persisted in his refusal, and ordered her out. That night his house was burnt to the ground. He then quitted the place, and went some hundreds of miles away, and hoped he had done with her, but the woman followed him, and wearied out with her importunities for a settlement, he at length granted her an annuity for life. But she continued her supplications to be restored to his house. He, however, fell in love with a beautiful young countrywoman, who came to the place where he then resided. He proposed to her, and the wedding day was fixed. The Bhâvin heard of this, and forcing herself into his presence she asked him if the report were true. He replied in the affirmative, when, venting her rage in curses, she imprecated tremendous disaster on his head and heaped on him every insult that language could command. At length he reminded her of his settlement on her of a sum sufficient to place her in affluence for the remainder of her life, and that her annoyance would provoke him to retaliation. She replied by declaring in fury he would die within six weeks of his marriage. She then quitted his presence. The singularity of the menace somewhat startled him, but it was soon forgotten. The day after his marriage he sickened, and before six weeks had passed he was dead. He fell a victim to slow poison administered by his personal servant, who, strange to say, was the Bhâvin's brother, and the day before the man died they both decamped and were never again heard of.

There is another class of Kasbins, the Murlis,[9] or girls wedded to Khaṇḍôba, the lord of Jêjuri. If a low caste Hindû is childless, he

[8] The Zilgâs are good-looking fellows, and generally hold employment in public offices as *patevâlâs* and in cotton mills. They have a peculiar way of wearing the hair and dressing in caps or turbans cocked on one side, and tight-fitting polkas so as to show themselves to advantage. But the sons and brothers of Naikins dress in plain but tight-fitting clothes, and in a way to reveal at once who they are.

[9] The real Murlis are those barren women who become lean at the feet of the god Khaṇḍôba, with the object of getting children. Only low class women become Murlis.

vows that if Khaṇḍôba blesses him with offspring, male or female, the same shall be set apart for life to worship and attend upon the deity, and he accordingly dedicates it. Others again, forsake their little ones under the plea of a vow made by them; while grown-up women leave the protection of their husbands and become Murlîs on the pretext that Khaṇḍôba had appeared to them in a dream and told them they ought to become Murlîs.

Mangs and Mhars have also Murlîs among them. These Murlîs hang about the temples of Khaṇḍôba, and loiter in the streets with a bag of turmeric powder, which they apply to the foreheads of passers-by and ask for charity. They dance with bells in their hands, and sing songs in praise of their lord, and obscene *lávaṇis*, for the entertainment of visitors. They do not live in Jêjuri alone, but scatter themselves in distant towns and villages, and under the cloak of religion carry on the profession of prostitution. An ordinary Hindû may keep one of these women under his protection, but generally they are the Kasbins of Marâṭhas and low caste Hindûs. Without shame they take free quarters for a few annas or so with any one, not excepting the Musalmâns. The standard of their morality even in Jêjuri is very low, so much so, that gentlemen visiting Jêjuri with their servants have either to stay out of the place for the night with their servants, or to accommodate them in their own house to keep them from mischief at the hands of these women. "That a Murlî should be a woman of abandoned character is understood to be a matter of course, even more than a Kasbin should be so." The term *Murlî* is applied by Hindûs to a loose and flirting woman. The life of these Murlîs is "openly a life of prostitution, prostitution under the supposed sanction of religion." And a majority of diseased and ugly Kasbins in Bombay are the Murlîs of Jêjuri and other like places.

The other Naikins from villages in the Mufasal are chiefly women who have forsaken their husbands to lead an immoral life. Muḥammadan and other prostitutes, as a rule, when they express a desire to live under the protection of one individual and lead a married life, are obliged to undergo the ceremony of *Nika*. This ceremony is performed by a Qâzi, and is equivalent to marriage, and the man and woman are considered as having become husband and wife. Hindû prostitutes who undergo the ceremony of *Misi* are supposed to have accepted Islâmi and are not re-admitted into their caste or society. But a Musalmân woman performs the ceremony of *Nika* as often as she likes, or becomes a prostitute according to her capricious fancy. A Hindû woman, if once expelled, is renounced for ever, and no offer of bribes or gifts can restore her to caste. It is to be understood that Muḥammadan dancing girls have to undergo the ceremony of *Misi*, like the *Govakárins*, who undergo the ceremony of *śéja*, to be styled regular Naikins.

Besides these, there is another class of women in Bombay who come under the title of Kasbins. These are either the wives of husbands or were purchased in infancy by chiefs or persons in well-to-do circumstances in Goa. By caste they are Kunbis, and after their purchase they are considered as the permanent servants of the family. Their business is to attend to all household work, and to serve their masters as wives. The children they get are either provided for by their fathers or are left to earn their livelihood as they can. Some get their freedom, says a writer in the *Literary Society's Transactions*, from their masters, in consequence of good conduct, and occupy a separate house and cultivate on their own account. Others are inmates with their masters and their treatment is very good, they are clad and fed in the same way as the members of the family, scarcely any difference being observable, except in their taking their meals apart. They get pocket money on holidays, if they behave well, and their masters are at the expense of their marriages, which may cost a hundred rupees. The men labour in the fields, the women serve their mistresses and do all household work, cleaning rice, cutting vegetables &c., except cooking, and worshipping the family gods, and when unmarried are sometimes the concubines of their masters, or they are married to Marâṭhâs. The present race are no doubt all home-born. Freedom is given them from religious motives for good conduct, and sometimes from their becoming burdensome; such persons take the name of Sindês, and are looked on as inferior, and others rather avoid intermarrying with them. Boys are rarely brought

to market, but girls are frequently so, and if beautiful, are bought by the rich as mistresses, or by courtezans to be taught to dance and sing; they are sold for from Rs. 100 to Rs. 500. The less-favoured ones are bought as servants in Brâhmaṇ families. Among Muḥammadans too, a woman who takes to prostitution is called a Kasbin. They are raised from all classes of Musalmâns and converted Hindûs, either from their own children or by girls adopted or kidnapped.

There are six kinds of dances, three of which are performed by Naikins at houses on payment, and the others at their own quarters. When a dancing girl is not performing, she wears a *sûrî*, but when she prepares for an entertainment, she wears a short gown, or *peswâj*, with short tight sleeves. As soon as the drummer and the two fiddlers commence to play, the former standing behind, and the fiddlers one on each side of her, she puts on a thin embroidered muslin *dupaṭâ*, in graceful folds and an embroidered bodice, or *chôlî*, and her neck is encircled with a gold and pearl necklace; on her wrists and fingers she wears rich jewels, and has a silk handkerchief in her hand; she has also two silver rings on each great toe. When called into respectable Hindû houses to perform before guests, they do not by speech or conduct offend in the slightest degree against propriety. Many of these women are of remarkable beauty, but they are as abandoned as they are beautiful, and "although generally accompanied by the most debauched of their sex, they are nevertheless continually engaged at large entertainments." But there can be "nothing more modest than their dress and demeanour," and in their movements they are considered unrivalled. "The great charm of their dances consists almost wholly in the elegant and graceful attitudes which they assume." "You see no violent swings of the arms, no unnatural curving of the limbs, no bringing of the legs at right angles with the trunk, no violent hops and jerks and dizzy gyrations. The *nâch* girl advances gracefully before her audience, her delicate arms moving in unison with her tiny naked feet, and her footsteps making a soft music. She occasionally turns quickly round with a burst of song by which the loose folds of her thin short gown are expanded, and the heavy gold border with which it is trimmed opens into a circle round her neat little figure, showing for an instant the beautiful outline of her form, draped with the most becoming and judicious taste."[10]

When dancing the *Kerbâ* head (which is performed in male head-dress) she lets her long black hair fall on her shoulders and back and around her breast. She puts on a Marâṭhâ turban (as worn by *sipâhis* in public offices), or a gold embroidered skull-cap, inclined a little to her left ear, and with her thin small hands imitates the flying of the kite, and her eyes are turned upwards.[11] When performing this part of her dance her tightly knitted drapery shows the form of her round limbs. At times she rolls a part of her *dupaṭâ*, holding one end between her teeth and the other in both hands, the fingers indicating playing on a flute. She does not exactly dance, but revolves in the midst of the audience, and sings with a charming simplicity, which is the supreme effort of these Muḥammadan and Hindû women:—

"She leaps forth with a burst of song
  From the glittering crowd,
Like a sunny glimpse of autumn light
  From behind a darkening cloud.

Her oft-suspended foot doth throw
  Its shadow on the earth;
And her burning eyes are turn'd to heaven,
  As to the region of her birth.

That bound—that bound—when Venus sprung
  Out of the waters, into light,
And round her breast her tresses clung
  A garland of delight;

With lip and cheek, and eye, like thine,
  And motion breathing music sweet,
She made the purple sea her shrine
  The white foam lilies for her feet.

Once more! once more! the silver fawn
  Of moon-light through the sapphire sky,
After the fading summer eve,
  With lighter feet doth never fly.

Thy wreath of dewy blossoms shakes
  Its perfumes rich around,
And thy bird-like footstep makes
  Soft music on the ground.[12]

[10] *As. Jour.* XVIII. p. 194.

[11] This is because she is acting Kṛishṇa Kanyâ. Tradition ascribes so ancient a date as the time of Kṛishṇa to the *Kerbâ*. It is said this was a mode of dance much in favour with him. All the modes of Indian dance, it may be noted, are essentially *râgs* and *râgnis* set to action and motion.

[12] *As. Jour.* XI, p. 191.

Much excitement prevails among the audience when she dances the *Kerbá*. The promised money is then handed her by the head of the family, folded in betel-leaves. She respectfully makes *salám* and then retires

These dances, which commence between 9 and 10 in the evening, last till 3 or 4 o'clock next morning, and sometimes till daylight.

The dance called the *Jalsá* (singing and sitting in turns) is performed at the houses of the Naikins themselves during holidays, such as the Gaṇapati festival and like occasions. Nâch girls assemble in numbers on such occasions, and each in turn sings a song or two. Invitations are always issued for these dances to friends and acquaintances, but strangers have free access to them. The dance commences generally at 9 p. m., the hostess opening the ceremony of the evening by singing herself a song which is a prayer to Gaṇapati to assist in carrying out the programme with success. A relation of the hostess prepares betel leaves, and distributes them with nosegays and rose-water to the audience. A silver plate is placed in front of the Naikin, who sits to sing, in which the moneys given by the visitors are placed. The money thus collected often amounts to Rs. 200 a night, and to this the hostess alone has a claim. The fiddlers and drummer, if engaged by the night, have no claim to any of it, but if otherwise, the Naikin is bound to share with them at the rate above named. (See page 170*a*.) Visitors about to leave are treated to a cup of milk prepared with sugar and spices, supplied in an inner apartment, specially furnished for their reception.

Pachamba is a kind of *Baithak*, held in the month of Śrâvaṇ, on Mondays, in the houses of Naikins, the chief in the community. On this occasion they gather together in the afternoon. The hostess places on a raised stool a water pot and covers it with a cocoanut, and dresses it in a rich waistcloth and Brâhmaṇ's turban, and worships it in honour of Honâji the founder of the tribe, with the help of the Brâhmaṇ priest. In the evening the men and women friends of the hostess meet at her house and sit singing by turns one or more songs each. Invitations are issued to the friends and acquaintances of the hostess, and the money paid by visitors and others is not appropriated by the hostess, as on *Jalsá* nights, but is applied to sacred purposes, such as feeding Brâhmaṇs, &c. &c. This *Pachamba*, like the rest of the dances, commences between 9 and 10, and is over by 6 o'clock or so next morning.

Phugadi is a kind of dance held at the houses of Naikins or their friends during the Gaṇapati holidays and sometimes during marriage and *sêja* ceremony. A few friends only of the hostess are invited to this dance, as it is solely for their own amusement. Their nearest relatives assemble and form themselves into a circle before Gaṇêśa, each carrying in both hands a brass drinking vessel and *tambia*, and another holds a metal plate full of bells, which she strikes with a small stick so as to enable the pebbles (*ghagrya*) to sound, and they dance up and down with violent swinging of the arms, and singing loudly most charming songs. The drummer alone beats his drum, as no fiddler is required for this dance.

In Madras,[13] Tamiḻ girls of certain castes are dedicated to some of the temples and brought up to the profession of dancing. They do not marry, but are permitted to live in professional concubinage; such practices in no way degrade them from the right to caste privileges, provided they do not form intimacies or cohabit with out-castes. Dâsi dancing girls are either the daughters of such, among whom, like other Hindû castes, the profession descends by hereditary succession; or, should these women have no children, which is more frequently the case, they adopt girls of tender age. All girls intended for the profession of dancing are connected with some Hindû temple, to which they dedicate their persons; and in confirmation of the same a nominal marriage ceremony is carried out for the marriage of the girl to the presiding deity of the temple.

Sometimes a Hindû vows in sickness or other affliction to give one of his daughters to some particular temple, to be brought up as a dancing girl, and the vow is scrupulously kept at the proper time.

In the selection of girls for adoption in this profession, good-looking, well-made girls are chosen. The art of dancing is said to be exhibited in six different ways: by the movements of the eyes; the action of the features; attitude of the breast and chest; position of the

[13] *Encyclopædia of India*, Vol. I, p. 36.

hands; action of the feet; and by tumbling, somersaults, &c.,

When attached to temples, dancing girls receive wages, the amount of which is dependent on the income, sanctity and popularity of the particular temple which they have joined. The salary they receive is nominal, seldom exceeding a few annas, and sometimes a rupee or two a month. The chief object in being paid the sum as salary is to indicate that they are servants of the temple. In addition to this, one or more of them receive a meal a day, consisting of a mess of boiled rice rolled into a ball. They are required to dance six times a day at the temple, before the god, while the priests are officiating, but this duty is performed by turns.

Their dancing dress consists usually of the short jacket or *chôlî*, a pair of *ravake* or string drawers tied at the waist termed *paijâmâ*—or *pâvâḍai*,—both these are generally of silk—and a white or coloured muslin wrapper or *sâḍî*. One end of the *sâḍî* is wound round the waist, and two, three, or more feet, according to the length, is gathered and inserted into the portion encircling the waist, and permitting of a folding fringe or gathering of the cloth in front, while the other end, taken after the usual native fashion over the left shoulder, descends towards the waist, where the end or *munḍaṇî* is opened out and allowed to drop in front, one end of it being inserted in the waist on the side, and the other left free. This portion of the *sâḍî* is usually ornamented with gold thread, tinsel, &c.—the free end descends to the middle or lower half of the thigh, the other free end of the *sâḍî* is then passed between the legs and fastened to the tie round the waist at the back, and the whole bound by a gold or silver waist-belt. By this arrangement a fold of the muslin *sâḍî* forms a loop round each leg, and descends nearly to the ankles, whilst the gathering hangs in front. At home they wear the *chôlî* and *sâḍî* with a petticoat or *pâvâḍai*—this is their usual dress, except when about to perform they exchange the *pâvâḍai* for the *paijâmâ* or *sherai*. The *pâvâḍai* is made of chintz or silk, according to the means of the individual. A string of small brass bells is tied round each ankle.

The dancing girl caste have peculiar laws for adoption and inheritance. A dancing girl can adopt a daughter with the permission of the authorities of the pagoda to which she belongs, but she cannot adopt a son for the transmission of property, it being immaterial whether she have a son or not. The adopted girl cannot share her mother's property during her lifetime, and although she may be the heiress, she is not bound by the laws of caste to support her brother's widow. Among dancing girls, property descends in the female line first, and then in the male as in other castes. On the failure of issue, the property of a dancing girl goes to the temple to which she belongs. A simple recognition on the part of a dancing girl of a child as her daughter in the presence of one or more individuals is sufficient to constitute her claim to adoption.

Dancing girls are respected by the Hindû castes, and are allowed to sit in the assembly of the most respectable men, such honour not being accorded to their own wives and daughters. As a rule, it is seldom that these women have children of their own, unless when they live in concubinage with some single individual, consequently they are always anxious to adopt girls, not only to become their successors in the temple, but that they may likewise inherit their property.

Formerly, a large trade was carried on by kidnapping good-looking girls from large towns and remote villages, who were sold to these women. The practice of selling minor girls obtains largely under suppression. The recent famine in Gânjâm, Orissa and Bengal, was taken advantage of, not only by abandoned characters, but also by immoral native princes, for the basest purposes. At a criminal session in Calcutta, two women were sentenced to seven years' imprisonment each, for having purchased a girl under sixteen years of age, for the paltry sum of one rupee ten annas.

In some stations there are said to exist two kinds of dancing girls. The dancing women differ from the pagoda dancers, and the latter are said, as a rule, to live in concubinage. These women are recognised as *Dâsi* and *Dêvadâsi*. The D â s i or dancing women belong for the most part to itinerant bands, and are frequently made up of women of low caste, who practise their professional accomplishments and prefer living in concubinage.

The Śaiva temple of the Suvarṇamukhi

(Kalastrai) a zamîndâr in North Ârkâḍ district, maintains a large establishment of what is termed *dêvadâsi* or temple dancers, forming a distinct community there, who live exclusively in concubinage. Their sons, who know no father, pass by the appellation of Nagari Kannada, or sons of the country, and are slaves to the zamîndâr. Of the daughters. after supplying the vacancies in the temple staff, the remainder are brought as drudges into the palace.

The dancing girls when about to perform are accompanied by two men singers, termed *Naṭṭuvan* and *Padowen*, who while singing also play on cymbals. These instruments are of two kinds and sizes.. While the cymbal is played with the right hand, the left hand open is generally applied to the left ear as they sing, bowing their bodies and swaying from side to side contorting their faces and making grimaces. In singing they scream as loud as they can; one or more old woman—superannuated dancing girls—join in and frequently clap their hands during the performance. Some of these girls are good-looking, handsome, with open countenances, large sparkling eyes, regular features and intelligent appearance. They are perfectly self-possessed and assured in manner, staring at on-lookers with their large eyes. They possess much courtesy and polish, tempered with languid grace and unembarrassed bearing, having all the teaching which experience of the worst side of human nature gives, they know but one form of pleasure,—vice, in which their lives are spent; and their countenances often assume a sodden, pale, and unwholesome aspect. They seldom possess any conversational powers beyond the usual laugh and giggle and monosyllabic replies to common-place questions.

When their services are required outside the temple, larger sums of money have to be paid for them, the charge being increased according to the position of the girl, as some will not go to any one less than a Râja or great man. Some visit other districts when they are required by petty râjas or zamîndârs, and they are engaged for as many days as they have to perform, and are well paid. Should they please the master of ceremonies, they frequently receive valuable presents in money, shawls, gold ornaments, which are bestowed during the performance. Every village of importance has a temple with some of these women attached to it, and in larger towns, having temples noted for sanctity, they are numerous.

ON RASÂLÛ AND ŚÂLIVÂHAṆA OF SIÂLKOṬ.

BY CAPTAIN R. C. TEMPLE, B.S.C., F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S., &c.

In a previous volume[1] I have given a short tale regarding Lonâṅ, wife of Śâlivâhaṇa, and have since chanced on a valuable variant of it in Griffin's *Panjâb Chiefs*,[2] in his account of the descent claimed by Sirdâr Gurditt Siṅgh Chamyârî. This family belongs to the Randhawâ tribe of the Panjâb, which claims, as usual, Râjpût descent.

Randhawâ is said to have been a Yâdû Râjpût of Bikaner[3] and to have flourished about A.D. 1150. From him have descended seven great Panjâbî families, *viz.*, Dharamkoṭ, Ghaniâṅkî, *Chamyârî*, Ḍoḍiâ, Doranghâ or Talwaṇḍi, Kathunangal and Khuṇḍâ. Now-a-days Khuṇḍâ ranks first, while Dharamkoṭ, Ghaniâṅkî and Kathunaṅgal have gone down in the world.[4] Griffin gives accounts of the following:—Khuṇḍâ, Talwaṇḍî, Chamyârî, Ḍoḍiâ, Kathunaṅgal and 'Îsâpuriâ.[5] We have, however, only to concern ourselves now with the house of Chamyârî.

The Randhawâ tribe seems to have emigrated to the Panjâb about A.D. 1540, and to have settled in or conquered Battâlâ, near Amṛitsar, still an important town, and full of legends to the present day.[6]

About A.D. 1750 Sawâl Siṅgh Randhawâ became a Sikh, and fought for the great Hîrâ Singh Bhaṅgî to some purpose, for soon afterwards "he became possessor of a large tract of country on the left bank of the Râvî, including Ajnâlâ and Chamyârî, or Chambyârî (both in

[1] *Ante*, vol. XI, p. 290.
[2] Lahore, 1865, pp. 208-210.
[3] Tod's *Râjasthân*, orig. ed., vol. I, pp. 65-66: Yâdûs=Bhaṭṭîs.
[4] *Panjâb Chiefs*, p. 200.
[5] *Ibid.* pp. 200-218.
[6] See footnotes to *Panjâb Chiefs* at pp. 201 and 204. I have in vernacular some queer stories of the place.

the Amritsar District), from which last place the family took its name."[7] Sawâl Singh was succeeded by Nar Singh, who died in 1806, when that arch-robber, Mahârâja Ranjît Singh took all he could lay hands on from the family, who were still further despoiled by his successor, Mahârâja Sher Singh, till very little but the name remains to them of their former grandeur.

Chamyârî is a very old town, and is connected by legend with the (in the Panjâb, ubiquitous Śâlivâhan[8] of Siâlkot. I give the stories about it in Sir Lepel Griffin's own words.[9] The contrast to the former tale of Lonân given by myself is self-evident.

"Râja Sâlvâhan of Siâlkot, who reigned about A.D. 90,[10] passing with his retinue near the spot where Chamyârî now stands, saw a young girl drawing water at a well. Struck by her marvellous beauty he enquired her name and found that it was Chambâ, and that she was the daughter of the Râjpût Chief of the District. Sâlvâhan asked the girl in marriage, but the father declined as the Râja's name was a terror throughout the Panjâb to both parents and daughters, as he was accustomed to take a new wife every day, and maidens were becoming scarce in the land. But the Râja was not to be denied. He swore that, if Chambâ was only given to him, he would not marry for eight days, and to these reasonable terms the father consented. But by the eighth day Râja Sâlvâhan had grown so deeply enamoured of the beautiful Chambâ, that he was content to divorce all his other wives, and to keep her only for life. To glorify his love and render it immortal he built around the well, where he had first seen her drawing water, the town of Chamyârî, which he called after her name."

"Another story asserts that Chambyârî or Chamyârî was named after the *caste* of Râja Sâlvâhan's favourite wife, whose name was *Lûnâ*, the daughter of Râja Pîpâ of Papnâkhâ, a Champâl Râjpût[11] She was the mother of Risâlû from whom Siâlkot was formerly called Risâlkot. Lûnâ was remarkable for her beauty, though not for her virtue, as the following story will show :—

Ichhrân, another of Râja Sâlvâhan's many wives, became the mother of a beautiful boy, who was named Pûran.[12] The astrologers, who had assembled at the palace to draw the horoscope of the new-born infant, declared that the greatest calamities would befall him should he be seen by his father before his twelfth birthday.[13] In those days astrologers were believed, and a high tower was accordingly built, in which the boy was carefully guarded till twelve years had come, as the attendants thought, to an end, when they brought him to his delighted father. But one day had been omitted from the calculation. The twelve years had not expired.

When Lûnâ saw the lovely boy she fell in love with him at once. This was less her fault, than that of the stars, and at last, unable to control herself she caught Pûran in her arms, and told him all her love. He had not been taught the art of love in his solitary tower and only laughed at Lûnâ's distress, and ran away while she, enraged at the repulse, and, her love turning to hatred, tore her hair and clothes, and when the Râja came in, told him, with weeping eyes, that Pûran had attempted her virtue. The Râja made no enquiries, but straightway ordered that the boy should be taken into the jungle, and there put to death. As the poor little fellow was being carried off by the executioners he begged hard for his life, but for long begged in vain. At length the men promised not to kill him, but they cut off both his hands, and threw him down a well where

[7] *Ibid.* p. 207.

[8] I may help in the catching of this veritable Will-o'-the-wisp of ancient Indian history by drawing attention here to Mr. Thomas's paper on *Indo-Scythian Coins*, *ante* pp. 6-11. The name of the king Śâlivâhana, of his legendary son, Rasâlû, Risâlû, or Sâlû and the legendary foundation of Siâlkot by them both, point to the existence of an old Śâkâ tribe of Śâl or Shâl. In the legends Siâlkot is variously called Sâlkot, Shâlkot and Risâlkot. Now Mr. Thomas, quoting the *Vishnu Purâna*, p. 8 *ante*, gives the tribe of *Śâlwas* in the same list as his Scythian Shandas. Have we not here the tribe that is wanted? There is an important tribe of Siâls in the Panjâb to the present day in the Jhang District, claiming connection with the Panjâbî Ghebâs and Tiwânâs of the Râwal Pindî District and, of course, a doubtful Râjpût descent. See Griffin, pp. 502 ff. and 520. *Târîkh-i-Makhzan-i-Panjâb*, Persian character, p. 226 ff., *s.v.*, Jhangsiâl.

[9] *Ibid.* pp. 209-210

[10] Allusion to the Śâka era A.D. 78. All legends agree about this.

[11] See *ante*, vol. XI, p. 290 and footnote 4, but see Tod, *Râjasthân*, orig. ed., vol. I, p. 72, which would make him a Sampâl Kachhwâhâ Râjpût. There was a tribe of Champâl Râjpûts among the hill tribes of Kângrâ. See Sirdâr 'Atar Singh's *Sâkhî Book*, Benares, 1873, p. 78.

[12] Pûran Bhagat, see *ante* vol. XI, pp. 289-290, and footnote 6.

[13] The same story is told of Rasâlû in more than one legend.

they left him to die.[14] But the life of Pûran was miraculously preserved, and about two years afterwards the great magician, Gorakhnâth, came to the place with his 12,000 disciples. One of these, drawing water from the well, saw the boy, and having taken him out, carried him to the magician, who by enchantments replaced his hands. Gorakhnâth then brought Pûran to the palace and restored to sight Ichhrâṅ, who had become blind with weeping for the untimely fate of her son. Râja Sâlvâhan, confounded by these prodigies, wished to resign the crown to his son, but Pûran would not accept the offer, and renouncing the world became a disciple of Gorakhnâth, with whom he remained until his death."[15]

The poem of *Pûran Bhagat* tells with much greater detail the above tale, and in a variant I have in vernacular MS. Pûran heaps coals of fire on Lonâṅ's head by using his newly acquired magical powers to grant her a son, who should be learned and brave and holy, but who would not remain at home with her, so that she should weep as she had made Ichhrâṅ (or Achhrâṅ) to weep. This son was the great wanderer and conqueror Rasâlû.

The great Panjâbî Sikh family of Sindhâṅwâliâ, of Râja Sâṅsî, near Amṛitsar, claims descent from Śâlivâhan of Siâlkoṭ. They are Sâṅsî Jaṭṭs, but with the wearisome regularity of all Panjâbîs of note claim a Râjpût descent, and say they are Bhaṭṭîs from Ujjayin who migrated under one Shâl, the founder of Siâlkoṭ. Griffin summarily rejects this tale, and what he says on the subject (pp. 12-13), is well worth recording here, if only as an indication as to the proper places to go to for a search into existing stories and traditions. Following local legends, he says in effect that Râja Shâl (Śâlivâhaṇa) was the son of Râja Gaj of Jaysalmîr, and that after the latter's battle with the king of Khurâsân he came to the Panjâb, destroyed Lâhor and built Siâlkoṭ. Here he settled and here were born to him 16 sons, "all of whom became independent, and from whom many of the hill princes have descended." Griffin unfortunately only mentions 6 of them by name, *viz.*, Bâland, Pûran, Ṛisâlû, Dharamgaḍh, Rûpâ and Sundar.[16] The Sindhâṅwaliâs say that themselves and the Bhaṭṭîs (!) are descended from Pûran, who, of course, is the great hero, Pûran Bhagat. Going down through Bâland five generations we come to one Jaudhar, from whom the great (some of them ruling) families of Pattiâlâ, Nâbhâ, Jhind, Malaudh, Bhadaur, Farîdkoṭ, Kaithal and Aṭṭârî claim a common descent.[17] They are all, however, beyond question Siddhû Jaṭṭ Sikhs, who were successful in the struggle for power about 100 years ago.

In a footnote to p. 12 Griffin gives a local account of Siâlkoṭ. Its founder was Râja Shâl, maternal uncle to the Pâṇḍavas, and his descendants reigned there many years, but eventually abandoned it. It was rebuilt by Śâlivâhaṇa "*according to Panjâb chroniclers*, about A.D. 90 (? 78 or 80), and *according to the Bhaṭṭî chroniclers of Râjpûtânâ*, A.D. 16, supposing that Siâlkoṭ is the original Sâlbâhanpûr, the capital of Sâlivâhaṇa." Siâlkoṭ, he says, has been known also as Shâlkoṭ, Shâlkunt, (? Shâlkuṇḍ), Śâkalpûr and Ṛisâlkoṭ from Ṛisâlû, the son of Sâlivâhaṇa. He further says that the Siâls of Jhaṅg claim to have founded Siâlkoṭ, and "that they once settled there and built a fort seems certain, but the town was founded many years before their arrival in the Panjâb."[18]

In the statement that Siâlkoṭ,=Śâkalpûr, was founded by Shâl, maternal uncle to the Pâṇḍavas, we get a clue to the origin of all these fables. Pâṇḍu had two wives, Kuntî and Mâdrî. Kuntî was the daughter of the Yâdava king Sûra, and her brother was Vasudêva, father of Kṛishṇa and Balarâma, and this does not help, except that Kuntî was also the name of a North Indian race. Mâdrî was the sister of the king of the Madras or Bâhîkas, whose capital was Ś â k a l a, which has been identified as the S a g a l a of Ptolemy on the banks of the Biyâs, S.W. of Lâhor, and as the S a n g a l a of Alexander. Madra extended from the Biyâs to the Chinâb or Jhelam.[19] The *Mahâbhârata*

[14] Still shown at Siâlkoṭ on the road to Kallowâl.

[15] Gorakhnâth, however, was at least 8 centuries *later* than Pûran Bhagat. The above is the received legend of Pûran Bhagat

[16] Tod, vol. II, p. 192, gives 8 more; Vâchâ, Lekh, Jaskara, Nemâ, Mât, Nîpak, Gangâû and Jagâû

[17] Griffin's *Râjas of the Panjâb*, 1873, pp. 1-11, 282-3, 380, 546-7.

[18] Cf. note 7, *suprâ*.

[19] Trumpp in his *Âdî Granth* p. lxxxix, footnote, quotes some verses from the *Vichitra Nâṭak* by the 10th Sikh Gurû Govind Siṅgh (A.D. 1675-1708):—

V. 281. *Pâṭnâ sahar bikhai bhawa layo; Madrades ham ko le âe.*

"I took birth in the City of Pâṭnâ. He (Gurû Teghbahâdur 1664-75) took me (then) to Madradês." Govind

mentions the Bâhîkas as an impure race out of the law. So does Pâṇini.[20] Our Râjâ Shâl then becomes the brother of Mâdrî and king of S â k a l a, and an aboriginal king ruling between the Biyâs and the Jhelam with his capital at the modern Siâlkoṭ.

Let us now turn to the Śâlivâhaṇa, father of Rasâlû. As the son of the Yâdû Râjpût prince, Râja Gaj of Jaysalmîr, we in a sense get at his date. From Tod's account of Râja Gaj, it seems pretty evident that he and his father, Râja Rijh (= ? Richpâl) fought the Muḥammadans sent towards India by the celebrated Ḥajjâj-bin-Yûsaf As-Sakafî, who was a great man from 693 to 714 A.D.[21] After his wars with the Musalmâns, and after his father's death Śâlivâhaṇa founded Sâlbâhanpûr = Siâlkot, where he reigned 33 years.[22] This makes him out as living *circ.* 700-740 A.D., and gives his son, Rasâlû, a later date.

Fifth from Śâlivâhaṇa, according to the Bhaṭṭî chronicles, came Râo Kehar, whom Tod looks on as unquestionably a contemporary of the Ommiad Khalîfa Walîd, who flourished 705-714 A.D. He also takes it as certain that Kehar's foundation of Tannoṭ in A.D. 731 is correct. Previously, in annotating the annals which relate to the wars of Rijh and Śâlivâhaṇa with Hajjâj's people, he seems to think that the chroniclers had mixed up the Musalmân with the Greek irruptions, and that these heroes were contemporary with Antiokhos the Great.[23] However, if the chronicle is to be trusted at all, and Kehar, fifth from Śâlivâhaṇa, flourished 700-740 A.D., Śâlivâhaṇa himself could not have been earlier than 600 A.D.

Tod also gives some inscriptions: one dated St. 597, shows that "the mighty warrior Jit (? Jaṭṭ) Sâlindra," was reigning at Sâlpura or Sâlpurî about 409 A.D. and that he was of the Sârya or Sârwya race. This Sâlpurî, another inscription dated 1160 A.D., shows as being situated in the Siwâliks. The descendant of Sâlindra who put up the first inscription was called Sâlichandra, and the second was put up by Kumârpâl Solânkhî, to commemorate his victory over Sâlpurî as late as A.D. 1160.[24]

Griffin, in his *Râjas of the Panjâb* (pp. 2 and 9), shows that one tradition places the Sâlbâhan invader of the Panjâb and ancestor of the modern Siddhû Jaṭṭ families, as late as 1180-1200 A.D.

All my legends about Rasâlû, and, I believe, most of those current about him in the Panjâb, make him a contemporary of the great Râja Hodî. This hero's date the latest researches seem to fix as about 200 A.D.[25]

Scythian kings, then, called Śâl or Śâlivâhaṇa, seem to have ruled at Siâlkoṭ from the epic times to the 8th century A.D.

To recapitulate. We have thus a Scythian tribe extending from the epic times to the present date called successively Śâlwa, Śâla or Shâla, Sârya or Sârwya and Siâl, occupying a site called in successive eras Śâkala, Σαγαλα Σαγγαλα; Śâlkoṭ, Shâlkoṭ, Shâlkuṇḍ or Śâkalpur or Risâlkoṭ; Sâlbâhanpûr, Sâlpurî, Sâlpura, Siâlkoṭ, and ruled by a series of kings known as Śâla or Shâl; Śâlivâhaṇa or Sâlbâhan, Sâlindra, Śâlichandra, Rasâlû, Risâlû, Śâlû. And the succession of these kings seems to have been this :—

Śâla or Shâl; B.C.; Epic period.

Śâlivâhaṇa; Vikramâditya's enemy; 1st century, B.C.

Sâlivâhaṇa; Śâka era; 1st century, A.D.

Rasâlû; contemporary of Hodî; 3rd century, A.D.

Śâlindra; 400, A.D.

Śâlichandra; 550, A.D.

Śâlivâhaṇa, son of Gaj; 7th century, A.D.

Rasâlû, his son; 7th century, A.D.

King of Sâlpurî; 1150, A.D.

Sâlbâhan, ancestor of the Siddhû Jaṭṭs; 1180-1200 A.D.[26]

That there were a series of Śâlivâhaṇas, whose lives and doings have been all mixed up in legend and fable, I have no doubt, and some-

Siṅgh was born at Pâṭnâ and passed all his youth at Anandpûr, Hoshiârpûr District, on the Biyâs. At that time the places connected with the Sikhs especially, were Amṛitsar, Kîratpur and Anandpûr, Chamkaur, Mâchîwâṛâ and Kartârpûr, which are respectively in the Amṛitsar, Hoshiârpûr, Ambâlâ, Lûdiânâ and Jalandhar Districts. These then were the Madra country in the 17th century A.D.

[20] Dowson, *Dict. of Hindu Mythology*, *s. v. v.*, Śâkala, Madra, Mâdrî, Bâhîka. Cf. also legend of Sagara and his *aśvamedha* sacrifice.

[21] *Râjasthân*, orig. ed., vol. II, pp 189-90. Cf. account of Nâsiru'd-dîn Qabâcha in Beale's *Dict. Oriental Biog.* *s.v.*

[22] *Ibid.* pp. 192, 189-198.

[23] *Râjasthân*, vol. II, pp. 189, 196, 200.

[24] *Ibid.* vol. I, pp. 88, 629, 630, 636.

[25] *J. R. A. S.* vol. XIII, p. 200, vol. XIV, pp. 328-331. *J. A. S B. Proc.*, 1879, pp. 135-6, 212.

[26] *Râjasthân*, vol. II, pp. 211-212; ruled in Jaysalmîr A.D. 1168-1200.

thing will have been done towards clearing up the mystery if I have herein shown how they may be separated.

After the above had been sent to press, I was put in possession of Prinsep's admirable *Settlement Report of the Siâlkoṭ District.*[27] It contains (pp. 38-50), as might be supposed, a longer account of the history of Siâlkoṭ town than is to be found elsewhere, and which curiously confirms much that I have above written.

Prinsep, giving the local tradition, says that Shûn, Hûn and Dal were the three sons of Râja Râchor (?) of Râjpûtâna, whose armies from Ujjayin and Indaur overran the Panjâb from Lâhor to Multân and from Kasûr to Siâlkoṭ, and that their name is preserved in the Sandal Bâr (or Forest). Afterwards, in the days of Vikramâditya, the Shundals were the most powerful non-aboriginal tribe in the Panjâb.[28]

Siâlkoṭ, he says, formerly called Salkot, was founded by Râja Sal of Pâṇḍu renown, after whose dynasty it passed into the hands of the Kaśmîrî Râja Sûmdatt (?). Afterwards, when Vikramâditya reigned at Ujjayin, Râja Salwân[29] built the fort and established the principality of Siâlkoṭ. This Râja Salwân belonged to the Siâ (? for Siâl) tribe, who are to be found to the present day.

Then follows a curious legend to account for Śâlivâhaṇa's birth. A Khattrânî, when bathing[30] in the Aik which runs past Siâlkoṭ, was wooed by a serpent called Bâsak Nâg. She conceived and bore a son, called Salwân, who rose to be a great man of power and wealth, and through the assistance of the snake was made a king. It is said that Vikramâditya visited Siâlkoṭ, and Salwân refusing to go and meet him, a severe battle was fought in which the former lost his life; and Râja Salwân exulting over his triumph caused the era to be changed to that of Śâka. This miraculous birth of Śâlivâhaṇa is merely the legendary way of saying that his father was of non-Aryan and his mother of Aryan descent, and the story of his establishment of his era in consequence of his *victory over Vikramâditya* is quite contrary to the usual legend, and very well worthy of remark.[31]

According to the same account Śâlivâhaṇa had two sons, Pûran and Risâlhû, as Prinsep calls him. Pûran became a *faqîr*, which so incensed his father that he had his hands and feet cut off and thrown down a well in Karaul (Kallowâl), near Siâlkoṭ, called Pûran's well to this day, whither female pilgrims resort on Sundays and new moons for the removal of boils and the hope of offspring. The water of the well is very cold, and possesses healing qualities.

About 360 A.D. Râja Hodî, the Gakkhar (according to Prinsep), had established himself along the Indus between Kâlâbâgh (in Hazârâ near Maṛhî or Murree), and the fort of Atak. He took possession of the country west of the Jhelam and contracted an alliance with Rasâlû, who promised him his daughter. Rasâlû, however, did not fulfil the promise, and Hodî attacked Siâlkoṭ. On this Rasâlû shut himself up in his fort, which Hodî besieged in vain for six months, and at last in revenge he plundered the country of the Shundals and the Jaṭṭs. This made them join forces and meet him at Saṅgsâgh, about 14 miles S.E. of Lâhor, and the site of Σαγγαλα. The war was concluded by the young lady on whose behalf it had begun, for she eloped to Lam, near Lâhor, where Hodî was encamped, and managed to reconcile him to her father. Her name was Sâraṅg, and she was so called from the place of reconciliation, *viz.*, Sâraṅg or Sarangirî, the ruins of which are near Sauriâṅ, 12 miles N.E. of Lâhor. Râja Hodî after this gave his newly acquired territory to Râja Karm, Rasâlû's son, with the title of Mâlik-i-mulk,[32] and Sâraṅgirî became an

[27] It is a great pity that these *Reports* are so difficult of access. Many are altogether out of print, and none are easy to obtain. No systematic collection of them in the public libraries seems to have been made, which is all the more to be regretted, as they all contain local historical information that is simply invaluable to the antiquarian.

[28] For a notice of the Śâka and *quasi*-Râjpût tribe of Hun or Han, see Tod, *Râjasthân*, vol. I, pp. 82-84, 99 and of the old Râjpût tribe of Chandel, vol. I, p. 89ff; V. Smith, *J. A. S. B.*, vol. XLVIII, (1881), pp. 285-296, pp. 7-26.

[29] The Rev. A. C. Swynnerton, who has been taking down these legends as told in the Peshâwar District, in a late communication to the Folklore Society, also calls him Salwân. I have never seen this form of the name myself. He also gives the name of Pûran Bhagat as Râja Pûran.

[30] Cf. Story of Lonâṅ, *ante*, vol. XI, p. 290. The same story is told at Paiṭhan on the Gôdâvarî; *Arch. Sur. W. Ind. Report*, vol. III, p. 55.—ED. I. A.

[31] Beale, *Dict. Orient. Biog.*, *s.v.*, Sâlbâhan gives a curious note that he was "the son of a potter, and lived at Paiṭhan on the Gôdâvarî. His era is still used in the Dakhan, and its date is 78 A.D."—See *Arch. Sur. West. Ind.* vol. III, p. 55.

[32] Observe the very modern form of this title!

appanage of the Sîâ family. Rasâlû died in A.D. 400, after which Pûran cursed the country, and under the spell of the curse it lay 300 years, till in the year 790 A.D. Râja Nirâwat supported by the Ghandaurs[33] of the Yûsafzai country came and demolished Sârangirî.

Putting together the legends collected by Tod, Griffin, Prinsep and myself, I have a suggestion to make, which, as it appears to me, it would be well worth the while of experts to follow up. It is well known that for many centuries one of the chief signs of independence or monarchy in India was the establishment of a mint, and it seems to me to be almost impossible that kings evidently so remarkable, and of probably so recent a date as Rasâlû and Hodî[34] should have passed away without leaving a coinage behind them. I would therefore seek for Râja Rasâlû and Śâlivâhana of Siâlkot, kings of the Śiâls or Śâls, in the Syâlâpati or Syâla of the coins.[35] This would make them out at any rate as subsequent to the Muhammadan irruptions into Sindh and Kâbul or say about 800 to 900 A. D., confirming Tod's and Griffin's legends. With more doubt I would also suggest seeking for Hodî or Hodî in the Huvishka or Hushka of the coins.[36] If the above connections can be established we shall have all that we can expect to get regarding these monarchs—*viz.*, their coins and their story.

FOLKLORE IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

BY S. M. NAṬÊŚA ŚÂSTRÎ PAṆḌIT.

I. THE STORY OF THE THREE DEAF MEN.

When any awkward blunder occurs from a person acting under a mistaken notion, there is a common proverb in Tamil to the effect that the matter ended like the story of the three deaf men—(*Muchchevidan kadaiyây muḍindadu.* The following is the story told to explain the allusion :—

In a remote village there lived a husband and wife. Both of them were quite deaf. They had made this household arrangement, to cook cabbage with tamarind and soup without tamarind one day, and cabbage without tamarind and soup with tamarind on the other. Thus on every alternate day the same dishes were being repeated. One day, when taking his meal, the husband found the tamarind cabbage so very tasteful that he wanted to have it also next day, and gave instructions to that effect. The deaf wife did not understand the order. According to the established rule she cooked cabbage without tamarind next day. The husband when he sat down to his meal found his order disregarded and, being enraged thereat, threw the cabbage against the wall, and went out in a rage. The wife ate her bellyful, and prepared tamarind cabbage for her husband.

The husband went out, and sat down in a place where three roads crossed, to calm down his anger. At that time a neatherd happened to pass that way. He had lately lost a good cow and calf of his, and had been seeking them for some days. When he saw the deaf man sitting by the way, he took him for a soothsayer, and asked him to find out by his knowledge of *Jôshyam* where the cow would likely be found. The herdsman, too, was very deaf; and the man without hearing what he was saying, abused him, and wished to be left undisturbed. In abusing him the husband stretched out his hand, pointing to the neatherd's face. This pointing the neatherd understood to indicate the direction where the lost cow and calf would be found. So thinking, the poor neatherd went on in that direction, promising to present the soothsayer with the calf if he found it there with the cow. To his joy, and by mere chance he found them. His delight knew no bounds. "That is a capital soothsayer. Surely I must present him with the calf." So thought he with himself, and returned with them to the

[33] ? Gandapurs, Cf. Tod, vol. II, p. 194 and footnote to p. 196. See also Hastings *Regular Settlement of the Peshâwar District*, 1878, para. 42, dating this irruption as being in the 9th century, A.D.

[34] A native gentleman has lately promised to procure for me a MS. account of Hodî from Jodhpûr in Râjputânâ, where he says the legend is a universal favourite!

[35] See Elliot, *Hist. of India*, Vol. II, pp. 421, 422 and, 425, 426, and all the authorities there quoted. Coins now worn to illegibility, like those of Wilson's Śrî Syâlapati Deva, Pl. XIX and p. 430, No. 13, *Ariana Antiqua*, are to be found everywhere in the Panjâb. I sent a bag full to the *Jour As. Soc. Beng.* in 1881 from Pânipat and Sunpat.—See *Numismatic Chron.* 3rd Ser. Vol. II, pp. 129 ff.

[36] Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua*, pp. 373-376 : *Proc. A. S. B.* (1879), 135-136 and 212 : Weber *on the Râmâyana*, Boyd's Translation, p. 62. Could coin No. 14, Pl. xix. and p. 430, *Ariana Antiqua* be read as Sri Hodî, or something like it? Wilson reads it "Sri Hari (?)" and a synonym for Hodî is Hâdâ.

deaf man, and pointing to the calf requested him to accept it.

Now it unfortunately happened that the calf's tail was broken, and crooked. The man thought the herdsman was blaming him unreasonably for having broken the calf's tail, while he knew nothing about it, and so by a wave of his hand denied the charge. This the neatherd mistook for a refusal of the calf, and a demand for the cow. The neatherd said, "How very greedy you are! I promised you only the calf, and not the cow." The husband said, "Never; I know nothing of either your cow or calf. I never broke the calf's tail. Some other must have done it." Thus they were quarrelling without understanding each other for a long time, when a third party happened to pass by. Understanding the subject well, and desiring to profit by their stupidity, he interfered and said in a loud voice, and yet so as not to be heard by the deaf husband, "Well, neatherd, you had better go away with the cow. The Soothsayers are always greedy. Leave the calf with me, and I shall make him accept it." The neatherd, much pleased to have secured the cow, walked home, leaving the calf with the third person. When the neatherd had gone the passenger said to the deaf man, "You see how very unlawful it is for the neatherd to charge you with an offence which you never committed. It is always the case with neatherds. They are the biggest fools in the world! But never mind, so long as you have a friend in me. I shall somehow explain to him your innocence, and restore him the calf." The husband, much pleased, ran home to escape from the supposed guilt. At the expense of the stupidity and deafness of both, the third passenger walked home with the calf.

The husband on his return sat down for his dinner, and his wife served him the tamarind cabbage. He happened to put his finger to the place where the cabbage without tamarind had previously been served on the leaf. On applying it to his mouth he found it so very sweet that he demanded that dish again. The wife replied to him that she had already emptied the pan. "Then at least bring me the cabbage that is sticking against the wall," said the husband; and the wife did accordingly.

Here ends the story. The latter portion is also said to be the explanation of a proverb that is prevalent in Tamiḻ,—*Śevuru kîraiyai vaḻichchu pôḍuḍi śuṉaikeṭṭa mûḻi,*" meaning, "O thou feelingless deaf woman, give me at least the cabbage that is sticking on the wall." This proverb is applied to stubborn wives who would have their own way, and not obey their husbands easily among unrefined society.

MISCELLANEA.

THE PROVERBS OF ALI BIN TALEBI.

Translated by K. T. Best, M.A., M.R.A.S., Principal, Guzerat College.

Continued from p. 152.

107. The unfriendliness of neighbours is more injurious than the stings of scorpions.

108. The height of religion is faith, the height of faith is persuasion.

109. The height of knowledge is to know oneself.

110. The riches of the pious are in God.

111. The aim of a wise man is to prepare for the day of judgment.

112. The riches of a wise man lie in his wisdom, but those of a fool in his possessions.

113. The wrath of kings is a messenger of death.

114. The love of a friend is shown in affliction, and the excellence of his consolation in poverty.

115. A grateful mind continues benefits, an ungrateful one causes them to cease.

116. Every king except God is a slave.

117. Every bird betakes itself to one like itself

118. Every chest becomes tighter by that which is put in it except knowledge, which extends itself more and more.

119. How many are sad whose sadness tends to eternal life.

120. How many are joyful whose joy tends to eternal misery.

121. How will any one have leisure for another life whose heart is engaged in worldly things.

122. How will any one escape God who flies from himself? and how will any one who seeks destruction avoid it?

123. How will any one who errs lead another life?

124. A man has sufficient knowledge if he know his own faults.

125. Be contented and you will be rich, be confident and you will be powerful.

126. Be a defender of the oppressed, but an enemy of the oppressor.

127. Every day hastens to the morrow.

SANSKRIT AND OLD-CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo.C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

(*Continued from p.* 162.)

No. CXLVI.

About two miles to the north-west from Bhêlsâ, the chief town of the Tahsîl of the same name in the Îsâgaḍh District in the dominions of Scindia, there is the well-known hill of Udayagiri, with a small village of the same name on the eastern side of it. Among the numerous cave-temples on this hill, there is one which General Cunningham has named "No. 9; the Amṛita Cave."[1] There are four pillars inside this cave. And, on the north face of the pillar that is immediately on the left as one enters the cave, there is a short inscription which may be of some interest in connection with the controversy regarding the establishment of the Vikramâditya era. The characters are Dêvanâgarî, of the period to which the inscription belongs, *viz.*, the eleventh century A.D., as recorded in the upper part of it. The language is Sanskṛit, and it is very corrupt; I give the text just as it stands in the original.

The first three lines are evidently intended to record the visit of a pilgrim named Kanha to this cave. The fourth line contains the date of Saṁvat 1093, or A.D. 1036-7, which is evidently the year in which he visited the cave. And the remaining four lines contain the really interesting part, *viz.* a statement that the cave was made by Chandragupta, and that the reign of Vikramâditya came after that event.

There can hardly be any doubt that the Vikramâditya here referred to is the great Vikramâditya, after whom the era which bears that name was named. And the other inscriptions at Udayagiri shew that the Chandragupta here spoken of is Chandragupta II., the son of Samudragupta, of the Gupta family. We seem, therefore, to have here a record of tradition of the eleventh century, A.D., to be taken for what it may be worth, to the effect that the reign of the Vikramâditya, after whom the era was named, was at least subsequent to the time of Chandragupta II. of the Gupta family.

[1] *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. X. p. 52.

Text.[2]

[1] Namô Śrî-jîrṇṇ-ôdhâri-
[2] Kaṁnha praṇamati
[3] Vîshṇu-pâdau nityaṁ |
[4] Saṁvat 1093
[5] Chaṁdraguptêna kî-
[6] rtanaṁ kîrtîtaṁḥ |
[7] paśchât Vîkra-
[8] mâditya-râjyaṁḥ |

Translation.

Reverence! Śrî-Kaṇha, the restorer of that which has become decayed, perpetually does obeisance to the two feet of (*the god*) Vishṇu. The year 1093. (*This*) temple was caused to be made a temple by Chandragupta. Afterwards (*there was*) the reign of Vikramâditya.

No. CXLVII.

The original plates, from which the present inscription is published, belonged to Sir Walter Elliot, K.C.S.I., and were obtained from 'Ahadanakaram' in the Madras Presidency. They have been presented by him to the British Museum. They are five in number, each about 8¾" long by 2⅞" broad; one of them, however, is quite blank, having no writing on either side of it; it must have been intended as a guard-plate, though it was not needed, as neither the first nor the last plate has any writing on the outer side. The edges of the plates were raised, so as to serve as rims to protect the writing; and the inscription is in a state of perfect preservation throughout. The ring is a plain copper ring, about ⅓" thick and 3¾" in diameter: it had been cut when the grant came into my hands; it probably had originally a seal attached to it; but none is forthcoming now. The language is Sanskṛit down to line 17. From there to the end, it is Old-Telugu. The orthography is rather inaccurate; and I do not feel quite sure that this a genuine grant. It also seems to have been left unfinished.

The inscription is, or purports to be, one of the Eastern Chalukya king Vishṇuvardhana IV. or V.; but there is nothing

[2] From the original stone.

in it to enable us to say which of the two reigns it is to be allotted to. It is not dated. I am not able to translate the Telugu portion, and have not succeeded in obtaining any translation of it. But the inscription seems to record either a grant by Vishṇuvardhana of the village of Pṛithivipallavapaṭṭana, or a grant by the inhabitants of that village.

Text.[3]

[1] Svasti Śrîmatâṁ sakala-bhuvana-saṁ[s*]tûyamâna-[Mâna*]vya-sagôtrâṇ[â*]ṁ Hâri-
[2] ti-putrâṇâṁ Kô(kau)śî(śi)kì-vara-prasâda-labdha-râjyànâ[ṁ*] mâtṛi-gaṇa-parip[â*]li-
[3] tânâṁ [Svâ]mi-Mahâsâ(sê)na-pâd-ânâ(nu)duâ(dhyâ)ntha(tâ)nâ[ṁ*] bhagavan-Nârâyaṇa-pra-
[4] sâda-sada[4]-samâsâdita-varâ(ra)-varâhalâñchhan-â(ê)kshaṇa-kshaṇa-vaśîkṛi-
[5] t-[â*]ratî(ti)-maṇḍalânâṁ aśvamêdh-âvabhṛitha-snâna-pavitrîkṛita-vapush[â*]ṁ Châ-

Second plate; first side.

[6] ḷukyânâṁ k[u*]lam=alaṁkarishṇô[ḥ*] sv-[â*]si-dhârâ-prabhâv-âvarjjit-âśrê(śê)shamahî-maṇḍala-
[7] sya Śrî-Vishṇuvarddhana-mahârâjasya [pautraḥ*] bhru(bhrû)-bhâ(bha)ṁga-mâtra-vidhûta-samâ(ma)st-ârâti-maṇḍalasya
[8] kâriṇa anêka-tulâ-dhṛita-śâtakumbha-viśrâṇan-[â*]vadâta-śari(rî)rasya Śrî-Vija-
[9] yâditya-mahârâjasya priya-tanayaḥ chakravatthi(rtti)-lakshaṇ-ôpêtaḥ Chakra-
[10] dhara iva Lakshmi(kshmî)-vallabhaḥ bhâsvân=ity(v)=ôpajâ[5]yamân-ôdayaḥ chandra iva ja-

Second plate; second side.

[11] gad-âhlâdana-karaḥ sura-gaja iva dâna-va[r*]shî jalanidhir=iva gambhi(mbhî)ra-satvaḥ Yudhishṭhira iva
[12] Bhı(bhî)masên-ânvitaḥ Kâtthi(rtti)kêya iv=âpratihata-śaktiḥ śakti-tray-ôpêtaḥ chata-sṛishu nṛi-
[13] pa-vidyâsu vichakshaṇaḥ yuddhêshu vishama-siddhiḥ a[r*]tthi-janê kâmadhênuḥ stri(strî) shu Ma-
[14] karadhvajaḥ ripu-timira-vidhvaṁsanê pralay-âdityaḥ jvalat-pratâp-ânala-jvâ[6]l-âvali(lî)-
[15] ḍa(ḍha)-ripu-nṛipâ(pa)ḥ [śî*]ghra-pavanaḥ vijigi(gî)pu(shu)r=ddharmma-vijayi(yî) para-ma-brahmaṇyaḥ para[ma*]-mâhê-

Third plate; first side.

[16] śvaraḥ sarvvalôkâśraya-Śrî-Vishṇuvarddhana-mahârâjaḥ râshṭraku(kû)ṭa-pramukhâ[7]n ku-ṭi(ṭu)mbinaḥ sa-
[17] rvvân=ittham=âjñ[â*]payati [|*] Viditam=astu vô=smâbhiḥ Svasti Pri(pṛi)thî(thi)vi-pal[l*]avapaṭṭana[ṁ*]buna ûrî(ri)-
[18] vâru Karigaḷḷavaḍava(vâ?)riki(?kiṁ) ûri-svâmuḷ ichchina sti(sthi)ti Reṇḍu(?ṇṭu)vâḍala-paṭṭanâvuraku
[19] ariyuḍagu teṟeyu siddhâyabu(?buṁ) daṇḍu(?ṇṭu) das(ś)-[â*]parâdhabunu sarvva-bâda(dha)-pa-
[20] riyâruvu ûru dâya-sesi ichchi dinikivakrabuṁ ḷedu vachchina-vâru gaḷareni ûri-sti(sthi)ti-
[21] dappinavâru dinikivakrabuṁ vachchina-gachchuru Reṇḍu(?ṇṭu)va(vâ?)ḍala elemuva-rulemulave-
[22] si-nadiyu channu(?)viripayinâdu(ḍu)varugaḷgina eḷemuḷachesina seyuḍusanu

Third plate; second side.

[23] mahanabiyuḷ narâḷôka-mahasatthavuḷ virâpavamahanabiyuḷ(?) gajñabu(?buṁ)se-
[24] ḻḻa(?thu)-nadupuḷ śa(sa)masta-bhuvana-śrîya-kanadiraju-badrapereya ûrı paninavrasivara

[3] From the original plates.

[4] These two letters, *sada*, are an unmeaning repetition from the preceding *sâda*.

[5] The â is formed here in an entirely exceptional way,—being turned downwards, in addition to being attached to the top stroke of the *ja*.

[6] Here the â is turned upwards; but it is again attached to the top stroke of the *ja*.

[7] This *akshara* is a very anomalous one; but it cannot stand for anything except *khâ*.

IIa.

11b.

11a

IIIb.

IV.

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH, PECKHAM

[25] vayyeti-mâhanabhiḷ vayyeti-mahabhiḷ panikoḷuchenerakapañchinavrasi(?se)
[26] vayyeti-mahanabhiyuḷ sa(?)kala-konthukaḷ sa[r*]vvalôk[â*]śraya-mahâsatthavaḷ
[27] perdda(?ttâ)ḷ ne(ni?)ravadya-mahâsartthavaḷ pasiṇḍi(?ṇṭi)mudhluvetandalacharuvayya-Vishṇuvarddhana-ma-
[28] ha-satthavaḷ pasukshevula-konthukaḷ achchakurravaniyu-konthukaḷ gajabum(?)sedhra(?)la-
[29] nadupuḷ prithimi(vi)-mahasartthavaḷ vetandaḷ po(?pau)nikanthi(?)ramukoḷa-nadupu Vishṇuvarddhana-

Fourth plate.

[30] mahasatthavala-konthukalu niravadya-prithivi-kanadirajuḷ gunavana-mahanabhiyuḷ
[31] mudda(?ṭṭa)kañchikoḷ Ramisvarâ-prithivi-mahasartthavaḷa apayajanuva-kâla-koṇḍu(?ṇṭu)-kaḷ korindhikoḷ
[32] karigala-prithivi-mahasatthavala-konthukaḷ nandi-maha-navila-nadupu śrî-maha-
[33] satthavaḷa sakâ[la*]lôk[â*]śrayya(ya)-prithivi-mahasartthavala-Div[â*]karayya-pañcha(?)-
[34] koḷ śrî-jashṭipendaṭṭarragandhânthu

THE GANGA AND BÂṆA DYNASTIES.

BY LEWIS RICE, M.R.A.S.

Fresh light which adds to our knowledge of former times in India is always welcome, and for such we are indebted to the Rev. T. Foulkes. In an appendix to Mr. LeFanu's *Manual of the Salem District*, he has given accounts of several inscriptions found in that part, among which are four containing grants by Bâṇa kings. From these we not only obtain a long and circumstantial history of the Bâṇa dynasty, but also particulars regarding the Gaṅga kings which go to confirm their genealogy as compiled by me,[1] and supply new information regarding them.

A grant by the Bâṇa king Hastimalla, undated, but followed by one in the 15th year of the reign of the Chôḷa king Kopparakesarivarma who took Madura, made on the application of Mâvali Vâṇa Râya, contains verses thus translated by Mr. Foulkes:—"May the Gaṅga dynasty, chief of conquerors, flourish; of which the great muni Kaṇva was the founder, born in the illustrious line of Kaśyapa, and distinguished for his great austerities; and which derived increased importance from king Siṁha-Nandi. There was a king named Koṅgaṇi, the most distinguished prince of all the Gaṅga race, of the line of Kaṇva, who dwelt in the great city of Kuvaḷâlapura, the abode of the goddess of fortune; he was consecrated to conquer the kingdom of Bâṇa. While he was yet a little boy playing at big boys' games, he cut in two a great stone pillar at a single stroke with the supple sword which he held in his hand; and when the assembly of his enemies saw his principal great white-winged banner raised in the van of battle, they were filled with fear. In his line, illustrious for the birth of Śrî-Vishṇugopa, Hari, Mâdhava, Durvinîta, Bhûvikrama, and other kings, Pṛithuyaśâ was born, the wealthy, the great hero Pṛithivîpati, the son of Śivamâra. He saved both Diṇḍikojeriga and Nâgadanda when they were affrighted, by giving them the assurance of his protection; the one from king Amôghavarsha, the other from the jaws of an unprecedented death. He, by whom his enemies' troops were slain with the sword in the battle of Vaimbalguḷi, cut a piece of bone out of his own body with a sharp knife, and cast it into the waters of the Ganges. He, who with his own arm conquered the brave Pâṇḍya king Varaguṇa in the great battle of Śrîpura, went to heaven by sacrificing his own life, when he had justified his friend's title of Aparâjita. Śrî-Mârasiṁha was born as his son, lord of men, a bright light of the Gaṅga race, the sole abode of honour, and mighty as the sun in dispelling the darkness of the race of his enemies. He had a son, Kêsarî, of a placid countenance, honoured from his birth, a sure wishing-tree to his friends, and a destroying fire to his

[1] *Mysore Inscriptions*, Intro., p. xl.

enemies, named Prithivîpati, the leader of kings, who bore in battle the blows struck by the enemies of the king of the Abhîras. From him, who was the royal lion (Râjasiṁha) of the overflowing Gaṅga race, and seized his royal enemies with his claws in battle, a certain king received consecration," &c.

We hence learn that the following was the succession of the Gaṅga kings from Śivamâra, who has been assigned to A.D. 668, each being the son of his predecessor :—

Śivamâra.

Prithuyaśâ, Prithivîpati, protected a refugee from Amôghavarsha, conquered the Pâṇḍya king Varaguṇa. (Mârasiṁha.)

Kêsarî, Prithivîpati, (? Siṁha Nandi), restored the Bâṇa dynasty.

According to the Hosûr and Nâgamaṅgala plates,[2] Śivamâra also had the names Nava-kâma and Koṅgaṇi, and was the younger brother of Śrî-Vallabha. His son is not named, but his grandson was Bhîmakôpa, who would thus be the same as Mârasiṁha. He was followed by Râja-Kêsarî, the same doubtless as Kêsarî above. Then comes the donor, Śrî-Purusha or Prithuvî Koṅgaṇi, whose relationship is not stated, but who began to reign in 727 and made the grants respectively in 763 and 777. These accounts, therefore, seem consistent with one another, and with probability. Were the dates of Amôgha-varsha, who must have been a Raṭṭa king,[3] and of Varaguṇa the Pâṇḍya king, known, they would have helped to fix the chronology.

In taking exception to the history of the Gaṅga dynasty published by me,[4] as gathered from inscriptions which had come into my hands and other sources, and which is borne out by the present fresh evidence, the main ground upon which Mr. Fleet rests his objections[5] is that Mârasiṁha of the Gaṅga line, who, according to a stone inscription at Lakshmêśwar published by him,[6] made a grant in Śaka 890, is there described as the younger brother of Harivarmâ, who, according to a copper-plate inscription also published by him[7], made a grant in Śaka 169. From which Mr. Fleet draws the conclusion :—" There can be no doubt whatever that the dates of the copper-plate grants are spurious, and that the date of the Lakshmêśwar stone tablet inscription is the true one for the third generation from the founder of the dynasty." We now know that there was a Mârasiṁha among the Gaṅga kings long before the one who made the Lakshmêśwar grant; and as for the genealogy there given it is clearly not complete,[8] while the expression *tasyânujaḥ*, if meant literally, is, in the face of the superior evidence we have, simply wrong.

The Gaṅga history is not indeed clear of all doubts—of what ancient line can this be said ?—but the main facts as deduced by me seem to be fairly attested and entitled to acceptance. There are, I may add, Gaṅga stone inscriptions in Mysore yet unpublished. At Śivârpaṭṇa, which seems to have been called Meṇḍîmangala, there are two grants by Śrî-Purusha, one dated in the 28th year of his reign,[9] the other undated.[10] There is another at Chikmagaḷur, dated in the 6th year after Mâdhava Mahârâjâdhirâja had enfeoffed Râcha-Malla.[11]

The Bâṇa dynasty is one of which nothing has hitherto been known beyond what was published by me[12] in connection with the only two inscriptions discovered of theirs, at Gûlgânpode. But those now brought to light introduce us to a long and interesting account, which, while it bears out the details I had gathered from one or two meagre references, adds considerably to our knowledge of the early history of *Maisur*.

The grant by Vikramâditya contains

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[2] *Mys. Ins.*, pp. 284, 287. For fac-similes see *Madras Journal* for 1878, p. 142, and *Ind. Ant.* vol. II, p. 156.

[3] Perhaps Kakka I, if we may rely on the hypothesis suggested by me that the peculiar Raṭṭa titles ending in *varsha* were in constant relation with certain names. Mr. Fleet at first opposed this idea (see vol. XII, p. 112), but has since allowed that "there is of course a good deal of force in it," (see vol. XII, p. 223).

[4] *Mys. Ins.*, Intro., p. xl.

[5] *The Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts of the Bombay Presidency*, p. 11; reprinted in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XII, p. 111.

[6] *Ind. Ant.* vol. VII, p. 101.

[7] *Id.* vol. VIII, p. 212.

[8] This may be indicated by the word *apicha*, which is similarly used to show a break in the narrative in l. 18 and again in l. 22; also by the indefinite way in which the account of Mârasiṁha begins with *âsît*.

[9] *Śrî Goṅguṇi Mahârâja Śrî-Purusha prithuvî râjya vijaya saṁvatsara ippadi eṇṭaneyoḷu.*

[10] *Śrî-Purusha Mahârâjaru prithuvî râjya geye.*

[11] *Râcha-Mallange vaṭṭan gaṭṭid âṟaneya varsha.*

[12] *Mys. Ins.*, Intro., p. xlix; *Ind. Ant.* vol. X, p. 38.

the following genealogy as translated by Mr. Foulkes:—"From him (Bali) sprung his son Bâṇa, the abode of virtue, and mighty in strength; who possessed the great pure favour of Śambhu; on whose head are the rays of the lustre of the crescent moon; with whose sword the armies of his enemies were slain; the foe of the Suras. In his extended line Bâṇa-adhirâja was born, as the cool-rayed moon in the milk sea; who hewed his enemies in battle with his keen-edged sword; of undiminished glory. When Bâṇa-adhirâja and many other kings of the race of Bâṇa had passed away, then at length Jaya Nandivarmâ was born in that line, the chief abode of victory and wealth. That unrivalled hero, mighty in strength, ruled the earth to the west of the Ândhra country, cherishing it as a peerless bride of high birth; his feet were tinged by the head-jewels of kings. From him was born a son named Vijayâditya: the congregation of whose enemies was subject to him; and even on the field of battle his foes could not stand before him, but fled away seized with terror. From him a son was born, Śrî Malla Dêva, who was called Jagadêkamalla; whose arm was expert in cutting up the whole of his enemies; the source of undiminished merit and fame; who was as Anaṅga to womankind. By him a son was born of his queen, Śrî Bâṇa Vidyâdhara, incomparable and illustrious, as Shaṇmukha was born of Pârvatî by Hara; he repelled the whole multitude of his enemies; he was very learned; and his pure fame was as a whisk to the ears of the elephants of the points of the compass; and his feet were worthy to be worshipped by kings. His son was Prabhu Mêrudêva; who expelled all his enemies; whose mind was intent on the four branches of knowledge; unassuming; a fountain of irresistible valour and glory; courageous; and free from the sorrow caused by sin. From him a son was born, named Vikramâditya; of unequalled wealth; before whom a multitude of enemies bowed down; whose great fame was spread abroad; humble; a chief amongst the families of kings; whose heart was fixed on the two lotus-feet of the lord of Pârvatî. Of him a son was born, named Vijayâditya, whose enemies fled from him in battle, terrified at his overpowering strength; whose second name was Pukaḷa-vippava-Gaṇḍa,[13] unbearable to his enemies; the cloud-like elephants cleft asunder by his sword in battle, rained forth their blood like water. Of him a son was born named Vikramâditya Vijayabâhu; who followed the path of righteousness, and was a chief lamp of the Bâṇa dynasty; before whom a crowd of enemies humbly bowed down; the dear friend of Kṛishṇa Râja," &c.

The grant by Hastimalla, after the pedigree of the Gaṅga kings already quoted, in which it is said of Koṅgaṇi I that "he was consecrated to conquer the kingdom of Bâṇa,"[14] continues as follows:—"From him (Kêsarî or Pṛithivîpati) a certain king received consecration, as a boon of favour, to enable him to assume the position of lord paramount of the Bâṇas. It was that king who was suddenly taken possession of by a host of virtues when they were seized by Kali, in order to be free from the experiences of sorrow and joy, saying, 'This man is born of the race of Bali,' namely, heroism, charity, gratitude, amiability, sympathy, memory, patience, cleverness, purity, tranquillity, dignity, benevolence, and justice dominated by mercy. He cleft asunder the kings of the hill-country as if they had been tender young leaflets (*pallava*); he was the friend of righteousness, whose hand always held a gift, the upholder of the earth, the brother of the goddess of prosperity, who was appropriately called by the second name of Hastimalla. This Hastimalla, the black-bannered, the king of *Padivipurî*, whose crest was the bull, and who used the monster drums in battle, the lord of *Nandi*, having upon his own humble petition received permission from king Parakêsarî," &c., makes the grant.

We thus learn that the Bâṇa kings ruled a territory to the west of the *Ândhra* country; that they were subdued by the Gaṅgas in the reign of Koṅgaṇi I; but that a succession of Bâṇa kings continued to rule, of whom we have the names of eight, and from the *Gûlgânpode* inscriptions it may be inferred

[13] Or Pukalappa-vara-gaṇḍa. Cf. the epithet *Gaṇḍa-paḍi-vapa* applied to Vîyala Vijyâdhara in the first Gûlgânpode inscription.

[14] *Bâṇa-maṇḍala-jayâya-kṛit-âbhishêkaḥ.*

they were independent[15]; that the last of these was the friend of Krishṇa Râja, very likely a Raṭṭa king; that the Chôḷa king Vîra Nârâyaṇa "suddenly uprooted the Bâṇas;" and that the line was at length re-established by the Gaṅga king Kêsarî, or Pṛithivîpati, in the person of Hastimalla. The titles of the new king, which were no doubt as far as possible a revival of the old ones of the *Bâṇa* kings, were *Krishṇadhvajaḥ, Paḍivipurgy-adhipa, vrishâṅkaḥ, paiśâchadundubhir-ayyudhi, Nandinâthaḥ.*

Mr. Foulkes adds extracts from the *Pratâpa-Rudriya*, indicating the power of the Bâṇa kings as late as the end of the 13th century, and from *Trivikramavṛitti*, a Prâkrit grammar of the 15th century, to show that Trivikrama, its author, claims descent from the royal race of the Bâṇas. I would also refer, for the beginning of the 16th century, to the Tekal inscription,[16] which speaks of Gôpa Râja as "the conqueror of Bâṇâsura."

The existence of a line of Bâṇa kings is thus fully established; and they seem, from their family name, to have been descendants of the Mahâvali or Mahâmalla kings, supposed to have been the rulers of Mahâbalipura, who, according to Sir Walter Elliot's inscription,[17] were subdued by the Chalukya king Vikramâditya I, in the 7th century. The statement that their territory lay to the west of the Ândhra country, and the discovery of their two inscriptions at Gûlgânpode, show that their kingdom was situated in the *Kolar* District in the east of *Maisur.* The title of Nandinâtha seems to refer to the town of *Nandi,* which is at the foot of Nandidurga; this hill-fort itself, however, must have been retained in the possession of the Gaṅgas, if, as is most likely, it is represented in the title some of them bore of Nandagirinâtha. But possibly Nandagiri may refer to Nandaguḍi in the same neighbourhood.[18] Nandi eastwards, and Tumba[19] westwards, point out the general lie of the later Bâṇa kingdom as in the upper basin of the Pâlâr. The city of Padivipuri, or Paḍavipuri, apparently their capital, has not been identified; but an old city to the south of *Vellore,* called *Paḍavêḍu,* has been suggested.

With all this information we are yet unable to fix absolutely the Gaṅga and Bâṇa chronclogy; when more is known of that of the Chôḷas, at present involved in so much uncertainty, it may be possible. But it has more than once occurred to me that perhaps the title of Gaṅga-koṇḍa assumed by one of the Chôḷa princes, and which reappears in the name of the city, Ganga-koṇḍân-Choḷa-puram[20] may furnish a clue to the date of the overthrow of the Gaṅga kingdom by the Chôḷas:[21] for the Hoysala king Vishṇuvarddhana, with reference to a victory at Kâñchî, is similarly styled Kañchi-goṇḍa,[22] the capturer of Kâñchî.

DOORWAY OF A TEMPLE.

BY THE EDITOR.

The accompanying plate represents one of those very elaborately carved doorways that form so marked a feature of the Châlukyan temples in the eastern portions of the Dhârwâḍ district. Some remarkably fine specimens of this class are to be found at Gadag and Lakkundi, but some have been reft from the temples to which they originally belonged, and where alone they were in keeping with the style, and built into modern clumsy erections.

The example here represented, from a native drawing in possession of Sir Walter Elliot, is now in the Madras Government Museum.

[15] As Prabhu Mêru now proves to be a proper name, my translation of the phrase *tannan âḷva prabhu mêru besase* must be altered accordingly, to "by command of Prabhu Mêru who was his governor," instead of "by command of the great lord who ruled him."

[16] *Mys. Ins.*, p. 208. I remember seeing a note in the Mackenzie MSS. that there were grants, dated in the 13th century, by Mahâvali Bâṇa Mahârâja at Śrîvilliputtûr. Mr. Sewell in his *Madras Antiquities*, p. 305, says there are two inscriptions there of grants in A.D. 1453 and 1476 by Vîra Valivânâthi Râya. Could this be Śrî Mâvali Vâna adhirâya?

[17] *Seven Pagodas*, p. 127; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. VI, p. 76.

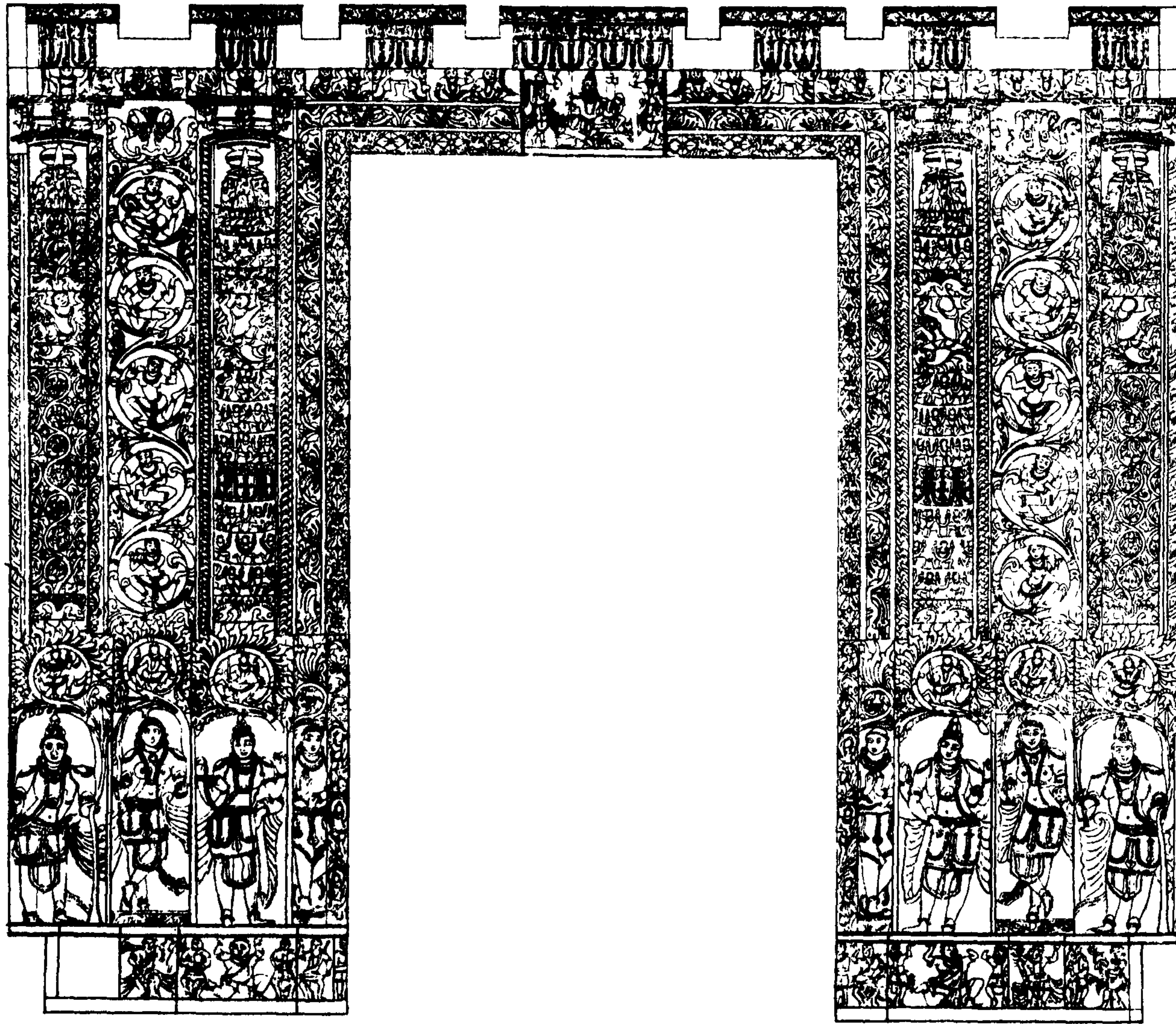
[18] See the legends regarding it given in my *Mysore and Coorg*, vol. II, p. 16.

[19] To the west of *Chittur.*

[20] Doubtless the same as the Gâṅga-kuṇḍa of Bilhaṇa's *Vikramâṅkadêva Charita*, see Dr. Bühler's Introd. p. 35.

[21] Dr. Burnell says, "According to an inscription at Chidambram, Vikrama Pâṇḍya was succeeded in the 11th century by his son Vîra Pâṇḍya, who was conquered by Koppâkêsari the Chôḷa. He established his younger brother on the throne there. This prince's name was Gangai-kkoṇḍa Choḷa, but he took the name Sundra Pâṇḍya Chôḷa (Inscr. at Karuvûr)." *S. Ind. Pal.* p. 45.

[22] *Mys. Ins.* p. 331.



W. Griggs photo-lith.

DOOR OF A TEMPLE.

Unfortunately a portion of the band of scroll work containing figures, on the upper portion of the right-hand side, has been destroyed, and a restoration of it attempted in wood; but whereas the figures in each scroll in the stone-work are different, the restored ones are all alike.

Nothing can exceed the richness of detail of the sculptures round these doorways. In this respect they far excel those of most of the older Jaina temples of Gujarât and southern Rajputana, which there can be little doubt formed the original models for the carving of the splendidly sculptured *mihrâbs* that specially distinguish the early Muḥammadan mosques of Aḥmadâbâd.

This doorway must have been brought from the east of Dhârwâḍ or possibly from the Raichur Doâb. Like those at Lakkundi, Dambal, &c., it is carved in a very dark but not hard stone, the same as is used in so many of the old temples in Kannaḍa districts, especially for pillars, which in many cases have been turned in a lathe form by placing the pillar upright on a pivot upon a stone at the bottom of a pit (possibly filled with water) and then whirling it round against a harder polishing stone or tool.

PAPERS ON ŚATRUÑJAYA AND THE JAINAS.

BY J. BURGESS, LL.D.

(*Continued from vol. II, p. 357.*)

VI. THE JAINA RITUAL.

In Jaina temples the *pûjâ* is performed thrice daily; in the morning, about noon, and in the evening. The first or morning service usually begins soon after half-past six, when the Pûjâri who performs the *pûjâ* and who is always a Śrâvaka, having already bathed or, if not, having at least washed the five members of his body—the mouth, two hands, and two feet—opens the temple. On placing his foot inside the door he exclaims in Mâgadhi *nissahi* or *nissarahi* (Sans. *nissara*), 'be off,' meaning thereby that he leaves all worldly concerns behind while he is in the temple. By some this *nissahi* is repeated several times and by others only once; properly it should be used thrice: when entering the *maṇḍapa*, when going into the Garbhagṛiham or shrine, and before commencing the *Chaitya-vandana* prayer. He first sweeps the temple and lights a lamp, which he places on the right hand of the image of the Tîrthaṁkara. To the left of the image he places an incense-stand—*dhûpadân*—with fire, sprinkling incense over it; and sometimes he waves a lighted incense-stick before the image. There is no fixed formula of waving this, as in the description of the *Ôṁkâra*[1] by the Hindus.

After the *dhûpa* offering follows the *vâsakhêpa* (Sans. *vâsakshêpa*), or throwing of the *vâsa* powder. This powder is made from sandal, *barâs*[2] or camphor, musk (*kastûri*), amber, and saffron (*kêśara*). First, the sandal is rubbed on a stone with water, and made into a paste. It is then dried and reduced to a fine powder, to which are added the other three scents, *barâs*, musk, and amber. A little saffron is dissolved in water; and this yellow preparation is poured over the scented sandal and the whole made into a paste which when dried and pounded becomes the sacred powder of the Jains, technically called by them *vâs* (Sans. *vâsana*) scent.

After the *dhûpa* ceremony this *vâsa* powder is taken by the Pûjâri between his forefinger and thumb and dropped either on the right toe alone, or on each of the nine members (*aṅgas*)[3] of the image. No *mantras* are uttered in the morning during the *vâsakhêpa*. If he has not bathed, the Śrâvaka is prohibited from touching the image with his hand. After this ceremony the Pûjâri comes out of the shrine and with rice describes the *Svastika* or *Sâtya* on a small table or box (*bhaṇḍâr*) in the maṇḍapa. Above the *Svastika* he places three small heaps of rice with a crescent above them. This crescent is called *Siddhaśalya*. On the *Svastika* he places fruit, and *naivêdya* on the *Siddhaśalya*. The three small heaps of rice symbolize *jñâna* (knowledge), *darśana* (perception), and *charitra* (conduct)—

[1] See Râmêśvaram Ritual, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XII, p. 319.

[2] Dr. Dymock informs me that *Barâs* or *Bhîmasêni* camphor is distinct from common camphor. It is obtained from the *Dryobalanops aromatica* (Gärtn.) and is worth about Rs. 100 per pound. The odour is that of camphor with the addition of *pachauli* or ambergris.

[3] The nine *aṅgas* are (1) the two toes, (2) the two knee-joints, (3) the two wrists, (4) the two shoulders, (5) the crown of the head, (6) forehead, (7) neck, (8) the breast, and (9) the navel.

the means by which a Jaina reaches *Siddha-śalya*—the rock or stone of the Siddhas or sages. After describing the *Svastika*, the Pûjâri stands in the maṇḍapa at a distance of at least nine cubits from the image. He takes the end of his *uparaṇa* or upper garment, which he wears in the same way as the Brâhmaṇa *yajñôpavîta*, between his hands; and after sweeping the ground with it he stands erect and waving his joined palms thrice with the end of the cloth between them, he inclines his head slightly, and again sweeps the ground, with the Mâgadhi *mantra*—

इच्छामि खमासमणो वंदिउं जावणि ज्झाए

and kneeling, he places his hands on the ground and touches it also with his forehead adding—

निसिहि आए मत्थएण वंदामि.

This is called the *Pañchâṅgapraṇâma*,[4] or the bowing of the five members.

He next performs the *pradakshiṇa* three times round the *Bhaṁti*. He then sits on his hams in the *Yôgamudrâsana*[5] posture, *i.e.*, with the palms joined, holding the front part of the upper cloth with the end of it swinging, and brings the joints of his thumbs to a level with his nose.[6] Before actually beginning the prayers the Pûjâri requests the permission of the Tîrthaṁkara in the Mâgadhi words,—

इच्छाकारेण संदि सह भगवन् चैत्यवंदनकरु

meaning, 'may I be permitted to perform the *Chaityavandana*.' He then answers for himself *ichchhaṁ*, 'as you desire,' then he repeats one of the *Chaityavandana* prayers. These *vandanas* are nine in number, all being prayers to the Chaitya. There are three main divisions of them according to length, viz., *Jaghana*, *Madhyama*, and *Uttama*, which again permutated in twos give the nine sub-divisions of (1) *Jaghana-jaghana*, (2) *Jaghana-madhyama*, (3) *Jaghana-uttama*, (4) *Madhyama-jaghana*, (5) *Madhyama-madhyama*, (6) *Madhyama-uttama*, (7) *Uttama-jaghana*, (8) *Uttama-madhyama* and (9) *Uttama-uttama*. Of these nine forms the 7th *Uttama-jaghana* is the one mostly chosen. It is sung without any *svara* or peculiarity of intonation as follows:—

सकलकुशलवल्ली पुष्करावर्तमेघः
दुरिततिमिरभानुः कल्पवृक्षोपमानम् ॥
भवजलनिधिपोतः सर्व्वसंपात्तिहेतुः
स भवतु सततं वः श्रेयसे शान्तिनाथः ॥

He next repeats the *Jaṁkiṁchi*,—

जंकिंचि नाम तित्थं ॥ सग्गे पायाले माणुसे लोए ॥
जाइं जिणबिंबाइं ताइं सव्वाइं वंदामि ॥

"Whatever Tîrtha there is
In heaven, in the nether world, in the world of men,
As many as there are images of Jainas
Those all do I adore."

After this comes a *Śakrasthava*, or one of the prayers[7] addressed by Śakra to the Tîrthaṁkara—

नमुत्थणं, अरिहंताणं, भगवंताणं, आईगराणं, तित्थयराणं, सयं संबुद्धाणं, पुरिसुत्तमाणं, पुरिससीहाणं, पुरिसवरपुंडरीआणं, पुरिसवरगंधहत्थीणं, लोगुत्तमाणं, लोग नाहाणं, लोग हिआणं, लोग पईवाणं, लोग पज्जो-अ गराणं, अभयदयाणं चखुदयाणं, मग्गदयाणं, सर-णदयाणं, बोहिदयाणं, धम्मदयाणं, धम्मदेसयाणं, धम्म-नायग्गाणं, धम्मसारहीणं, धम्मवर चाउरंतचक्कवट्टीणं,

[4] The *Pañchâṅgas*, or five members here, are the two knees, the two palms, and the forehead.

[5] *Yôgamudrâsana* is the same as the *Padmâsana*. Among the Jainas *Padmâsana* is applied only when speaking of the posture of the Tîrthaṁkara or other images, and *Yôgamudrâsana* when speaking of persons. Those that by disease or otherwise are unable to sit in Yôgâsana sit with a knee raised up and bent.

[6] The palms thus folded are said to be in lotus bud, *mudrâ* or *kamaladôd*.

[7] Prayer, in the sense in which the word is used by modern Western nations, influenced by Christian ideas, can hardly be said to exist in the Oriental rituals. With them it is merely a work of religion, a good action prescribed as a test or sign of devotion, the performance of which operates—if not always as a mere charm, at least as a merit, to win by its acceptableness the favour of the god. Hence its publicity and prescribed formulæ. Even later Judaism did not entirely escape from the temptation thus to make prayer, as well as almsgiving and fasting a work of "righteousness," and so to court publicity and use repetitional forms rehearsed by rote (*Matt.* vi, 5, 6, and Conf. Dykes, *Manifesto*, p. 375). In striking contrast, and as if recognising that prayer belongs so characteristically to the spiritual and personal side of religious life and is of its own nature so free as to be incompatible with prescriptions, we find, among the minute regulations by which all other parts of Hebrew worship were ordered, no instructions either for the public or private petitions of the people (Conf. Branne, quoted by Stier, *Reden Jesu* on *Matt.* vi, 5). Yet we know that among them prayer in its true sense was cherished as a spontaneous and essential feature of their religious life. With the Śrâvaks and Buddhists, who ignore a personal overruling God, prayer in the sense of genuine adoration or petition would be incongruous. Their "vain repetitions" are mere charms supposed to act, in some way or other, as *opera operata*, to shorten or tend to shorten the weary round of inconceivably numerous transmigrations that lies before even the most devout before he can reach *nirvâna*. Social or family prayer does not of course exist, in any true sense, outside the Christian and Jewish religions.

अप्पडिहयवरनाणं, दंसणधराणं, विअट्टछउमाणं, जिणाणं जावयाणं. तिन्नाणं तारयाणं, बुद्धाणं बोहयाणं मुत्ताणं मो अगाणं, सव्वन्नूणं, सव्वदरिसिणं, सिव मयल मरुअ मणंत मखय मव्वा बाह, मपुणरावित्ति सिद्धिगई, नामधेयं, ठाणं संपत्ताणं नमो जिणाणं, जियभयाणं, जेअअईआसिद्धा जेय भविस्संत णागए काले संपइअ वट्टमाणा सव्वेतिविहेण वंदामि ॥

After the above follows the Mâgadhi *mantra*—

जावंति चेइआइं ॥ उड्ढेअ अहेय तिरिअ लोएअ ॥
सव्वाइं ताइं वंदे ॥ इहसंतो तत्थ संताइं ॥

Next, he says,—

इच्छामि खमासमणो &c.,

as before. Then in Mâgadhi—

जावंत केवि साहु ॥ भरहेरवय महाविदेहेअ ॥
सव्वेसि तेसि पणउं ॥ तिविहेण तिदंडविरयाणं ॥

And next, the Sanskṛit prayer called *Pañcha-paraméshṭhî namaskâra* or *Namôrhat*,—

नमोऽर्हन्सिद्धाचार्योपाध्यायसर्वसाधुभ्यः ॥

This is followed by the *Sthavana*, a Mâgadhi hymn—

उवसग्ग हरं पासं ॥ पासं वंदामि कम्म घण मुक्कं ॥
विसहर विस निन्नासं ॥ मंगल कल्लाण आवासं ॥ १ ॥
विसहर फुलिंगमंतं ॥ कंठे धारेइ जो सया मणुउं ॥
तस्स गह रोग मारी ॥ दुठ्ठ जरा जंति उवसामं ॥२॥
चिट्ठनुदूरेमंतो ॥ तुष्भप्पणामो विबहु फलो होइ ॥
न रतिरिएसु विजीव ॥ पावंति न दुखदो गच्चं ॥ ३ ॥
तुह सम्मत्ते लद्धे ॥ चिंतामणिकप्प पायवप्भहिए ॥
पावन्ति अविग्घेणं ॥ जीवा अयरामरं ठाणं ॥ ४ ॥
इअ संथुउं महायस ॥ भत्तिप्भर निप्भरेण हिअएण ॥
तादेव दिज्जबोहिं ॥ भवे भवे पास जिणचंद ॥ ५ ॥

After it he repeats the *Pranidhána*, sitting in the *Muktásukti* posture, in which he holds his joined hands above the level of his forehead :—

जयवीयराय जगगुरु ॥ होउ ममं तुहप्प भावउं भयवं ॥
भवतिव्वेउ मग्गरणु ॥ सा रिआ इठ्ठ फलसिद्धी ॥ १ ॥
लोगविरुद्धच्चाउ ॥ गुरुजणपूजा परत्थकरणंच ॥
सहगुरु जोगो तव्वय ॥ स सेवणा आभव मखंडा ॥ २ ॥
वारि जइ जइविनिआणं ॥ बंधणं वी अराय तुह सम ॥
तह विममहुज सेवा ॥ भवे भवेतु ह्यचलणाणं ॥ ३ ॥
दुखखउ कम्मखउ ॥ समाहि मरणंच बोहिलाभोअ ॥
संपजउ महएअं ॥ तुह नाह पणाम करणोणं ॥ ४ ॥
सर्व मंगल मांगल्यं ॥ सर्व कल्याण कारणं ॥
प्रधानं सर्व धर्माणां ॥ जैनं जयति शासनं ॥ ५ ॥

Next comes the Mâgadhi *mantra*—

अरिहंत चेइआणं ॥ करेमि काउस्सग्गं ॥
वंदण वत्तिआए ॥ पूअण वत्तिआए ॥ १ ॥
सक्कार वत्तिआए ॥ सम्माण वत्तिआए ॥
बोहिला भवत्तिआए ॥ निरुव सग्ग वत्तिआए ॥ २ ॥
सद्धाए, मेहाए, धिईए ॥ धारणए, अणुप्पेहाए ॥
वठ्ठमाणीए, ठामिकाउस्सग्गं ॥ ३ ॥

अन्नत्थ उससिएणं, नीससिएणं, खासिएणं, छीएणं, जंभाइएणं, उड्डुएणं, वायनीसग्गेणं, भमलिए पित्तमुच्छाए सुहुमे हिं अंगसंचालेहिं, सुहुमेहिंखेलसंचालेहिं, सुहुमेहिंदिठ्ठि संचालेहिं, एवमाइएहिं आगारेहिं, अभग्गोअविराहिउ, हुज्जमेका उस्सग्गो, जाव अरिहंताताणं भगवताणं, नमुक्कारेणं, नपारेमि, तावकायेणं ठाणोणं, मोणेण, जाणेणं अप्पाणं वोसिरामि ॥

He then rises and stands erect in the *Jina-mudra*, with the toes 4 fingers apart, and heels 3, with the palms of the hands towards the thighs, and in this posture he mentally repeats the Mâgadhi *naukára*, viz. :—

नमो अरिहंत्ताणं, नमो सिद्धाणं, नमो आयरिआणं नमो उवज्झायाणं, नमो लोए सव्वसाहूणं, एसो पंचनमुक्कारो सव्व पावपणासणो, मंगलणंच सव्वेसिं, पढमं हवइ मंगलं ॥

After this he repeats part of a Mâgadhi *Thui*. (Sans. : *sthuti*), such as—

कल्लाणकंदं पढमं जिणिंदं ॥ संतितउ नेमिजणं मुणिंदं ॥ पासं पयासं सुगुणिक्कठाणं ॥ भत्तीय वंदे सिरिवद्धमाणं ॥

Next, he salutes the Tîrthaṁkara in such songs as he may choose. And, lastly, he strikes the *jayaghaṇṭá* or bell and retires from the *maṇḍapa*, exclaiming *Avassahi* (Sans. *Ávishyámi*), *i.e.*, 'let me enter' the outer world. Here ends the morning *pûjá*.

The second or noon *pûjá* begins about 10 o'clock A.M., when the Pûjâri enters the temple after having bathed in his own house; or at the temple if there is provision there for so doing.

In bathing, the following rules are to be observed :—He must sit facing the east; wash the ten *kakávalis* or members of the body, the names of which begin with *ka*, viz.,—the two ears (*kán*), the two wrists (*káṇḍá*), the two ankles (*káṇḍá*), the two armpits (*kaksha*), neck (*kaṇṭha*), and loins (*kaṭi*). He should then rub his body with a clean white cloth and enter the temple with a vessel

containing water to wash his feet before entering the *maṇḍapa;* he dries his feet on the mat outside and then enters the shrine, exclaiming *nissahi.* He wears the *uttarâsana* or upper cloth folded into eight plies, with the end of which he ties up his mouth to prevent his breath polluting the image.

On entering he washes the stone (Guj. *orôsiyô*), on which the *kêsari* is prepared. He puts new *kêsari* on it and rubs it with a piece of *chandan* or sandalwood. Some *barâs* is also mixed with it, and the whole paste is collected in a cup. A part of this is also taken in a smaller cup, and from this the Pûjâri marks the four parts of his body; forehead, neck, breast and navel. The larger cup of sandal paste he puts on a brass tray, together with incense, flowers, &c., and enters the garbhagṛiham or shrine. There he puts the tray aside.

He then removes the old flowers, and dusts the image with a *môrpiñchi* (Sans. *mayûrapuchchha*), a soft brush, formed of peacock's feathers. Then he dips a cloth in water, and wipes the image to remove the previous day's sandal paste. To places where the saffron adheres he applies a *Vâlakuñchi*, or brush, formed of *Uśira* roots.[8] Thus the idol is cleansed of all the saffron of the previous day. *Pañchâmṛita* is then prepared of milk, curd, *ghi*, water, and candied sugar. This preparation is taken in a *kalaśa*—a vessel like a teapot without handle—and poured over the image; on ordinary days a *kalaśa* with one hole in the nozzle is used; on festival and other sacred days, one with a rose having 108 holes is employed. After pouring on the *Pañchâmṛita* he takes pure water in another *kalaśa*, and pours it over the image with the Sanskrit *mantra* :—

स्नातस्याप्रतिमस्य मेरुशिखरे शच्याः विभोः शैशवे
रूपालोकनविस्मयाहृतरसभ्रान्त्या भ्रमच्चक्षुषा ॥
उन्मृष्टं नयनप्रभाधवलितं क्षीरोदकाशंकया
वक्त्रं यस्य पुनः पुनः स जयति श्रीवर्द्धमानो जिनः॥१॥
हंसांसाहतपद्मरेणुकपिशक्षीरार्णवांभो भृतैः
कुंभैरप्सरसां पयोधरभरप्रस्पर्द्धिभिः कांचनैः ॥
येषां मंदररत्नशैलशिखरे जन्माभिषेकः कृतः
सर्वैः सर्वसुरासुरेश्वरगणैस्तेषां नतोहं क्रमात् ॥ २ ॥
अर्हद्वक्त्रप्रसूतं गणधररचितं द्वादशांगं विशालं
चित्रं बह्वर्थयुक्तं मुनिगणवृषभैर्द्धारितं बुद्धिमद्भिः ॥
मोक्षाग्रद्वारभूतं व्रतचरणफलं ज्ञेयभावप्रदीपं
भक्त्या नित्यं प्रपद्ये श्रुतमहमखिलं सर्व्वलोकैकसारं॥३॥
निष्कंपव्योमनीलद्युतिमलसदृशं बालचंद्राभदंष्ट्रं
मत्तं घंटारवेण प्रसृतमदजलं पूरयन्तं समन्तात् ॥
आरूढो दिव्यनागं विचरति गगने कामदः कामरूपी
यक्षः सर्व्वानुभूतिर्दिशतु मम सदा सर्व्वकार्येषु सिद्धिं॥४॥

Taking three different *aṅgaluhaṇas* (towels), he wipes the image three successive times. Then he washes the throne or pedestal on each side of the image; this is called *pôthôkaravu.* He next washes his hands, and taking the sandal paste he marks the image in the nine places (*aṅgas*) above indicated in the morning *pûjâ;* with the remaining sandal he describes figures on the image. While marking it with sandal paste, he repeats the following Gujarâtî *mantra* :—

जल भरि संपुट पत्रना जुगळीक नर पूजंत
ऋखभचरणअंगूठडे दायक भवजलअंत ॥ १ ॥
जानुबलें काउसग रह्या विचर्या देशविदेश ।
खडांखडा केवळ लह्युं पूजो जानु नरेश ॥ २ ॥
लोकांतिकवचने करी वरश्या वरशीदान
करकंडे प्रभु पूजतां पूजो भवि बहुमान ॥ ३ ॥
मान गयुं दो अंसथी देखी विरज अनंत
भुजाबले भवजळतर्या पूजो खंध महंत ॥ ४ ॥
सिद्ध शल्या गुग ऊजळी लोकांतिक भगवंत
वशिया तिण कारण प्रभु भवि शिर शिखा पूजंत ॥ ५ ॥
तीर्थंकरपद पुण्यथी त्रिभुवनजन सेवंत
त्रिभुवनतिलकसमा प्रभु भालतिलक जेवंत ॥ ६ ॥
सोल पहोर दई देशना कंठविवरवरतुल्य
मधुरध्वनि सुरनर सुणे तिण गले तिलक अमुल्य ॥ ७ ॥
हृदयकमल उपसम बळे वाळ्या राग ने द्वेष
हेम दहे वनखंडने हृदयतिलक संतोष ॥ ८ ॥
रत्नतुल्य गुण उजळी सकळसगुणविसराम
नाभिकमळनि पूज्यना करता अविचल धाम ॥ ९ ॥
उपदेशक नवतत्वना तिण नव अंग जिणंद
पूजो बहुविध रागसुं कहे सुभ वीर मुणंद ॥ १० ॥

The tenth verse is repeated with the hands folded.

After this follows the *pushpapûjâ*, or the worship by flowers. The Pûjâri takes the flowers from the tray brought with him, and

[8] *Uśira*, the root of a fragrant grass, *Andropogon muricatum.*

throws them on the image with the Gujarâtî *mantra* :—

प्रणित ध्याने सद्गति होवे पूजाथि केम नवि होय
सुमनसभावे दुर्गता पूज्यपंचाशक जोय ॥ १ ॥
शतपत्रीवर मोगरो चंपक जाय गुलाब
केतकि दमणोवोलसरी पूजो जिन भरि छाब ॥ २ ॥
केतकि जाय ने मालती फुले गुंथी माल
प्रभुजिने कंठे जडावतां वरिये शिववरमाल ॥ ३ ॥

He throws flowers also on the nine members above enumerated ; and, if there is a garland, he puts it round the neck of the image ; the *dhûpa* is then presented with the Gujarâtî *mantra* :—

पावक दहे सुगंधकूं धूप कहावत सोय
उखेवत धूप जिणंदकुं करमदहन छिण होय ॥ १ ॥
धूप उखेवत जे जना प्रभु आगळ बहु मान
दुर्गंधा दूरे टळे पामे अमरविमान ॥ २ ॥

Next, the *dîpa* (lamp), is presented with the Gujarâtî *mantra* :—

केवळ ज्ञानपयावरु जेम लहे लोक
तेम पूजा द्रव्यदीपनी करतां शिव पणु होय ॥ १ ॥
जगदीपक प्रभुदीप जे करतां भावो जेह
अवराणु जे अनादिनुं ज्ञान लहो निजदेह ॥ २ ॥

After each act of worship with its particular *mantra*, a general *mantra* is uttered in Sanskṛit :—

ओँ ह्रीं श्रीं परमात्मने परमपुरुषाय परमेश्वराय अनन्तानन्तज्ञानशक्तये जन्मजरामृत्युनिवारणाय श्रीमत् जिनेन्द्राय जलं चन्दनं पुष्पं धूपं दीपं अक्षतं नैवेद्यं फलं अजामहे स्वाहा.

After this he waves the *châmara* before the image, fanning it ; and then he comes out into the *maṇḍapa* and on the *Bhâjat* (a small low table) or *bhaṇḍar*, he makes the *akshatapûjâ* as in the morning service with the Gujarâtî *mantra* :—

अक्षयफललेवा भणी अक्षतपूजा उदार
आभव पण नाविक्षय हुवे राजरीधभंडार ॥

He then offers fruit (*phala*) on the *svastika* with the Gujarâtî *mantra* :—

फलपूजाकरतां थकां सफल करो अवतार
फल मागु प्रभुआगले तार तार मुज तार ॥
जसफल ओपम जग नहि पांम्यापछि नहिं अंत
अव्याबाध अचल अरज मागुं शिवअनंत ॥

Next he offers *naivêdya* on the *Siddhaśalya* with the Gujarâtî *mantra* :—

हवे नैवेद निवेदना कीजे जिमहलीराय
भवनिर्वेद प्रभुमुखे करतां शिवसुख थाय् ॥

Then follows the *Chaityavandana* as in the morning *pûjâ*, after which he retires saying, *âvissahi*, 'Let me enter' the outer world. Then the lamps are put out, and the temples shut.

The evening *pûjâ* is a very short one. It begins between 5 and 6 P.M., when the pûjâri after his afternoon meal enters the temple pronouncing the indispensible *nissahi*. He then lights the lamp and performs the *dhûpapûjâ* and *ârati*—the latter consisting of the waving of a lamp of five wicks before the image. Then follows the waving of the *mangaladîpa*, a lamp lighted with oil and wick. Music is at this time played by the Bhôjakas or others in the *maṇḍapa*. The pûjâri then retires saying, '*âvissahi*.' This concludes the evening *pûjâ* Every time he comes in or goes out he strikes the *ghaṇṭâ* for joy.

Of the sacred days of the Jainas, the *Chhavvachchari* or *Pajjushaṇa* begins on the 12th day of the Kṛishṇapaksha of Śrâvaṇa and ends on the 4th of the Śuklapaksha of Bhâdrapad. During the first 7 of these 8 days the *Kalpasûtra* or sacred code of the Jainas is read and explained to the Śrâvakas by the priests. The last day is confession-day, when it is considered imperative on every strict Jaina to make *chhavvachahari* or confession to a priest; hence this last day is so called from this. This confession is called *Âlavaṇa* (Sans. *âlapana*, to speak, *i.e.*, confess). *Âlavaṇa* or confession with them, however, does not consist of any enumeration of special sins committed; but the Śrâvaka simply mentions the various classes of sins, and asks forgiveness in the following *mantras* :—

आलोउं—

इच्छाकारेण संदिसह भगवन् देवसिअं आलोउं इच्छं ॥ आलोएमि जो मे देव सिउं ॥ इति ॥

अथ सात लाख—

सात लाख पृथिवि काय ॥ सात लाख अप्प काय ॥ सात लाख तेउ काय ॥ सात लाख वाउ काय ॥ दश लाख प्रत्येक वनस्पति काय ॥ बे लाख बेद्री ॥ बे लाख तेरेंद्री बे लाख चौरिंजी ॥ चार लाख देवता ॥ चार लाख

नारकी ॥ चार लाख तिर्यंच पंचेंद्री ॥ चौद लाख मनुष्य एवंकारे ॥ चौरासी लाख जीवा योनी मांहिं ॥ माहरे जीवे जे काइ जीव ॥ हण्यो होय हाणाव्यो होय ॥ हणाता प्रत्ये अनुमोद्यो होय ॥ ते सव्वे हुं मन वचन काया‌ए करी ॥ मिच्छामि दुक्कडं ॥ इति

अथ अढार पापस्थानक—

पेहेले प्राणातिपात ॥ बीजे मृषावाद, त्रीजे अदत्तादान चोथे मैथुन, पांचमे परिग्रह, चठ्ठे क्रोध, सातमे मान, आठमे माया, नवमें लोभ, दशमे राग, इग्यारमे द्वेष, बारमे कलह, तेरमे अभ्याख्यान, चौदमे पैशून, पन्नरमे रति अरति, सोलमे प्ररपरिवाद, सत्तरमे मायामृषावाद, अढारमे मिथ्यात्वशल्य, ए अढार पापस्थानमां हिं मारे जीवे जे कोइ सेव्युं होय ॥ सेवराव्युं होय, सेवतां प्रेते अनुमोदुं होय, ते सव्वे हुं मन वचन कायाए करी ॥ तस्स मिच्छामि दुक्कडं ॥ इति ॥

अथ सव्वस्सवि—

सव्वस्सवि देवसिअ दुच्चिंतिअ ॥ दुप्भासिअ दुच्चिट्ठिअ ॥ इच्छाकारेण संदिसह भगवन इच्छं ॥ तस्स मिच्छमि दुक्कडं ॥ इति ॥

On this day the *Kalpasútra* is read from beginning to end without comment of any kind.

Of the other seasons the *Kárttikiní* festival begins on the 7th of the Krishṇapaksha of Kârttika, and lasts till the full-moon.

Phâlgun-chaumâsuṁ lasts from the 7th of the Krishṇapaksha of Phalguna till the full-moon following. *Âshâḍha-chaumâsuṁ* is from the 7th of the Krishṇapaksha of Âshâḍha to the full-moon of that month. The *Âṁbilaṇi Oli* in Aśvina, from the 7th of the Krishṇapaksha of Aśvina to the following full-moon. The *Âṁbilaṇi Oli* in Chaitra from the 7th of the Krishṇapaksha of Chaitra to the full-moon of that month.

It is incumbent on all Śrâvakas, whether they attend to daily services in the temples or not, to observe these days. They also go to the *Upâsaras* or monasteries to hear the *Aṅgas* of the *Kalpasútra* read.

They worship the *Siddhachakra* on these days. On a small silver or brass stand are four figures in relief seated cross-legged like the Jainas, one in the centre, and four round the circumference. Between the latter are the words *Darśana, Jñâna, Chaitra,* and *Tapas*. The five figures represent the five orders of Jaina saints—first, the Arhat in the centre; second, the Siddha above; third, the Âchârya to the worshipper's right; fourth, the Muni or Sâdhu to his left; and fifth, the Upâdhyâya below.

By the more rigid Jainas fasting is observed on these days. There are several kinds of fastings.—(1), *Upavâsâ,* of which, again, there are two divisions—*Chauvihâr* and *Tévihâr*—the former is abstinence from food and water, and the latter from food and taking water that has been boiled and cooled, during daylight after 10 A.M. and before sunset; (2), *Ékâsana,* in which he may eat as much as he likes, sitting on one *âsana.* Vegetables, either cooked or raw are prohibited. He must eat only grain, cooked of course, and drink water that has been boiled and cooled; (3), *Ambil,* in which he eats his usual food, seated on one *âsana,* but must not taste oil and ghî or fatty substances; (4), *Nívi,* in addition to *Ambil,* he may eat sour substances; (5), *Bé-âsano,* is the same as *Ékâsana,* but in this he may eat twice; (6); *Chhat*—like *Upavâsâ,* this is of two kinds—*Chauvihar* and *Tévihâr*; the former is abstaining from food and water for two days, and the latter is abstaining from food alone for the same period; (7), *Aṭṭam,* is similar to the preceding, but the abstinence continues for three consecutive days. And thus the fasts may be observed from 4, 5, 6, 7, &c., consecutive days to a month. A fortnight's fast is called *Pakshamaṇa.* Fasting for a month is called *Mâsakamana.**

* For the information contained in this paper I am indebted to the kindness of Ḍholsa Hakam Chand Dalâl, and his son Dâhyâbhai Ḍhôlsâ Dalâl.

CHINGHIZ KHÂN AND HIS ANCESTORS.

BY HENRY H. HOWORTH, F.S.A.

(*Continued from p. 148 ante.*)

XXVI.

Chinghiz Khân spent the summer of 1219 in the fine pastures of the Irtish, so as to get his horses in good condition for his great campaign in the west. Before he started, we read in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi,* his wife, Yesui,

said to him, "You are going, O king, into far-off countries, beyond mountains and rivers, to fight. If it should happen that you should leave an unpronounceable name,[1] which of your sons do you wish should be master. Proclaim this to everybody beforehand." Chinghiz said, "Yesui speaks with reason. Neither my brothers, nor my children, nor Boorchi, nor anyone else has reminded me of this. I also had forgotten." Then he turned to Juchi, and said, "You are the eldest of my sons, what do you say?" Juchi had not answered, when Chaadai[2] said, "Father, you have asked Juchi, perhaps you wish to give him the kingdom, but he sprang from the race of the Merki.[3] Shall we then allow him to govern us?" He had no sooner finished than Juchi rising, took Chaadai by the collar, and said, "My father has not yet selected me, and yet you speak such words. What talents have you, except a rough character? I will try with you who shoots the furthest, and if you beat me, I will lose my big finger."[4] I will wrestle with you, and if you overcome me, I will lie down where I fall, and not rise again." The brothers thereupon took each other by the collar. Boorchi and Mukhali,[5] tried to separate and appease them. Chinghiz continued seated, and silent. Thereupon Kokososi said, "Chaadai, why are you so hasty. The emperor has great confidence in you. Before you were born the universe was filled with strife, people fought with and robbed each other, and it was impossible for anyone to live peaceably. That was the reason your wise and glorious mother was kidnapped. When you speak as you do, you tear the heart out of your mother, who has shared the labours of your father in founding his empire. They brought up you children in the hope that you would become men. Your mother is glorious as the sun, her wisdom deep as the sea. How then could you speak of her as you did?" Chinghiz, intervening said, "Of my children Juchi is the eldest, in future speak not thus." Chaadai smiling slightly, said, "There is no need for me to dispute with Juchi about his strength and talents. Of your sons he and I are the eldest; allow us both to show our zeal towards you. If either of us prove faithless in this, kill him. Ogidai[6] has a great soul and a gentle character, let him succeed you." Chinghiz again appealed to Juchi, who said, "Chaadai has already spoken. We will strive together and let Ogidai succeed you." Chinghiz said, "Do not strive together. The universe is large. Let each of you occupy a separate kingdom. But mind you carry out your promise, and do not let the people laugh at you, like Altan and Khuchar, who did not keep their word. What happened to them in consequence? Their children and grandchildren are here. Let them go with you, and act as a warning to you." Chinghiz then asked Ogidai what he had to say. "Father," he replied, "You have deigned to bid me speak. It is not lawful for me to say I cannot succeed you. I will act zealously and prudently, but I am afraid that my children and grandchildren will be people without merit, and unfit to occupy the throne. This is what I say." Chinghiz replied, "These words of Ogidai are just. He then asked Tului, his fourth son, for his opinion. "You have already bid me, father," he replied, "remind my brother of that which he had forgotten; to awaken him when asleep; to go to battle for him when he sends me." Chinghiz Khân said, "As to Khasar, Alchidai, Ochigin, and Belgutai, let their descendants succeed them in their offices one at a time, with their appanages independent of one another. Let one of my sons only inherit my rank.[7] My words are unchangeable. I do not allow them to be broken. If Ogidai's sons and grandsons be all incapable, will there not be a rough clever one among all my descendants?"[8] In these testamentary arrangements we are struck by the fact that contrary to the usual custom in the East, Chinghiz decided that his main inheritance was to pass to his sons, and not to his brothers. It would seem as if he felt himself entitled to thus dispose of what he had himself conquered, while it is probable that his brothers did largely succeed him in the old inheritance of

[1] A respectful way of referring to his death.

[2] *I.e.* Chagatai.

[3] His mother, Burteh, it will be remembered, bore him after she had been made prisoner by the Merkits, whence his birth was considered ambiguous.

[4] *I.e.* the power of shooting with the bow.

[5] It could not be Mukhali, who was at this time absent in China.

[6] *I.e.* Ogotai.

[7] *I.e.* be supreme chief.

[8] *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, pp. 143-145.

his house. As Palladius says, he seems to have contemplated the possibility of the succession passing out of the family of Ogotai, unless this clause was interpolated into the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, after the accession of Mangu Khân. His words imply that he desired the succession to pass to the most worthy, and the one to whom the government could be entrusted prudently, and Palladius adds that this limitation is also contained in Khubilai's charter, appointing his son to succeed him. These regulations of Chinghiz Khân were most religiously observed, and treated with the utmost deference by his successors. Thus it is reported in the *Yuan-shi*, that In-Tsun on succeeding to the throne in 1321, when all the princes had assembled in the hall of Damindian, commanded Baiju to read aloud the priceless decrees of Tai-tsu[8] kept in the golden coffer. "The golden coffer in the iron chamber," is the phrase by which the palace archives are referred to. In the notes to one of Guntsi's verses, it is stated that at the court of the Mongol emperors, it was usual on feast days for the men who looked after the palace archives to read out the decrees of former sovereigns, called *Jasa*,[9] already referred to in a previous paper. Palladius explains the word as perhaps equivalent to the *Sali*[10] of Chinghiz Khân.[11]

While still encamped on the Irtish, Chinghiz sent to invite the Taouist sage, Ch'ang Ch'un, to pay him a visit. The latter set out, but Chinghiz had already departed, and he followed him.[12] Chinghiz took with him the chiefs of the various subject kingdoms. Thus, we are told, he was accompanied by Barjuk, the Idikut of the Uïghurs, by Arslan, chief of the Karluks, and by Signak Tikin, prince of Almaligh.[13] He was also joined by Pitu, the son of Yeliu Luko, the king of Leau-tung, by Uachen or Gauchin, prince of the Kunkurats, who was his brother-in-law.[14] He was also probably accompanied by Poyaoho, son of Alakush, ruler of the Onguts.[15] He also summoned the ruler of Tangut, who refused to go, and was afterwards visited with his bitter revenge. The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* tells us, in reference to this last invitation, that Chinghiz sent a messenger to the ruler of Tanu (*sic*) Burkhan, with these words, "You promised to be as my right hand. Now that the people of Khoikhoi[16] have killed my ambassadors, I am going to demand satisfaction from them. Be my right hand." Burkhan had not yet answered, when one of his dignitaries, Ashaganbu, said, "If you are not strong enough then do not be a king." Chinghiz Khân's invitation was therefore refused, and he declared he would march against Tangut on his return from his western campaign.[17]

In describing Chinghiz Khân's curious dream, which is reported by Abulfaraj, I overlooked a different story told by Minhaj-i-Siraj. He tells us he heard it from one of the merchants, named Khoja Aḥmed, the Wakhshi, a man of veracity, who reported that Chinghiz Khân, after he had conquered Tamghaj,[18] and had caused great bloodshed for four years, saw one night in a dream that he was binding a turban of immense length about his head, so much so, that from the vast length of the turban and the labour of binding it, he began to grow fatigued after, in his interminable task, he had become like a great corn-stack. When he awoke he reported his dream to those about him, but none of them could interpret it, until one of them stated that the turban was a head-dress worn by the merchants who were in the habit of coming into that part from different parts of the west, and a party of them had arrived from Arabia, and he advised one of them to be summoned. They accordingly sent for some of the merchants, who wore turbans, the chief and most intelligent of whom reported that the turban was the crown and diadem of the Arabs, whose prophet Muḥammad wore one, as did the Khalîf. "The interpretation," he added, "is this, that the kingdoms of Islâm will come into thy possession, and the countries in which the Muḥammadan faith prevails, thou wilt reduce under thy sway." This interpretation quite confirmed Chinghiz Khân's intentions.[19]

The same author tells us that before setting

[8] *I.e.* Chinghiz Khân.
[9] *I.e.* the *Yasa*.
[10] Rites or ceremonies of Sa.
[11] *Id.* note 576.
[12] Bretschneider, *Notes on Med. Chinese Travellers in the West*, p. 17, &c.
[13] D'Ohsson, vol. I, p. 212: Erdmann, p. 334.
[14] Gaubil, pp. 36 and 40.
[15] *Id.* p. 42.
[16] *i.e.* the subjects of the Khuârezm Shâh.
[17] *Op. cit.* pp. 145 and 146.
[18] *I.e.* China.
[19] *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, pp 972 and 975.

out several hundreds of banners were brought out, and a thousand horsemen were arranged under each banner. Every ten horsemen were directed to take three dried sheep, an iron cauldron, and a skin of water, and along with his hosts were despatched horses, mares, and geldings, without number, to supply them with milk, and for riding.[20] The *Yuan-shi-lei-pen* tells us that he left behind him as his vicegerent his brother, Tiemuko,[21] who had in his service an officer named Sakisse, who was a Hoeihu or Uïghur by origin, and his family had settled in China, formerly he had been cupbearer to the prince, and afterwards became a distinguished officer. Chinghiz Khân, we are further told, took with him several Chinese generals. He formed special corps, skilled in throwing stones at besieged cities.[22] They were commanded by a Mongol, named Yenmuhay, and Suetalahay, who lived at Yenking, but was a foreigner by origin.[23] Chinghiz Khân was now ready to leave. We read that on the day when the sacrifice of the departure was celebrated, there fell snow to the depth of three feet. Chinghiz, apparently deeming it an ill-omen, consulted Yeliu-chu-tsai, who replied, "This predominance of the god of the waters over the usual temperature of summer is an assured gauge of victory."[24] Yeliu-chu-tsai accompanied the great conqueror, and it is from his diary that we are able roughly to recover his route. The first place he names is Bula. This is, no doubt, as Palladius says, the place called Bo-lo, in the narrative of Chang-ti's journey, in which we read that wheat and rice were cultivated there. On the mountains round it many cypresses were found, which did not grow vigorously, but tortuously between the stones. The dwelling houses and bazârs stood interspersed among the gardens. The houses were built of clay, and the windows furnished with glass. This authority places it south of lake Alakkul. The place is called Pulad by the Persian authors who place it near lake Sut.[25] Haithon also mentions Phulat, as a town near Sutkul. It is also named by Rubruquis as a place where they dug gold, and made arms. On the Chinese map published by Palladius it is called Pu-la, and is placed between Emil and Almaligh. Palladius puts it on the river Borotala, which flows north of lake Sairam, and empties itself into the Ebi-nor.[26] It was on the main route from Mongolia to the west. After passing Bula the invaders crossed the Yin-shan mountains, by which the Talki or Borokhoro range, north of Kulja, is meant. These mountains are traversed by a famous defile, called the Iron Gates, through which Chinghiz Khân and his army marched. About this we have an interesting passage in the narrative of Ch'ang Ch'un's journey. "We suddenly got sight," he says, "of a splendid lake, about 200 li in circumference, enclosed on all sides by snow-topped peaks, which were reflected in the water. The master named it the lake of Heaven.[27] Following the shore we descended in a southern direction; and on either side saw nothing but perpendicular cliffs and rugged peaks. The mountains were covered to their summits with dense forests, consisting of birches and pines, more than a hundred feet high. The river winds through the gorge for about sixty or seventy li, with a rapid current, sometimes shooting down in cascades. *The second prince,[28] who was with the emperor[29] at the time he went to the west, first made a way through these mountains, cut through the rocks, and built forty-eight bridges with wood cut on the mountains.* The bridges are so wide that two carts can pass together." Palladius remarks that Yeliu-chu-tsai in his poems also speaks of these bridges, and of the splendid mountain lake. Dr. Bretschneider says that in the Chinese work, *Sin-kiang-chi-lio*, there is a reference to this defile, which affords additional corroboration for identifying it with the difficult road made through the mountains by the son of Chinghiz Khân. That work, in describing the Talki pass, tells us that at the present time forty-two bridges have to be passed in crossing the mountain. Putimtsoff, who went from Bukhtarminsk to Kulja in 1811, states that the great high road from Peking to Kulja leading along the northern slopes of the Celestial mountains, passes by lake Sairam, and that

[20] *Id.* pp. 273 and 968.
[21] *I.e.* Ochigin.
[22] *i.e.* regiments of balisters.
[23] Gaubil, p. 34.
[24] *Biography of Yeliu-chu-tsai*, in *Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques*, tome II, p. 65.
[25] *I.e.* Lake Sairam.
[26] See *Notes on Med. Travellers*, p. 70, note 40; and *Notices of Med. Geogr.*, p. 147.
[27] Lake Sairam is doubtless meant.
[28] *I.e.* Chagatai.
[29] *I.e.* Chinghiz Khân.

between this lake and Kulja "a road has been made in ancient times through the mountain."[30] The country to the south of the pass, according to the narrative of Yeliu-chu-tsai's journey, was overgrown with thick apple woods, which gave its name to A-le-ma,[31] *i.e.* Almaligh, which we are told, had eight or nine other cities and towns dependent upon it. Grapes and pears abounded there, and the people cultivated the five kinds of grain, as was done in China. In the notices of Ch'ang-Ch'un's journey we read that at A-lima, "there is a kind of cloth called *tu-lu-ma*, which the people say is made from vegetable wool. This hair resembles the down enclosing the reeds of our willows. It is very clean, fine and soft, and they use it for making thread, ropes, cloth, and wadding." This, no doubt, refers to cotton. The people there also used aqueducts for artificial irrigation. "For drawing water they use a jar, which they bear on their heads. When they saw our Chinese pail for drawing water, they were much delighted, and said, 'You Tao-hua-shi[32] are very able men.'"[33] Schuyler identifies Almaligh with the ruined town of Alim-tu, on a stream of the same name, a little west of Kulja.[34] Even at this time it formed part of Chagatai's appanage, for, we are told, Ch'ang-kung, his chief architect, invited Chang-Ch'un to cross the Ili, close by, to inaugurate some temples on the other side.[35] After passing Almaligh the invaders crossed the Ili. They then no doubt followed the road along the north of the Ala-Tau chain past Alma-tu, which is perhaps the Ch'i-mur of Changti's narrative, and thus reached the valley of the Chui, and the capital of Kara Khitai which is called Hu-sze-wol-ud-o or Hu-eze-ordo in the *Itinerary* of Yeliu-chu-tsai. We have already referred to it under its other name of Belasaghun. In the biography of Ho-ze-mai-li,[36] a native of the same place, there called Gu-dse-war-do, as given in the *Yuan-shi*, we read that he governed the two cities of K'osan and Bâ-sze-ha subject to Gu-dse-war-do, and that when Chinghiz Khân conducted his armies into Western Asia, he surrendered, together with the chiefs of these two towns. They were probably both situated in Ferghana, and are probably to be identified with the Kassan and Badam of Baber.[37] I am strongly disposed to place Hu-sze-or-do or Balasaghun near the modern Togmak. The invaders followed the road north of the Alexandrofski range as far as Ta-la-sze,[38] the famous town commanding the entrance of the pass which connects Irân and Turân. This famous city, mentioned as early as the sixth century, is probably to be identified with the ruins of Tiume-kent, some miles below Aulié-ata on the Talas.[39]

Meanwhile let us turn to Sulṭân Muḥammad, who, having already felt the weight of the Mongol arms, and was conscious of their great strength, had retired to Samarkand, and was seized with unaccountable irresolution. Although the forces he could muster probably numbered 400,000, they were wanting in the discipline and other soldierly qualities of the Mongols, nor had they the latter's incentive to fight. To them victory would bring but barren honours, while to the Mongols it would open the gates to the rich treasures of Mavera-un-nehr. Besides this, the Mongols were tolerably homogeneous, and bound together by common aims and an undivided allegiance, while many of Muḥammad's subjects had been too recently conquered to feel much attachment to him. His irresolution was also increased by the divided counsels offered by his generals, and the gloomy forebodings of his astrologers.

One historian suggests that he was also the dupe of Chinghiz Khân himself. We are told that a native of Otrar, called Bedru'd-dîn, whose father, uncle, and some of his relatives had been put to death by Muḥammad, had deserted the service of the latter, and joined the Mongols. He suggested to Chinghiz that he might take advantage of the jealousy and ill-feeling that existed between Muḥammad and his mother. Bedru'd-dîn, in fact, forged a letter in the names of the various Kankali chiefs who surrounded Muḥammad's mother, and addressed to Chinghiz Khân, and written in these terms: "We came with our tribes from Turkestan to join

[30] Bretschneider, *Notes on Med. Travellers*, &c., p. 32, note 71; and pp. 71 and 72, note 45.
[31] The Kirghiz and other Turkish tribes still call an apple Alima.
[32] Their name for Chinese.
[33] *Op. cit.* pp. 33 and 34.
[34] *Turkestan*, vol. II, pp. 158 and 159.
[35] Bretschneider, *Notes on Med. Travellers*, p. 50.
[36] Ismael.
[37] *Notices of Med. Travellers*, &c., p. 114, note 24.
[38] *i.e.* Taras.
[39] Schuyler, *op. cit.* vol. II, p. 121.

the Sultân Muḥammad, from affection for his mother, and by our means he has conquered several kingdoms, which he has appropriated. Notwithstanding this he is ill-disposed towards the Khatun, and repays her with ingratitude. She desires that we should avenge her. We are only waiting for your arrival, and we are at your disposal." It was arranged that this letter should be intercepted. The Sulṭân was misled by the stratagem, and becoming suspicious of his generals, determined to scatter them. It is possible also that Muḥammad did not expect that Chinghiz Khân was going to make a permanent settlement, but only a temporary raid. At all events, instead of concentrating his forces, when he heard of the enemy's approach he scattered them in the various towns of Transoxiana and Khuârezm.[40] Leaving the greater portion of them in Turkestan and Mavera-un-nehr he sent 20,000 men to Ghair Khân at Otrar, 10,000 to Benaket under Kutlugh Khân, Ashtiaru-u'd-dîn Kushli and his chancellor, Akhru Ali, surnamed Inandsh Khân. He retained 30,000 men at Bukhara under the command of Khamid Tanigu and other generals. He placed 10,000 under the command of his chamberlain Thujanjuk, and the generals Azu'd-dîn, Husamu'd-dîn, Masaud, &c., as a garrison in Samarkand, committed the defence of Termed to the Sijistan forces of Fakhru'd-dîn Hasan, Sarrakhs to Muḥammad Khân, Balkh to his nephews and their father, Jend to Asru Pehluwan, Jilan to Dagheljuk Malik, Kender to Berthaishi, Yargand to Aslebeh Khân.[41] He himself retired to Samarkand. Chinghiz Khân with his forces having reached Taras, crossed over the mountains, and then divided his army into several sections, one of which, under his eldest son, Juchi, with the Ulus Bede,[42] he sent to secure the country on the lower Jaxartes. Juchi first assailed Sighnak, whose site is not well ascertained. Klaproth puts it, I don't know on what authority, on the Muskan, a tributary flowing into the Jaxartes on the right.[43] Sherif-u'd-din speaks of Sighnak and Sabran, as two frontier towns of Turkestan, and says Sighnak was situated 24 miles from Otrar, while the biographical work entitled *Tabakat-al-hanefiyet* of Kesevi, speaks of it as being the town of Yassi.[44] It was not impossibly on the site now named Kuk Chaganak, and placed in Colonel Walker's map on the Sihun or Jaxartes between the Aris and the Bugun, two tributaries of the Jaxartes, north of Otrar and south of Turkestan. In order to avoid bloodshed, Juchi, on nearing Sighnak, sent thither Hasan, the Haji, or pilgrim, who had long followed the steps of Chinghiz as a merchant, and was numbered among his officers. He urged upon the inhabitants the prudence of surrendering, and promised them their lives and property if they did so. But meanwhile the rabble in the bazâr, who probably looked upon him as a faithless Musalmân to give such advice, fell on him with the cries *Alla akbar*, massacred him, and shut the gates of the town. Juchi, on hearing of this was enraged, he pressed the attack unceasingly, and in the course of a week captured it. It was taken in an hour, says Abulghazi, and 10,000 Musalmâns were massacred to revenge the death of Hasan.[45] Mirkhond tells us that all the officers and soldiers, together with the chief men and half the citizens, were put to death. As they needed the town as a base the Mongols did not raze the town, and Juchi out of respect for the memory of Hasan Haji, had a splendid mausoleum built, on the best site in the place, and ordered funeral rites of the most elaborate kind to be performed over him. He was of the sect of the Safais.[46] Hasan's son was given command of what remained of Sighnak.[47] The fate of Sighnak overawed the neighbouring towns. Uzkend, called Usekan in the *Yuan-shi-lei-pen*,[48] determined to surrender. Mirkhond says that when Juchi was two days' march off, the inhabitants in spite of the governor, sent their submission, whereupon he left the place with the garrison, and retired to Tonkat or Fenaket. Thereupon Juchi treated the people well, merely levying a contribution of provisions, and moved on.[49] This Uzkend had clearly nothing to do with the famous fortress

[40] D'Ohsson, vol. I, p. 213.
[41] Erdmann's *Temudschin*, pp. 367 and 368.
[42] *I.e.* the Uighurs.
[43] *Nouv. Journ. Asiat.* tome XII, p. 285, note.
[44] *I.e.* Turkestan.
[45] Abulghazi, pp. 112 and 113; D'Ohsson, vol. I, p. 221; Erdmann, pp. 371 and 372.
[46] De la Croix, *History of Genghiz Khan*, pp 175 and 176.
[47] Abulghazi, p 113; D'Ohsson, vol. I p. 222; Erdmann, p. 372.
[48] Gaubil, p. 32.
[49] De la Croix.

in Upper Ferghana, but was doubtless a place situated on the Jaxartes below Sighnak, and I am disposed to identify it with the Uchkaik of Colonel Walker's map, which is the next station on the river below Kuk Chaganak. Juchi now attacked a place called Barkhaligh-kent or Barkhaliakit by the Muḥammadan writers, and Ba-r-ch-ili-han in the old Chinese map published by Dr. Bretschneider. It is called Ba-r-jen in the *Yuan-shi*. Carpini calls it Barchin, and says expressly it was situated on a great river.[50] It is also named in Haithon's *Itinerary*.[51] In the Chinese map it is placed between Sairam and Jend. It occurs as a mint place of the Golden Horde, and it was probably situated on the Jaxartes, not far from Sabran.

Juchi now attacked a place which is called Eshnas by most of the Muḥammadan writers, and Hanasa by Gaubil,[52] but the name seems corrupt, and also occurs as Astart.[53] Some writers would make it a corruption of Al-Shash, the old name of Tashkend, but this is quite too far off and in a wrong direction, inasmuch as Juchi's progress was down the Sihun and not up, and it now seems to me that the name is really a corruption of Yassi, the old name of the city of Turkestan, which is in quite the right direction. The very interesting remains of Yassi or Turkestan are described in picturesque detail by Mr. Schuyler.[54] Juchi met with some resistance at Eshnas, and its inhabitants were accordingly massacred.[55] He now went on to Jend. It was a famous town in the East, having been the birth-place of several famous men. From it, according to Mirkhond, twenty Skythian envoys went to Alexander the Great, praying if he were a god to show it by doing good to men, and if but a man to reflect on the uncertainty of his condition, instead of proceeding further with his design to rob them of their goods and peace.[56] Jend seems to be the Kojend of Edrisi.[57] He mentions it as one of the three cities of the Ghuz, on the lower Jaxartes.[58] Mâsûdi, in a corresponding passage, which was probably copied by Edrisi, distinctly says Jend. M. Lerch, who has studied the archæology of Turkestan so diligently, fixes the site of Jend on the right bank of the Jaxartes between the fort of Kazalinsk, and that known as "Number two," where there are still some mounds of rubbish and some tombstones with Arabic inscriptions. The bricks have been largely used by the modern Kazaks to build their mausoleums with.[59] At this time Jend was ruled by a petty dynasty. The name of the ruler was Kutlugh Timur, whose father had submitted to the Khuârezm Shâh, and was a dependent of his. He was very rich, and on the approach of the Mongols thought it prudent to retire towards Khuârezm with his treasures. The inhabitants determined, therefore, to defend the place, and Juchi thereupon sent Chin Timur, whose name is also given as Jai Timur, who afterwards governed Khuârezm on his behalf, and eventually became civil governor of Khorasan, to counsel them to submit, and to remind them of the fate of Sighnak. They would have killed him, but that he promised to persuade the Mongols to spare the city. When he returned he reported to Juchi the result of his journey, and the condition of the place. He suggested to Juchi that he should storm it on the side which the inhabitants deemed the most inaccessible, namely, where it was defended by a ditch. His suggestion was adopted. Three false attacks were made elsewhere, and the battering engines were planted at the weakest part of the defences. When the day for the assault had arrived the latter were attacked amidst shouts, and the sounds of cymbals, drums, &c. The battering rams were planted, and the Mongol slingers or archers drove the defenders from the walls. This was at dusk. When suspicion had been lulled, Chin Timur put some bridges over the ditch, and put two ladders against the wall, one of which he planted himself. The walls were scaled, the gates opened, and the Mongols were inside before the garrison was properly aroused. As the assault cost them no men, they did not put the citizens to the sword. They were, however, ordered to leave the place, and to withdraw to a neighbouring plain, where they

[50] *I.e.* the Sihun.
[51] Bretschneider, *Notices of Med. Geography*, pp. 61 and 193.
[52] *Op. cit.* p. 32.
[53] Abulghazi, p. 113, note I.
[54] *Turkestan*, vol. I, pp. 70-73.
[55] Abulghazi, p. 113; *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, p. 972, note.
[56] De la Croix, *op. cit.* p. 177.
[57] Not to be confounded, of course, with Khojend, further east in Ferghana.
[58] *Op cit.* tome II, p. 269.
[59] *Russische Revue*, vol. I, p. 31.

remained for nine days, and where a census was taken of them. The Mongols then plundered the houses, and planted a garrison there under the orders of Ali Khoja, who was a Muḥammadan from Bukhara. Abulghazi calls him Ghajuvani. He had been employed as an envoy by Chinghiz Khân, as we have seen. The inhabitants were then allowed to return, except two or three who had abused Chin Timur in his conference with the inhabitants, who were put to death.[60] Juchi now despatched a *tuman*[61] to attack Yanghikent, a town situated on the Jaxartes, two days' journey from its outfall into the sea of Aral. Yanghikent simply means new town. Mr. Erskine tells us it is the Alkaria-al-jadideh of the Arabian geographers.[62] It is mentioned by Mâsûdi under the name of Haditse.[63] He tells us it was situated "a farsakh" from the Sihun, and two days' journey from the lake of Khuârezm, and tells us further it was the chief winter residence of the Ghuz Turks. Edrisi, in describing the course of the Sihun, tells us that after passing Sabran it entered the desert of the Ghuz, and passed at a distance of three miles from the town of Ghuzzia the New, and then fell into the lake of Khuârezm, at two days' journey from that town. He tells us it was the capital of the Ghuz, and the winter residence of their ruler, and that Musalmâns were found there. It was twelve days' journey from Khuârezm and twenty from Farab or Otrar.[64] Carpini mentions the town under the name of Janckiut. Abulfeda tells us Yanghikent was situated on a river which fell into the lake of Khuârezm. It was ten days' journey, he says, from Urgenj, twenty from Otrar, and twenty-five leagues from Bukhara.[65] It is called Yang-gi-kan in the *Yuan-shi*, the *Huang-yuan*, and the *Yuan-shi-lei-pen*, where we are merely told that Juchi captured it.[66] In De Mailla, where it is called Yankican, Ogotai is wrongly said to have captured it.[67] Levchine tells us that the ruins of Yanghikent are situated at a distance of an hour's ride from the Syr, and a day's journey from its mouth. In the last century it belonged to the Karakalpaks. Gladychef, who was sent on a mission to these people in 1742, found the town then in ruins, but its ramparts and towers still remained, and the Khân of the Karakalpaks lived inside the enclosure. It was afterwards occupied by the Kazaks, who reported that its primitive inhabitants had been driven away by serpents.[68] M. Lerch explored the ruins of Yanghikent in 1867. He opened several of the mounds, and found various articles of pottery and household ware, but nothing which could enable the age of the ruins to be ascertained.[69] Having conquered Yanghikent, Juchi also placed a deputy there. By this campaign he had become master of all Turkestan, properly so called, bounded on the south-west by the Jaxartes, on the north-east by the range of the Karatau or Alexandrofski, on the west by the sea of Aral, and on the east by the river Aris. A district which was afterwards included apparently in the heritage of his eldest son, Orda, and became the focus of power of the so-called White Horde.

Let us now trace the doings of another division of Chinghiz Khân's army, which was deputed to conquer the country east of the river Aris. For this purpose Alak Noyan, Suktu, and Togai, or as they are elsewhere named Alanakha Noyan, Senkur, and Bukha,[70] were selected. They were supplied with a force of 5,000 men.[71] According to Mirkhond they were ordered to conquer Ilak[72] and Khojend. The people in the two former places were surprised, and duly made their submission, surrendering many places without fighting, a fact which is not mentioned by D'Ohsson or Erdmann, but is reported by De la Croix.[73] The two Mongol chiefs then marched upon Tonkat, also called Benaket or Fenaket, and which De la Croix says was dependent on Al Shash, and secured the frontiers of Ilak. It was a rendezvous for the merchants of these two countries, who chiefly trafficked

[60] Abulghazi, pp. 113 and 114; Erdmann, pp. 372 and 313; D'Ohsson, vol. I, pp. 222 and 223; De la Croix, pp. 178 and 182.

[61] Originally meaning 10,000 men, but used generally for "a division."

[62] *Baber*, vol. II, note 6.

[63] *i.e.* the New.

[64] *Op. cit.*, ed. Jaubert, tome II, pp. 209 and 210.

[65] D'Avezac, p. 513, note 2.

[66] Bretschneider, *Notes of Med. Geography*, &c., pp. 61 and 66; Gaubil, p. 57.

[67] *Op. cit.* vol. IX, p. 97.

[68] Levchine, *Hist. des Kirghis Kazaks*, p. 114.

[69] Schuyler, vol. I, pp. 68 and 401.

[70] Erdmann, note p. 244. Abulghazi unites the two latter into one person, and calls him Suktu-Buka.

[71] De la Croix says 50,000.

[72] *I.e.*, the district of Tashkend.

[73] *Op. cit.* p. 182.

there. It was rather a place of pleasure than of strength. Brooks watered almost every street, and the suburbs and country seats were well supplied with water, while it was graced by many gardens. It was garrisoned by a body of Kankalis, commanded by Ilegtu Malik, called Iyaltaku by Major Raverty, who was, says De la Croix, and as is probable from his title, "the natural lord of the place," *i.e.* the more or less independent ruler there. After three days' attack the walls were forced, and the inhabitants had to surrender at discretion. The garrison was put to the sword, the inhabitants were ordered out of the city while it was plundered. Ilegtu Malik himself escaped. The Mongols having made an arsenal of Benaket, advanced upon Khojend. Khojend was a large and well-built town, and situated on the Jaxartes. It had a considerable trade in musk and other odoriferous substances, and was famous both for its beauty and the bravery of its inhabitants. It was, moreover, governed by an intrepid and skilful soldier, named Timur Malik. According to Eastern writers he was an Admirable Crichton among soldiers, and Mirkhond avers that Rustam, Sam, and Asfendiar would have blushed before him. He showed great energy in putting the place in a state of defence, and constructed a flotilla of boats to harass the Mongols on either bank, which were protected by shields of felt, covered with clay kneaded with vinegar. He had prepared a special acropolis on an island in midstream, which he garrisoned with 1,000 men. In vain the Mongols battered it for many days. At length they determined to make a solid causeway, a kind of dyke across the river, and thus to reach it. 50,000 peasants, we are told, divided into bodies of tens and hundreds, under Mongol officers, were employed in carrying stones. These had to be taken a distance of three leagues. The foot-soldiers, says De la Croix, brought the stones to the brink of the river, and the horse went and threw them in among the earth, and whole trees tied together, fascines, &c. Notwithstanding the many interruptions of the garrison the work was gradually completed, and Timur Malik saw that the end was drawing near, and determined upon a brave retreat. He first manufactured some fire ships with tar, &c., with which he set fire to the bridge of boats, by which one bank communicated with the other, so as to isolate the Mongols on either bank. The same night, having loaded seventy boats with treasures, and with his bravest soldiers, he entered them, and trusted himself to the current of the river. The Mongols, who soon learnt of his retreat, pursued him on horseback, and shot and received a great number of shots, and occasionally the rocks on the right bank compelling the boats to steer near the opposite shore, the fighting became close and severe. One struggle is especially mentioned which occurred where there was a ford, and where many men were lost on both sides. At Benaket the Mongols had fastened a chain across the river. This he succeeded in breaking through after suffering some loss. His pursuers were now joined by fresh troops sent by Juchi, who was not far off. They were posted strongly on either bank at Jend, where the Mongols had also built a bridge of boats to intercept him. Thus cornered he determined to land, and to trust to his horses. He accordingly disembarked at Khaliagent. He was eagerly pursued, and speedily lost most of his men, and was at length left by himself. He was still pursued by three Mongols, and had in his quiver three arrows, one without a head. With the latter he shot one of the Mongols in the eye and disabled him, upon which he bribed the other two to retire with some gold pieces, but other authors say that they were afraid of measuring themselves against him, and that when he warned them that he still had two arrows left they prudently retired. He arrived safely at the town of Urgenj, the capital of Khuârezm, whence he made a raid upon Yanghikent, and killed its Mongol governor. He afterwards fought bravely in the army of the Sulṭân Jelalu'd-dîn, and eventually adopted the habit of a Sufi, and retired to the borders of Syria, where he stayed some years. He then returned to Ferghana and settled at Aris, whence he visited Khojend once more to inquire about his family, and found one of his children still living. He was patronised by Batu Khân of Kipchak, by whom he was assisted in recovering some of his patrimony for his son. He was at length killed by the Mongol whose eye he had put out, and who accused him of not being respectful to his prince. Thus perished one of the bravest and most fertile in resources of the warriors whom

Asiatic history has produced.'[74] As to Khojend, it fell the day after the brave Timur left it.

While Juchi was conquering Turkestan and Ilak, the country to the east of it, a third army under Chagatai and Ogotai marched upon Otrar, whose truculent governor, Ghair Khân, had been the main cause of the war. Its ruins are still to be seen a little to the south of the river Aris. It was a famous city in early times, and was known as Farab until the 13th century, when the name Otrar apparently first occurs At this time it was apparently the capital of a small territory, for in the *Itinerary* of Yeliu-chu-tsai, it is said, ten other cities were dependent upon it.'[75] In Pegolottis land routes to Cathay, compiled in the first half of the 14th century, we are told Oltrarre was forty-five days' journey with pack-asses from Almaligh, and thirty-five or forty days' journey with land waggons from Urgenj.'[76] The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* names U-da-rar as a town captured by Chinghiz. In the *Yuan-shi* we read that Chinghiz "captured the city of O-t'a-la, and the chief of the place, named Ha-ji-r-ji-lan-to, was made prisoner.'[77] The *Yuan-shi-lei-pen* says that Chinghiz ordered Ouotala to be attacked. It was captured, and its governor, named Achir, who had ill-used his people, was put to death.'[78] De Mailla says he laid siege to the town of Ouatala, which submitted.'[79] In the *Huang-yuan*, we are told, Chinghiz left his second and third sons to invest Otolar, which was soon taken by assault. It is in the Muḥammadan historians that we find the greatest details about its capture. Otrar, we are told, was garrisoned by 50,000 men, which seems a very exaggerated figure. Its garrison had been recently reinforced by a body of 10,000 horsemen under Karaja Hajib, the commander of Muḥammad's bodyguards. Its walls were in good order, and it was well provisioned. Its commander was Inaljuk, styled Ghair Khân.

The Mongols invested it with great vigour. They proceeded to fill up the ditch, being much inconvenienced meanwhile by the incessant attacks of the garrison. When this was accomplished, they pushed up the battering rams and other engines of assault, which were so much injured by the stones and fire, and other missiles that were shot by the besieged, that the two princes and their councillors proposed to convert the attack into a blockade, but Chinghiz ordered them to press the attack, and in less than a month the walls and towers were breached and partially destroyed. The garrison had behaved bravely, and the siege had now lasted four months, and the end seemed to be very near. At this juncture, Karaja Hajib let it be known among his troops that the capture of the city was inevitable, and that they had better save their lives by going over to the enemy. With Ghair Khân matters were very different. It was he who had murdered the envoys, and it was clear he had nothing to expect but condign punishment. Taking advantage of the darkness, Karaja repaired with his people to that quarter of the city where the gate of Dervazy Sufi which was in their custody, was. He sallied out by this gate, and went to the Mongol camp, where he reported the condition of the town. After extorting this information the Mongols, with Draconic vigour, put him to death, with the other Khuârezmian officers, on the plea that they had been faithless to their prince. Some of the soldiers also were put to death, and all the rest were made slaves. Meanwhile the siege continued vigorously. The Mongols having learnt the weak part of the city from the deserters, made a considerable breach, and entered. The inhabitants were ordered to quit it, so that it might be the more easily plundered. Meanwhile Ghair Khân retired to the citadel with the rest of his troops. Here they defended themselves for a month until they were destroyed Ghair Khân himself and two or three of his companions still remained, for Chinghiz had given orders that he was to be captured alive. He at length retired to the roof with but two companions, who were killed at his side, and when his other weapons were exhausted he showered down upon the besiegers bricks which were handed up to him by women. He was at length captured, and taken to the camp of Chinghiz, who was then at Samarkand. In punishment of the avarice which had led

[74] Petit de la Croix, pp. 185 and 199; Erdmann, pp. 374 and 377; D'Ohsson, vol. I, pp. 224 and 226; Raverty, *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, p. 972 and 973 notes.

[75] Bretschneider, *Notes on Med. Travellers*, &c. p. 115.

[76] *Cathay and the Way Thither*, p. 288.

[77] Bretschneider, *Notices*, &c. p. 60.

[78] Gaubil, pp. 35 and 36.

[79] *Op. cit.*, tome IX, p. 95.

him to murder the envoys, he was put to death by having silver poured into his eyes and ears. The place of his punishment was the famous Gug Serai, where the great Timur afterwards built his palace.[80] According to Petit de la Croix, probably here following Nissavi, the Mongols having razed the castle of Otrar, rebuilt the city walls, and permitted the old men, women, and children to return to it, and the garrison was forbidden to disturb them. Meanwhile the young and active men were sent on to share in the capture of Bukhara. While the three divisions just mentioned were overrunning the country north of the Jaxartes, Chinghiz in person, who had with him his youngest son, Tului, marched against Bukhara. The first town they stopped at was Zarnuk, whose inhabitants retired to the citadel. Chinghiz sent them his chamberlain, Danishmend, who thus addressed them:—"I am a Musalmân, and the son of a Musalmân. I come on behalf of Chinghiz Khân, to save you from destruction. If you make the least resistance your fortress and houses shall be razed to the ground, and your fields shall be flooded with your blood; if you submit you shall preserve your lives and goods." Shaking at these words, says the Eastern Chronicler, as a mountain shakes when torn by an internal earthquake, the inhabitants sent out a deputation with presents to submit to the conqueror's terms. Having carried off the young men, who were destined to aid in the siege of Bukhara, he allowed the rest of the inhabitants to return to their houses; the castle was razed. The name of the city was changed to Kutluk-baligh, *i.e.* happy city.[81]

Chinghiz Khân now continued his march towards Nurata or Nur. *Nur* means light, and the place was so called because it included several shrines. A Turkoman, a native of Zarnuk, guided the Mongols along a byway to Nur, which was afterwards known as the Grand Khân's route.[82] At this time, we are told, there was at Nur a man named Zerka, who had extraordinarily sharp sight. He was posted as a look-out on a belvedere, and reported the approach of an enemy. When news arrived of the fall of Zarnuk they went to him, and he said that he saw as it were a wood moving towards them. This was a wood which the Mongols cut down near Zarnuk. Three days later a Mongol army approached under the command of Tair Baghatur, who, after Chinghiz Khân's death, commanded the forces on the Indian frontier. He summoned the town. The inhabitants, who had previously shown a bold front, were frightened, and sent a deputy with their submission. Tair having put to death Zerka, who had been captured by his men, and sent to Subutai Baghatur, to whom they surrendered the Kasbeh Nur, they also left the place as was usual, with their great and small cattle, with their furniture and agricultural implements, and necessary provisions, so that the Mongols might plunder it, who found little there, however. Meanwhile Chinghiz Khân having demanded some food, they sent out sixty men under the command of the son of Il Khoja, the governor of Nur, towards Debuseh, where Chinghiz then was, with a large supply of provisions, and he gave them presents. Having learnt that they had paid an annual tribute of 1500 dinars to Muḥammad; he ordered the same sum to be paid to himself. One-half of the first year's tribute was made up, says Erdmann, in the funeral garments (*trauerkleider*), of their wives, but D'Ohsson, with much more probability, says earrings.[83] Chinghiz now advanced upon Bukhara.

Bukhara was an ancient and famous city, which, according to Juveni, derived its name from *bokhar*, which in the language of the Magi meant the centre of science, and he adds that the name resembles exactly that of *bokhar* which the Uïghur and Chinese idolaters[84] give to their temples. At the period of its foundation, however, it was called Mejeth. In the earlier days of Ibn Haukal it had two lines of fortifications, the inner one a farsakh square, and the outer one 12 farsakhs in circuit, within which were enclosed castles, parks, gardens, and villages. The river Sogd traversed its faubourgs. The citadel was in contact with the city, and although the surrounding country was very fertile, it did not suffice to feed the inhabitants.[85]

[80] Erdmann, *Temudschin*, pp. 369 and 371; D'Ohsson, vol. I, pp. 219 and, 21; Abulfaraj, *Chrôn. Syr.*, pp. 468 and 469; De la Croix, 169.

[81] Erdmann, pp. 378 and 379; D'Ohsson, vol. I, p. 227; Petit de la Croix, p. 205.

[82] De la Croix, p. 206.

[83] Erdmann, pp. 379 and 380; D'Ohsson, vol. I, p. 228; Petit de la Croix. p. 206.

[84] *i.e.* the Buddhists.

[85] D'Ohsson, vol. I, pp. 228 and 229 note.

It is called Pû-hua in the *Itinerary* of Yeliu-chu-tsai, who tells us it abounded in every kind of product, was richer than Samarkand, and was the residence of the Sulṭân.[86] The capture of Bukhara is not mentioned in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, where the town is however mentioned, and called Bukhar. In the *Yuan-shi* we merely read that in the 3rd month of 1220 the emperor took the city of Buhua.[87] This is all that we are told also in the *Kang-mu*, where the town is called Pu-har,[88] and in the *Yuan-shi-lei-pen* where it is called Po-ha-eul.[89] The *Huang-yuan* says that in 1221 Chinghiz marched in person with his fourth son, upon Bu-har, which he captured.[90]

The Muḥammadan historians have naturally much more detail. They tell us he pitched his camp at Gülabad, near Bukhara, in Muharram 617 A.H. That town was then garrisoned by 20,000 men, under a Mongol deserter named Kuk-Khân and certain subordinate chiefs, such as Hamid Nur, Tatangu, Sunj Khân, and Kushli Khân. During the night they made a sortie. De la Croix says they intended forcing the Mongol lines and escaping, but they were overtaken near the Oxus, and almost entirely destroyed. Ibn-al-Athir says that the Mongols having attacked the place furiously for three days, the garrison, despairing of resisting them, withdrew towards Khorasan. This desertion caused great consternation inside the city, where the citizens under the advice of the Sayyids, Kâdhis, &c., determined to open the gates and invite Chinghiz to enter. Ibn-al-Athir tells us the Haji Badru'd-dîn went with this invitation. Chinghiz entered the city on horseback with his son, Tului, went as far as the Great Mosque, and having reached the Maksura or throne, inquired if this was the Sulṭân's palace. "This is the temple of the Great God and the Prayer House of the Muḥammadans," was the reply. He then dismounted, climbed two or three steps of the mimbar or pulpit and bade the people find fodder for his horses, since the country round was wasted: so say Juveni and Mirkhond. Rashidu'd-dîn says it was Tului who thus mounted the pulpit, and addressed the people.[91] The Mongols thereupon opened the corn stores in the town, and used the boxes in which the *Qorâns* were kept as mangers, while they trampled the sacred books under foot. They dragged their skins of kumiz into the mosque, and sent for the singing girls in the town to dance and sing for them, while the sayyids, imâms, ulemas, &c., held the bridles of their horses. Thereupon the Sayyid Jelâlu-'d-dîn Ali Ibn Husain Alzebedi could not refrain addressing the learned and illustrious Imâm Ruknu'd-dîn as follows:—"Mulâna, what does this mean, wherefore dost thou not lift up thy prayers to God the Almighty, to deliver us from this trial?" The latter answered him with tears, and counselled submission to the will of heaven. "Keep silence, for the wind of God's displeasure blows upon us, and this is not the time to speak. I fear that if I were to speak it would go harder with us. If you wish to save your life hold the bridle of the Mongol horses."[92] Chinghiz' soldiers thereupon broke open the corn stores, and desecrated the mosque.

After inspecting the town, he withdrew, and summoned its principal inhabitants to meet him in the Mosalla, an open place outside the city, where the inhabitants were accustomed to go for public prayer, and having mounted a kind of pulpit he addressed them in the Mongol language and told them how greatly God's anger was kindled against them by reason of Muḥammad's treachery towards himself, how Otrar had already suffered in consequence, and that he himself was the Scourge of God who had been sent to punish them for their faults. His address was translated to them into Persian by Danishmend Hajib. Having inquired who their principal men were, there were pointed out, 280, of whom 190 were citizens and 90 foreign merchants. He now assigned a *baskak* or commissary, a Turk or Mongol to each of these and bade them disclose all their hidden treasures, since those which were visible they could find for themselves, and he gave orders to his commissaries they were to do their work without violence, and not to be too exacting. The town would probably have been spared, but that a portion of the garrison had not surrendered; 400 Khuârezmian soldiers having taken shelter

86 Bretschneider, *Notes*, &c., p. 117.
87 Bretschneider, *Notices*, &c., p. 60.
88 De Mailla, tome IX, p. 96.
89 Gaubil, p. 37.
90 Bretschneider, *Notices*, &c. p. 66.
91 See Erdmann, note 254.
92 Erdmann, pp. 381 and 382.

in the citadel, where they still held out. The able-bodied inhabitants of Bukhara were accordingly summoned, and employed in filling up the ditch of the citadel. "The infidels even used the pulpits and *Qorân* boxes for the purpose." Says Ibn-al-Athir, "Verily we are God's, and to Him shall we return. Truly did God call himself the Patient, the Clement, else would the earth have swallowed them up at such a deed." The catapults and other engines were drawn up against it, and it was assailed with naphtha, &c. &c. Its commander, Kuk-Khàn, fought very bravely, but the place was at length stormed and captured, and the garrison put to the sword to the last man. It seems that Chinghiz heard that some of the garrison were still harboured by their friends in Bukhara, he accordingly ordered the place to be fired, and the town, which was built of wood, was reduced to ashes, only the great mosque and some palaces which were built of brick escaped.[93]

Ibn-al-Athir says that having dealt with the citadel, Chinghiz summoned the headmen of the town, and said to them, "I require of you the silver which the Khuârezm Shâh has sold you, for it is mine, and has been taken from my men, and it is now in your hands." They accordingly surrendered it. He then ordered them to go out of the city, and they went out without anything except the clothes they wore, whereupon the infidels entered and plundered it, and slew whomsoever they found in it. The Muslims were then surrounded, and divided among the Mongols. "It was an awful day, with the wail of men, women, and children, who were scattered far and wide, and torn asunder. They divided the women among themselves. Bukhara awoke, a heap of ruins, as if it had not been, yesterday."[94] The women suffered the last outrage in sight of the men who were crying, defenceless against the fate which had overcome them. Some, unable to resign themselves, preferred death, and fought till they were slain. Among those who died rather than behold the fate of the Muslims were the Doctor and Imâm Ruknu'd-dîn, Imâm Zadeh and his son, who, seeing how the women were used fought until they were killed, so did the Qâzi Sadr-u'd-dîn Khân.

Von Hammer compares with forec the accounts of the capture of Bukhara given by the Musalmân historians with the Byzantine description of the capture of Constantinople. It may be also, as in the latter case, that there was some exaggeration in the number of people actually put to death. It would seem that the 30,000 turbulent Kankalis were so, but it is hardly likely that a large proportion of the citizens were. The young men were sent to do sappers work at Samarkand, while the artisans were largely transplanted and settled in the towns further east. Bukhara remained desolate until Ogotai, Chinghiz Khân's successor, ordered Mahmud Yelvaj to restore it.

[93] Erdmann, pp. 382 and 383; D'Ohsson, vol. I, pp. 226 and 234; De la Croix, pp. 208 and 218.

[94] Koran II, p. 261.

DID THE ARABS REALLY BURN THE ALEXANDRIAN LIBRARY?

BY E. REHATSEK.

After having adduced the names of the writers who favour the belief in the burning of the Alexandrian library, and controverted the arguments of those who do not entertain it, the Rev. J. D. Bate, M.R.A.S., says at the end of his paper[1] on the subject: "The obvious conclusion from the facts thus brought together is, that the burden of proof rests with those who deny the story. The grounds on which Gibbon bases his scepticism regarding it, we have seen to be worthless; it would have been interesting to have learnt on what grounds so eminently careful a writer as Humboldt was, would justify the contemptuous term by which he characterizes it."

It must be admitted that if a source from which subsequent authors drew their information can be shown to be of no authority, on a certain special subject on which earlier authors had remained silent, all later writers who place reliance upon the statement concerning that special subject must likewise be untrustworthy. Accordingly, if we can show that Abu'l Faragius, upon whose account of the burning[2] the Rev. Mr. Bate relies, is not to be considered of any authority on this

[1] *Ante*, p. 107.

[2] The report on the burning of the Library of Alexandria occurs at the end of the following passage (p. 114) of the *Historia Dynastiarum*, which is worth giving in full, although Mr. Bate has already given the substance of it: "About this time (A.D. 642) also John, an Alexandrian, whom we call the grammarian, flourished among the Moslems. He lived till the time when 'Amru ibn ul 'Asi conquered Alexandria. He waited on 'Amru, who being fully aware to what degree he had risen in science, treated him very honourably, and listened to his philosophical discourses, to which the Arabs were not accustomed, and which astonished and amazed him. 'Amru himself, how-

point, there will be no need of refuting the writers who have copied that account from Abu'l Faragius, nor the European authors who base their belief in the burning of the Alexandrian library upon that account.

Abu'l Faragius is the latinized name of Abu'l Faraj, who was known by it as an Arabic, and by that of Gregorius Bar Hebraeus as a Syriac, author. He was the son of the physician Aaron, who had formerly been a Jew, and was born in 1226 at Melitene. In his youth he had enjoyed a distinguished education in Greek, Syriac, and Arabic, as well as in Christian dogmatics, in ecclesiastical history, and in medicine. His father having already been baptized, he was from his earliest youth educated in the Christian religion. In extensive journeys he perfected his scientific education more and more. He appears already in his youth to have enjoyed high consideration among his countrymen, because he was as early as the twenty-first year of his age appointed bishop of Guba, near Melitene, and consecrated Patriarch. Shortly afterwards he became bishop of Aleppo, whence he was transferred to the convent of St. Matthew in the vicinity of Mousul, where he occupied the position of a Mafrian of the East. The dignity of Mafrian was next to that of Patriarch, and therefore the second in the Jacobite Church. The diocese subject to him embraced a large portion of Mesopotamia. His spiritual office was one of the most influential but also one of the most arduous, on account of the invasion of the Mongols under Hulagu Khân, at whose court Abu'l Faraj had on repeated occasions to plead for the interests of the oppressed Christians. He contended incessantly for the liberties of his co-religionists, and the success of his efforts can be ascribed only to his indefatigable activity, to his great experience in transacting business, and to his dexterity. It is expressly reported that his knowledge also and skill in practical medicine contributed not a little to make him acceptable to Hulagu Khân, who had great confidence in him, and most willingly granted him the immunities in the exercise of the Christian religion he had asked for. Above all, however, the reverence-inspiring dignity of his personal attitude and the deeply serious morality of his nature, won for him the esteem of the Mongols, and contributed materially to confer upon the Christians a respectable position in the Mongol empire. That Abu'l Faraj was, in spite of the great advantages which distinguished him above his contemporaries, nevertheless a child of his own times, and entangled in their superstitions, is evident from the circumstances said to have accompanied his demise. He was, as he also himself narrates, a zealous astrologer. His birth, his consecration as bishop, and also as Mafrian, had all fallen in the times of the conjunction of Saturn with Jupiter. Therefore he was firmly convinced that his death also would ensue when these two planets met again in conjunction. He attributed to them a decided influence upon his fate. Shortly before this position of the two planets again took place, he was attacked by a violent fever, and refused to accept medical aid, because the stars had announced his death; and thus he also died in 1286, as he had himself predicted.

The Syriac chronicle of Abu'l Faraj is to be considered his chief historical work. It is based on the diligent and partly critical use of a considerable number of Syriac, Arabic, Persian and Greek sources, many of which, as adduced by him, appear to have been since lost. Of this larger work, which embraces secular and ecclesiastic history, he compiled, in the latter period of his life, a shorter extract in the Arabic language. This extract was edited by Edward Pocock in 1663, with a Latin translation under the title of *Historia Dynastiarum*. The work, however, according to our text, is not merely an extract, but contains many a notice, chiefly of a literary character, which does not exist in the Syriac original. Whether these additions are interpolations of later copyists, or are really the work of the author, cannot be determined. As to the notice quoted from the Arabic extract in the second foot-note of this paper, concerning the burning of the library, or a library, of Alexandria, nothing whatever agreeing therewith is discovered in the Syriac chronicle.

ever, was also a man of intelligence, quick-witted, and clear-headed, wherefore he attached himself to him and was always near him. One day John said to him:—You have sealed up all the things contained in the treasuries of Alexandria. As far as the things are concerned which may be of use to you, I shall say nothing about them, but those which you cannot use, you ought certainly to leave alone. 'Amru asked:—What do you need? John replied:—The philosophical books contained in the royal treasure. Of these I cannot dispose, replied 'Amru, until I obtain permission from 'Omar ibn ul Khettâb, the Commander of the Faithful. Then he wrote to 'Omar and informed him of what John had said. Hereon 'Omar replied to him in a letter as follows:—As far as the books mentioned by you are concerned, they contain either what agrees with the book of Allah [the Qurân] and then the book of Allah is sufficient, and we need them not; or they contain something which contradicts the book of Allah, and also then we need them not. Order them therefore to be destroyed. Accordingly 'Amru ibn u'l 'Asi caused the books to be distributed among the baths of Alexandria for fuel, and thus the fire consumed them within half a year."

This information concerns only the books preserved in the royal treasure, and not those of the library of Alexandria; it has nevertheless been referred to as pointing to the burning of the Museum library of Alexandria! This information morever, is not contemporary with the event of the burning, but comes from a Syro-Christian author, who wrote in Syriac and Arabic, as late as the middle of the thirteenth century, and therefore about six centuries after the event described by him!

With regard to the absence of this notice in the Syriac *Chronicon*, says Dr. Krehl, the assertion has been made that Abu'l Faraj had prepared his Arabic extract with a special view to the literary wants of the Arabs, and had inserted the story therein, because it was of a quite special interest to them. At any rate, this absence is highly surprising. But still more surprising is the circumstance that the same notice is wanting also in the *Annals* of Eutychius and of Al-Makin. The former was Patriarch of Alexandria, and died as such, in A. D. 940. He gives a circumstantial account of the conquest of Alexandria, and certainly made use of the best sources at his disposal, which, as he wrote in the very locality of the event, appear to have been tolerably abundant. Being a man of scientific education, the loss of the library, if it really existed when Alexandria was conquered, and no doubt contained many highly important and valuable Christian writings, must have been a sad event to him. There was nothing to hinder him from giving a circumstantial account of the burning of the library by the Arabs; but he failed to do so.

Three hundred years later, Al-Makin, likewise a Christian, also wrote in Egypt. He gives the very minutest details about the conquest of Alexandria, but says not a word of the destruction of the library by 'Amrû. The two authors just alluded to were closer to the locality where the event took place than Abu'l Faraj, who wrote in Mesopotamia, and in all probability drew his information from Byzantine sources, which are well known to have a very turbid tinge so far as the history of Islâm is concerned. Byzantine authors have placed themselves in the strongest antagonism towards Islâm by loading it with all the iniquities they possibly could They imagined it to be their interest to represent the professors of Islâm, who were their foes, as the greatest possible barbarians, hence it may with great probability be surmised that the whole narrative originated with Byzantines, unless perhaps Abu'l Faraj himself had erroneously applied to the conquest of Alexandria a report describing a totally different event. We are informed—of course likewise by later authors—that when Sa'd Ibn Waqqâs, a general of the Khalifah 'Omar, conquered Persia, he found also many Persian books. Not knowing what to do with them, he wrote to 'Omar for orders how to dispose of them, and the latter replied that they ought to be thrown into the water or into fire.

If the history of Abu'l Faraj be examined more closely, great exaggeration will at once appear. Four thousand baths are during six months asserted to have been warmed with the burning books! This is indeed a worthy sidepiece to the account of Quṭb-uddyn on the destruction of the library of Baghdad by Hulagu.[3] He is said to have ordered the books to be thrown into the Tigris; and their number is asserted to have been so large, that they formed a bridge over which cavalry and infantry passed; and the ink flowing from the books is stated to have been so abundant that it dyed all the water of the river black!

Now, if its exaggeration makes the narrative of Abu'l Faraj improbable, its further details contradict also other well authenticated testimonies. A portion of the letter written by 'Amrû, after the taking of Alexandria, to the Khalifah 'Omar is still in existence.[4] In this letter he says:—"I cannot describe its treasures, but I content myself to inform you, that I have found in it four thousand palaces, forty thousand taxable Jews, four hundred royal theatres, and twelve thousand gardeners who sell vegetables." It is further reported that the Arabs wished to plunder the treasures, and that 'Amrû asked the Khalifah for orders on the subject. 'Omar categorically disapproved of the intention. The order to burn the library can scarcely be reconciled with this disapprobation. 'Amrû enumerates in his report various costly objects and rarities which he had found in Alexandria; and could he, whom even Abu'l Faraj represents as a great friend and patron of learning, have remained entirely silent upon so great a collection of books? That is scarcely credible.

There are much earlier reports on the conquest of Alexandria than that of Abu'l Faraj, *e.g.* by Beladurî, Ibn 'Abdu'l Ḥakam and others; some of these reports enter into the minutest details of the events of the siege, communicate the number of the inhabitants of Alexandria very accurately, mention the number of baths, gardens, &c. in the town, describe very accurately what 'Amrû did after taking Alexandria, what capitation-tax he imposed upon the Christian Copts, the Jews, &c., but remain completely silent about the burning of a library, as stated by Abu'l Faraj.

On the other hand, historians of great authority and of the first rank,[1] such as Maqrizi, Ḥâji, Khulfa and others, who produced valuable works teeming with information on the history, civilisation and literature of Muḥammadan countries, narrate also that when the Arabs conquered

[3] Conf. *Notices & Extraits* of De Sacy, tome IV, p. 569.

[4] Conf. Arnold's *Chrestom. Arab.* p. 145, and Ewald, *Zeitschr. f. Kunde des Morgenlandes*, vol. III, p. 349.

Alexandria in the year 642 of our era, they burnt a vast library. The report of one of these historians, 'Abdu'l Laṭif, who lived in the 12th century, and therefore more than 500 years after the event he describes, is very brief, and the passage relating to the burning of the library is this :—" I believe this building was the portico where Aristotle, and afterwards his disciples, imparted instruction, and that this was the academy built by Alexander when he founded the town, and in which the library burnt by 'Amrû ibn u'l 'Asi at the command of 'Omar was situated."[5] One portion of this statement is of course false, because Aristotle had never been in Alexandria, and the museum had not been founded by Alexander but by Ptolemy I. Lagus; and the other portion about the burning of the library is just mentioned incidentally, like any rumour of the credulous and uncritical mediæval travellers about the localities of Jerusalem, and this author having been more of a traveller than a historian, the historical notices here and there inserted by him in his work on Egypt are not deserving of implicit credit.

After having pretty closely followed Dr Krehl's dissertation on this subject, we terminate it, by giving also the history of the library from its foundation in nearly his own words :—

It is well known that the library was founded by Ptotemy I. Lagus, who assembled a circle of scholars around himself in his new residence at Alexandria, which he made one of the most flourishing seats of learning. Only the first beginnings of the library however date from his reign. The extension and increase of the collection and in general of the whole museum took place during the reign of his son Ptolemy II Philadelphus, about the beginning of the third century before our era, when the museum attained a world-wide fame, and became the habitation of the most celebrated professors of the period. Later times of course also boasted of yet other and similar great academies, as for instanee, the large schools of Nisibis and Edessa, which were for a long time centres of Helleno-Syriac science, but none of them could in the magnificence of its institutions, in the magnitude of its endowments, in the celebrity of its professors and in the power of its influence, vie with the Academy of Alexandria. The library and the academy with its rich collections in natural science stood in close connection, and both were augmented from year to year, especially the library. The statements about its contents vary from 40,000 to 700,000 book-rolls, but are derived from later authors, who never adduce any old authority as a voucher for their correctness.

Besides the library of the museum there existed also a number of other collections of books, such as that in the Temple of Serapis, the Serapeum, which still existed, according to the undoubted statement of Tertullian, in the third century of our era; further, there was a library at Sebastium, and some other smaller collections of books. It is not impossible that the number of seven hundred thousand may be referable to the total number of book-rolls which existed in the various libraries of Alexandria.

The real greatness however of the library of the Alexandrian museum cannot have lasted much longer than two centuries, because already in the second half of the second century before our era, the artists and scholars were, during the reign of the cruel Evergetes (114-117 B.C.) expelled from Alexandria, whereby decay was brought upon the museum, which must undoubtedly have suffered considerable losses in its contents also. Evergetes II appears indeed afterwards to have repented of the errors committed by him in the beginning of his reign, because it is expressly stated that he not only devoted himself to the cultivation of the sciences but even became an author, composed a work on zoology, corrected the texts of the songs of Homer, and endeavoured to attract learned men to the museum. Scholars hesitated however to comply with the invitation, and never came. Aristarchus, the great critic and teacher of Evergetes, was, and remained, the last celebrated scholar whose sphere of activity was in Alexandria. After his time the notices about the academy and the library connected therewith become more and more scanty, till at last they cease altogether. During the interval of a century from Evergetes II till Julius Cæsar nothing whatever is known about the condition of the museum. Accordingly the information of the 47th year before our era, in the time of Julius Cæsar, becomes the more important that the museum had been consumed by fire, and that therewith by far the largest portion of the library preserved in it likewise perished. Some twenty years afterwards (24 B.C.) Strabo paid a visit to Alexandria, whose beauty he expressly describes, but says not a word about the library. It is probable that in his time the certainly very great gaps had not yet been filled. This appears to have been really done afterwards, because Suetonius clearly narrates in the biography of Diocletian, that the latter had filled the desiderata which existed in the Italian libraries,

[5] Translation of De Sacy, p. 183.

with copies of manuscripts from the Alexandrian library. During the time of the Roman emperors years of prosperity alternated with years of decay in strong contrasts. In the reign of Alexander Severus the academy of Alexandria began again to flourish after the city had recovered itself gradually from the scenes of horror under Caracalla, and we learn from Suidas that about the year 360 A.D. the museum really still existed. This is properly the last notice we possess about the existence of the museum. But after that time even the fate of the Serapeum and of its library is in complete darkness. We know that the temple of Serapis with which the library was connected had, in A.D. 389, been transformed into a Christian Church under Theodosius the Great. It is quite uncertain whether after this time the library yet remained in Alexandria, or was destroyed or transported to Constantinople; but the latter case is the most probable one, and the great collection of books founded by Theodosius II in the beginning of the fifth century, must probably have been formed of the libraries of Egypt and of Asia Minor.

If we now review the whole material at our disposal for the history of the Alexandrian library, we must consider it probable in the highest degree, that at the time when the Arabs conquered Egypt, either nothing at all, or but a scanty remnant of the Alexandrian library, which had been so celebrated in antiquity, and had so much contributed to the advancement of science, was in existence.

The adherents of the prophet have in their blind zeal undoubtedly destroyed many of the most precious vestiges of antiquity, but the verdict of *not guilty* will have to be pronounced decidedly with reference to the crime with which they are charged, of having also burnt the library of Alexandria.

[This paper was received in April immediately after the publication of the Rev. Mr. Bates on the same subject, but though set up immediately it could not be published till now, from want of space.—ED.]

MISCELLANEA.

THE PROVERBS OF ALI BIN TALEBI.

Translated by K. T. Best, M.A., M.R.A.S., Principal, Guzerat College.

Continued from p. 184.

128. How many there are who are tempted by the charms of praise conferred on them!

129. How can any one feel pleasure in death if the love of the world dwells in his heart?

130. Be one of the sons of another life and not of this, for every son will cling to his mother at the resurrection day.

131. There is a disease for every living being, and a medicine for every disease.

132. To everything there is a sweet or bitter end.

133. Learning will by no means profit unless it has understanding as its associate, nor will words ever suffice unless they are joined with deeds.

134. It is the duty of a shepherd to choose for his flock what he chooses for himself.

135. It is the duty of a king to rule himself before he rules his soldiers.

136. It is the greatest liberality to hasten rewards, and the greatest clemency to delay punishments.

137. Patience in adversity is one of the treasures of faith.

138. It is the nature of fools to be suddenly moved to anger in anything.

139. Only a wise man despises himself, and only a fool acquiesces in his own counsel.

140. Honour your seniors and your juniors will honour you.

141. That which is fated will come to pass, therefore be patient in seeking; you will never obtain what is too far off, therefore use well what you have got.

142. He is not truly wise who complains of his narrow circumstances before one who has no pity, nor truly prudent who is too open before an unfriendly person.

143. God does not enjoin on you anything dishonourable, nor forbid you anything but what is disgraceful.

144. That men may trust you speak the truth.

145. He who tries to deceive God is deceived.

146. The bitterness of sincere advice is better than the sweetness of a false persuasion.

147. The prosperity of fools is like a garden on a dung-hill.

148. The keepers of riches perish while they live, but the wise remain as long as day and night shall endure; their persons are regretted but their image remains in the heart.

149. Evil advisers are helpers of injustice and brothers of iniquity.

150. The piety of a faithful man is in his work, but that of a hypocrite in his tongue.

151. Woe to him who perseveres in his folly, but blessed is he who understands and allows himself to be brought back to the right way.

152. How foolish is an obstinate person, and careless of his own happiness.

I

II a.

W. Griggs, Photo-lith. London.

II b.

III a.

III b.

IV a.

IV b.

SANSKRIT AND OLD-CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo.C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

(*Continued from p.* 187.)

No. CXLVIII.

THE original plates, from which the present inscription is edited, belonged to Sir Walter Elliot, K.C.S.I., and were obtained by him, through Mr. John Morris, from 'Pâganavaram' in the Madras Presidency. They are now in the British Museum, to which they were presented by the owner. They are five in number, each about $8\frac{1}{16}''$ long by $4\frac{1}{16}''$ broad. The edges of them are raised into high rims, and the inscription is in a state of excellent preservation almost throughout. The ring, on which the plates are strung, is about $\frac{1}{2}''$ thick and $5\frac{1}{2}''$ in diameter; it had been cut when the grant came into my hands. The seal on the ring is circular, about $3\frac{1}{4}''$ in diameter. The devices on it, in high relief on a countersunk surface, are very much defaced; but it can be seen that they were,—at the top, the sun and moon, and a standing boar, facing to the proper left; across the centre, the legend *Srî-Tribhuvanâṁkuśa;* and, at the bottom, a floral device, and, apparently an elephant-goad. The language is Sanskṛit throughout.

This is an Eastern Chalukya inscription, not specifically dated, of the time of Bhîma II., also called Chalukya-Bhîma; Vishṇuvardhana, and Gaṇḍa-Mahêndra. And it records the grant of the village of Diggubaṟṟu in the *vishaya* of Pâgunavara, to a Brâhmaṇ named Viddamayya, the son of Mâdhava-Sômayâjî, of the Gautama *gôtra.*

Text.[1]

First plate.

[1] Svasti Śrîmatâṁ sakala-bhuvana-saṁstûyâ(ya)mâna-Mânavya-sagau(gô)-
[2] trâṇâṁ Hârîti-putrâṇâṁ Kauśikî-vara-prasâda-labdha-râjyânaṁ mâ-
[3] tru(tṛi)-gaṇa-paripâlitânâṁ Svâmi-[Ma*]hâsêna-pâd-ânudhyâtânâṁ bhagava-
[4] n-Nârâyaṇa-prasâda-samâsâdita-vara-varâhalâṁcha(chha)-
[5] n-êkshaṇa-kshaṇa-vaśîkṛit-ârâti-maṇḍalânâm=aśvamêdh-âva-
[6] bhṛita(tha)-snâna-pavittri(tri)kṛita-vapushaṁ Chalukyân[âṁ*] kulam=ala[ṁ*]ka-
[7] rishṇôs=Satyâśraya-Vallabhêndrasya bhrâtâ Kubja-Vishṇuvarddhanô=[shṭâda]śa
[8] varsh[â*]ṇi Veṁgi-maṇḍalâ(la)m=anvap[â*]layat || Tad-[â*]tmajê(jô) Jaya[siṁha]-

Second plate; first side.

[9] s=trayas-triṁśatam || Tad-anuj-Êndra-râja-nandanô Vishṇuvarddhanô-[nava*] varsh[â*]ṇi ||
[10] Tad-anujô Maṁggi(gi)-yuvarâja[ḥ*] paṁcha-viṁśatim || Tat-putrô Jayasi-
[11] ṁhas=trayôdaśa || Tasya dvaimâturaḥ Kokkilish=shaṇ=mâsân || Tasya jyê-
[12] shṭhô bhrâtâ Vishṇuva[r*]ddhanas=sapta-ttri(tri)ṁśatam || Tat-sutô Vija-
[13] yâditya-bhaṭṭ[â*]rakô=shṭâdaśa || Tat-sûnu[r*]=Mvi(vvi)shṇuvarddhanash=shaṭ-tri[ṁ*]-
[14] śatam || Tat-sunur=ashṭ-ôttara-śata-mita-narêndr-êś[v*]ara-karaṇâraṇa-gaṇ-âri-
[15] vijiti-saṁprâpta-ki(kî)rtti[r*]=mmutimân[2]=Dharmma iva Narêndramṛi[ga*]râjê(jô)=shṭa-chatvâri-
[16] ṁśatam || Tat-sûnuḥ Kali-Vishṇuvarddhanô=dhy-a[r*]ddha-varsham || Tat-sûnu[r*]=Mmaṁdhgi[3]-ha-

Second plate; second side.

[17] nana-kiraṇa-pura-dahana-vikhyâta-ki(kî)rtti[r*]=Gguṇaga-Vijayâdityaś=cha-
[18] tu[ś-cha*]tvâri[ṁ*]śatam |(||) Tad-anuja-yuvarâja-Vikramâditya-bhûbhṛid-â
[19] tmajaś=Châlukya-Bhîma-bhûpâlas=triṁśatam || Tat-putrâḥs[4]=tad-ananta-
[20] rêṇa Vijayâdityô vij[i*]ty=[a*]havê ||(|) svai(svê)n=aikêna ga-
[21] jêna vârana(ṇa)-ghâ(gha)ṭ-[â*]ru(rû)ḍâ(ḍhâ)n=Ku(ka)liṁgâdhipâ[n*] | âru-
[22] hy=ôj[j*]vala-hêma-kalpita-tulâ-kôṭiṁ vadânyô jaya-stambhaṁ

[1] From the original plates.
[2] Correct into *mûrttimân.*
[3] Correct into *Mmaṁgi.*
[4] Correct into *putras*, or else into *putrâṁs.*

[23] ki(kî)rttimayan=nidhâya virajê shaṇ-mâsam=âsi(sî)n=nṛipaḥ |(||) Tasy=â-
[24] gra-sûnur=Amma-râjas=sapta varsh[â*]ṇi || Tat-suta[ṁ*] Vijayâ-

Third plate; first side.

[25] dityaṁ kṛita-kaṇṭhikâ-paṭṭa-bandh-âbhî(bhi)shêkam ||[5] bâlam=uchchâṭya
[26] Tâh-[â*]dhipôpô[6] mâsam=êkam || Ta[ṁ*] yudhi vinihatya punaś=Châ[7]-
[27] lukya-Bhîma-bhûp-âtmajô Vikramâditya-râjaḥ |[8] êkâdaśa mâ-[9]
[28] sân=bhuvam=anvapâlayat || Tab=bhitvâ[10] yudhi Bhîma-
[29] sannibha-balô Bhi(bhî)mô=Mma-sûnô(nur)=bbhaṭas=san-mâs-â-
[30] shṭakam=âvad=êva vasudhâṁ vyâpâdya[11] taṁ saṁyugê Tâha-jyê-
[31] shṭha-sutô=tha Malla-nṛipatis=sapt=ânvapâd=vatsar[â*]n=utsâryy=[â*]-
[32] tha tam=agrahît=kula-bhuvaṁ paṭṭêna Bhîmô nṛipaḥ |(||) Tasy=aiva vyasa-

Third plate; second side.

[33] nam=iha trayâṁ jataṁ[12] śâstr-âstr-[â*]bhyasanam=aninditaṁ cha bhû-
[34] yaḥ saṁrakshâ sakala-janasya śâstra-dṛishṭyâ sandânaṁ budha-ja-
[35] na-sât-kṛitaṁ sa-mânam |(||) Mêḻâṁbâyâ[ṁ*] dyuti-nuti-mati-śrî-dhṛi-
[36] ti-kshânt[i*]mâ(ma)tyâm=aty-âdityô jagati Vijayâditya
[37] â[13]jîjanad=yam Dharmm-Êndr-Âgni-Trinayana-Dhanêś-Ôda-
[38] kêś-âdi-dharmma[ṁ* *or* ḥ*] Sênânâthan=Tripuramathanaḥ Kanyakâyâ[ṁ*]yath=
âhuḥ(?) [||*]
[39] Mitr-âravinda-pratibôdha-hêtu[ḥ*] pradvêshi-nîhâra-vighâta-hêtuḥ-
[40] yasy=ôchchṛi(chchhṛi)taṁ têja ih=aijatê [kau] têjasvinas=têja iv=âtipûta[ṁ*] [||*]

Fourth plate; first side.

[41] Yasmin=śâsati vasudhâṁ vasubhis=sa[ṁ*]pûrnna(rṇṇa)-sakala-janatâ[ṁ] cha ||(|)
[42] râjani Dharmma-tanûjê yathâ-Manu-prôkta-dharmma-saṁpannê |(||) Sa ssa(sa)-
[43] rvvalôkâśraya-Śrî-Vishṇuvarddhana-mahârâj[â*]dhirâjaḥ=para[ma]-mâ[14]-
[44] hêśvaraḥ=parama-brahmâ(hma)ṇyô mâtâ pitṛi-pâd-ânudhyâta-
[45] ś=Chalukya[15]-Bhîma-GaṇḍaMahêndra[ḥ*] siṁhâsa[16]nâ(na)-maṁṭaruḍa-[17]
[46] ḥ=Pâgunavara-vishaya-nivâsinô râshṭraku(kû)ṭa-pramukhân=sarvvân=samâ-
[47] huâ(hû)y=êrttha(ttha)m=âjñ[â*]payati [|*] Viditam=astu vaḥ [|*] Śrîmân=Gautama-
gau(gô)tra-
[48] jô dvija-varas=sad-vartma-gaḥ=puṇya-bhâg=n=âdâ(da)ttê vasudhâm=api kshiti-

Fourth plate; second side.

[49] tal-âdhîśais=sū-vaṁś-ôdva(dbha)vaiḥ datt[â*]ṁ Tûrkkama-bhûsuraḥ krama-yu-
[50] taḥ khyâtaḥ kshitau sad-guṇai[ḥ*] dîn-ânanda-vidhâyi-dâna-nirataḥ=pûj[y*]a-
[51] s=satâṁ sarvvadâ n(||)[18] Tad-âṭmajô dik-prathitô guṇ-aughai[r*]=dvijêndra-vaṁś-
â[ṁ*]ba-
[52] ra-pûrṇṇa-chandraḥ anûna-dô(dâ)n-â[r*]chchita-bandhu-chchitabandhu[19]-mitrô
[53] mahâ-guṇai(ṇô) Mâdhava-sêmayâji(jî) n(||) Sutas=tadîyô [g]u-
[54] ṇi-bṛinda-vandyaḥ kalâ-kalâp . . bha(cha) pâra-dṛiś[v*]â śruti-smṛiti-prôkta-sa-
[55] masta-vastu-viśuddha-dhîm[â*]n=iha Viddamayyaḥ |(||) Gṛihaṁ yadîyaṁ sva-
[56] gṛihaṁ satâ[ṁ*] yad-dhanâni yasy=ârtth a-yutâni pâtri-samarppaṇât=sa-

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[5] This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
[6] This second *pô* is a mistake.
[7] This syllable has the long vowel, *â*, in the original, though it has failed to appear in the lithograph.
[8] This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
[9] Here the vowel *â* has again failed to appear in the lithograph.
[10] Correct into *taṁ jitvâ*.
[11] First *dyâ* was engraved, and then it was corrected into *dya* by partial erasure of the *â*.
[12] Some correction or other is required here; probably we should read *trayaṁ cha jâtaṁ*.
[13] The vowel *a* here is lengthened by metrical license.
[14] Here, again, the vowel *â* has failed to appear in the lithograph.
[15] The name here has the short *a* in the first syllable, though it has the long *â* in lines 19 and 26.
[16] *Stha* was engraved and then corrected into *sa* by partial erasure of the *th*.
[17] Correct into *maṁdap-ârûḍha*.
[18] Here, and in line 53, the engraver has confused the final form of *n* with the double mark of punctuation.
[19] These four syllables are repeated by mistake.

Fifth plate.

[57] rvva-dig-asta(nta)râṇi yadîyya(ya)-kî[r*]t[t*]yâ paribhûshitâni || Śuddh-ânvayaś=śu-
[58] ddhatara-pravṛitti[r*]=nniyukta-karmmaṇy=upadhâ-viśuddhaḥ satâm=matas=sad-bahu-
[59] pôshya-vâ(mâ)rggas=samasta-bhûta-priya-vâk-[k*]riyaś=cha |(||) Tasmai tat-kêś âtiśaya-
[60] sandushmar[20]=asmâbhi[r*]=Ddigguba[21]rru-grâmô dattaḥ [|*] Asy=[â*]vadha-
[61] yaḥ [|*] pûrvvataḥ Krañcha ||(|) dakshiṇataḥ Kranûru | paśchimataḥ
[62] uttarataḥ Paluko(?kau)nu |(||) Asy=ôpari [na*] kô(kê)nachid=bâdhâ karttavyâḥ[22] [||*] Bahubhi[r*]=vvasudhâ da-
[63] da[23]ttâ bahubhiś=chṛ-ânupâlitâ yasya yasya yad[â*] bhûmis=tasya tasya ta[dâ*] phalam |(||) Sva-da-
[64] ttâṁ para-dattâṁ vâ yô harêta vasundharâṁ shashṭi-varsha[24]-sahasrâṇi vishṭ[â*]-yâ[ṁ*] j[âya*]tê krimiḥ |(||)

CHINGHIZ KHÂN AND HIS ANCESTORS.

BY HENRY H. HOWORTH, F.S.A.

(*Continued from p. 208.*)

XXVII.

Chinghiz Khân having secured Bukhara, determined to overwhelm the other great city of Mavera-un-Nehr, namely, Samarkand. This was felt to be a great undertaking, and the various contingents which had been busy in securing the towns on the Sihun, converged on the doomed city. Ibn-al-Athir says, "The Mongols took with them from Bukhara the young men who had not been put to death, driving them on foot in the most wretched manner, and killing those who were worn out and unable to walk. When they approached the city they sent forward the cavalry, leaving behind the foot-soldiers, prisoners, and baggage to advance successively, so as to increase the terror in the minds of the Moslems. At the sight of this looming mass the people inside overrated its strength, and when the next day the prisoners, infantry, and train came on, every tenth captive carrying a flag, they imagined they were all fighting men." The Mongols had marched along the beautiful Zarafshân valley, and left contingents *en route* to besiege the forts of Sar-i-pul and Dabusah.[1] Samarkand was then the capital of Transoxiana. It was a very ancient city, the Maracandes of Pliny, Strabo, &c. It was seventy furlongs, or three French leagues, in circumference. Its walls had twelve gates, made of iron, which were protected by towers, and had a deep ditch girdling them about, which also formed an aqueduct, along which water was carried from the adjoining river in leaden pipes and distributed through the city, in each of whose streets was a rivulet of water. Each house had a beautiful garden. Besides this outer or great city, there was also an inner one, which had four gates, but the walls were defenceless. Within this latter city was the great mosque and the palace. Yakut reports, says De la Croix, that when you mounted the fortress to view the city you could see nothing but trees and the roofs of some houses, for within the walls were ploughed lands, fields, and many gardens, and even mountains and valleys. One of its gates, called the gate of Kesh, had an iron plate on it with an inscription in the old Himyaritic or primitive Arabic letters, and coins with Kufic characters were found there when Timur dug the foundation for his city.

In the itinerary of Yeliu Chutsai who accompanied Chinghiz Khân, we have a description of Samarkand at this time, which is interesting. He calls it Sün-se-kan, and tells us the meaning of this name among the western people was "fat." Dr. Bretschneider agrees with this etymology, Semiz in Turkish means fat, and he reminds us the Nestorian bishops of the Middle Ages called the city Semniscant. The Chinese generally wrote the name Sie-mi-sze-kan.[2] To revert to Yeliu Chutsai's itinerary, we are told the city received

[20] Some correction or other is required here. Probably we should read *tat-klêś-âtiśaya-sandushṭair*.

[21] The mark over this *ba* is a fault or rust-hole in the copper,—not an *anusvâra*.

[22] This *visarga* is a mistake.

[23] This repetition of the *da* is a mistake.

[24] The *r* of this syllable has failed to appear in the lithograph.

[1] *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, p. 978, note. *Shajrat-ul-Atrak*, p. 135.

[2] See Bretschneider, *Notices, &c.*, p. 38, note 93, and p. 116, note 32.

this name from its fertility, the country round being very rich and populous. They had gold and copper coins, which had not holes and rims as in China. Around the city for a great distance were orchards, groves, flower-gardens, aqueducts, running springs, square basins and round ponds in uninterrupted succession. The water-melons there were as big as horses' heads, and wine was made from grapes. There were mulberry trees, but not fit for the breeding of silk worms. All the clothes there were made of Kü-sün.[3] Black was used as the mourning colour, while white, contrary to the Chinese custom, was considered of good omen, and universally worn.[4] In the itinerary of Ch'ang-Ch'un, who was there two years later, we read that Sie-mi-sze-kan was laid out on the borders of canals. As it never rained in summer and autumn, the people conducted two rivers to the city and distributed the water through all the streets, so that every house could make use of it. Before the Sultân was overthrown the city contained more than a hundred thousand families, but after its occupation[5] only a fourth part remained. Most of the fields and gardens belonged to the Muhammadans; but they were not allowed to dispose of them. They were obliged to manage their property in conjunction with Khitan, Chinese and men from Ho-si, *i.e.*, the modern Kausuh. Chinese workmen were living everywhere.[6] According to Juveni and Rashidu'd-dîn, the garrison consisted of 110,000 men. Mirkhond tells us that of these 60,000 were Turkomans or Kankalis, and 50,000 Tajiks, *i.e.* Persians. There were also 200 elephants there of the largest size. Nissavi says the garrison consisted of 40,000 men, Turks and Persians, under the best generals, while Ibn-al-Athir puts it at 50,000 men. He goes on to say that the Mongols surrounded the place, whereupon the strong and brave men sallied out, without any of the Khuârezmians, whose hearts quailed with fear of these accursed men. They were confronted by the Mongol infantry, which gradually retired and drew on their eager assailants into an ambush, whence a body of men issued. Those who had made the sortie were attacked on both sides, and were slain to the last man, "dying as martyrs, God's grace upon them." There were 70,000 of them, says our author. This defeat dispirited the rest of the citizens, and especially the Kankalis, who said, We are of the same race as these men. They will not kill us. They accordingly begged for quarter which was granted them. They opened the gates of the city, the people being unable to prevent them, and went out with their families and property. The infidels said to them, "Deliver to us your arms and property, and we will send you to your kin." They did so, but the infidels, after taking from them their horses, weapons, &c., put them to the sword to the last man, and seized their goods, their beasts, and their women. On the 4th day they proclaimed in the city that all the inhabitants should go out, and that whosoever remained behind would be put to death. Accordingly all the men, women, and children went out, "and they did to the people of Samarkand what they had done to the people of Bukhara in the way of pillage, massacre, capture, and outrage." They entered the city and plundered all in it, burnt down the great mosque, violated the virgins, tortured the men in various ways in quest of treasure, and slew those who were not fit for slavery. This happened in the month of Muharram 617. Minhaj-i-Siraj tells virtually the same story. He says that about 50,000 Musalmâns perished in the ambuscade, and that there were then 60,000 troops left inside, consisting of Turks, Ghuris, Tajiks, Khallajes, and Karluks, with all the Maliks of Ghur, and that the city was taken on the day of "Ashura," the tenth of the month Muharram 617.[7] Juveni and Rashidu'd-dîn[8] say that Chinghiz pitched his camp at Kok-Serai, or the Blue Palace. Having planted his army about the place, he rode round the city a two days' ride, maturing his plans. On the third day Alba Khân, Sheikh Khân, and Berbela Khân made a sortie, in which they struggled till evening and killed a large number of the invaders,[9] and themselves lost 1,000 men.

[3] (*i.e.* cotton).

[4] Bretschneider, *notes, &c.*, pp. 116 and 117.

[5] By the Mongols.

[6] These were doubtless emigrants who had followed in the wake of Chinghiz Khân. Bretschneider, *Notes, &c.*, pp. 38 and 39.

[7] *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 979 and 980.

[8] The latter at this point does little more than copy Juveni.

[9] Erdmann, pp. 384 and 385. In the *Shajrat-ul-Atrak* these chiefs are called Imtias Khân, Sheikh Khân, Bula Khân, Alut Jan, etc. (*op. cit.* p. 135), Raverty calls them Iyal Taz Khân, Sarsigh Khân, Taghai Khân, Ulak Khân, etc., and that, *inter alia*, they had 20 elephants with them. *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, p. 978 note.

Abulfaraj says they also made a number of prisoners, whom they took back with them into the city and cruelly crucified.[10] The next day Chinghiz Khân drew his men close up to the walls, mounted his horse, and blew the great trumpet, and the catapults and other battering engines played merrily on the place. The besieged now lost heart, and on the third day the Kadhi, the Sheikh-ul-Islâm, and some of the chief ecclesiastics went out and were well received by Chinghiz, who offered them safety for themselves and their dependents. They thereupon returned into the city, and opened the so-called Prayer Gate. The Mongols then proceeded to overthrow the walls, and to drive out into the open fields the inhabitants, except the dependents of the Kadhi and the Sheikh-ul-Islâm, who are said to have numbered 50,000 !!! They entered and proceeded to plunder the place, and to kill those whom they met with there. They then invested the citadel. Meanwhile one of the Turkish generals, Alba Khân, called Karas Albi the Arslan Khân by Raverty, finding himself hard pressed, put himself at the head of 1,000 horsemen, broke through the Mongol lines, and rejoined his master, the Khuârezm Shâh. The rest of the garrison still held out, and the Mongols pressed the attack with vigour. They at length forced the walls, and entered the fortress. 1,000 of the defenders took refuge in a mosque, where they were assailed with stink pots and showers of weapons. It was fired, and its garrison captured.[11] The prisoners were now sorted, the Persians being separated from the Kankalis, the latter were ordered to adopt the Mongol dress, to partially shave their heads, and to wear the Mongol pigtail. Having been lulled into security they were slaughtered to the number of 30,000, with their leaders Barsamas Khân, Tughai Khân, Sarsigh Khân, and Ulagh Khân, together with twenty other of the superior officers of the Khuârezm Shah. Chinghiz then separated 30,000 handicraftsmen, whom he assigned as slaves or servants to the different members of his family. 30,000 other men he made into light troops, while the rest of the inhabitants were allowed to ransom their lives at the price of 200,000 dinars. Two of the grandees of Samarkand, Tseketu-ul-Mulk and Amir Umid Büzürg, were appointed to govern the city. A portion of the light troops Chinghiz took with him, while he sent another section to his sons in Khuârezm. The elephants, we are told, were ordered by Chinghiz Khân to be let loose in the fields, and there perished of hunger.[12] The slaughter of the Kankalis and the drafting off of so many young men, few of whom returned, caused a terrible gap in the population and resources of Samarkand. The former act was probably prompted partially by a dread of the turbulence of these mercenaries, and partially by revenge upon the subjects of Ghair Khân, who had so grievously wronged him. Ghair Khân was taken to Samarkand, and it was there, in the Kok Serai, or blue palace, that he was executed. The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* does not mention the capture of Samarkand. In the *Yuan-shi* we merely read that in the fifth month of 1220 Chinghiz Khân captured Sün-sze-kan.[13] The *Kang-mu* says that it was the beginning of 1221 when he took Sie-mis-sé-kan.[14] The *Huang-yuan* says the same.[15] The *Yuan-shi-lei-pen* is the only Chinese authority available to us which gives any details of the capture of Samarkand, which it dates in the fifth month of 1220. It adds that Pitu, the son of Yeliu Liuko, the king of Liau-tung, was dangerously wounded in the attack upon the town, where he greatly distinguished himself, as did his relative Yeliu Kohay.[16] Juchi, Chinghiz Khân's eldest son, had advanced almost alone against a body of Muhammadans, when Pitu, who was already wounded, seeing the prince in danger of being captured and killed, made a special effort, rushed to his rescue, and although surrounded they cut their way out and rejoined the army.[17] From the account of the travels of Ch'ang Ch'un which we shall presently turn to, it would seem that the general superintendence of Samarkand after its capture was made over to the famous Yeliu Chutsai, whom we have previously named. Perhaps Abulfaraj refers to him under the corrupt name of Taiephor the prefect, *vide supra*. Let us now turn once more

[10] *Chron. Syr.*, p. 487.

[11] Erdmann, p. 386.

[12] Erdmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 385, 387; D'Ohsson, vol. I, pp. 234, 239; Petit de la Croix, pp. 219-227. Abulfaraj in his *Arabic Chronicle* says the government of the city was assigned to Thekat-ol-Molkai and Al Amir Amid, two grandees of Samarkand, and Taiephor the prefect, *op. cit.* p. 292.

[13] Bretschneider, *Notices, etc.*, p. 60.

[14] De Mailla, tome IX, p. 96.

[15] Bretschneider, *Notices, etc.*, p. 66.

[16] Yeliu Chutsai.

[17] Gaubil, p. 36.

to the Khuârezm Shâh. When the Mongols advanced further into Transoxiana he left Samarkand, doubtless moved by the suspicions about the fidelity of his officers, and retreated towards Naksheb, telling the people on the way that they must make the best terms they could with the invaders. He also sent messengers to his mother, Turkhan Khatun, who was at Khuârezm, to retire with his harem to Mazanderan. His counsellors now began to give very divided counsel, some urged that it was useless to try and save Transoxiana, and that he should confine his efforts to the defence of Khorasân and Irâk. Others advised him to retire to Ghazni whence, if unlucky, he might retire into Hindostan. The Sulṭân preferred the latter course, and was retiring towards Ghazni, when he was met at Balkh by Amad-ul-Mulk Savi, the principal minister of his son, Rokn-u'd-dîn, who then ruled over Irâk Ajem. The young prince had sent him on the pretext of advising his father in his difficult position, but really in order to rid himself of his surveillance, which he found very irksome. Irâk was his native place, where he had his family, and he urged on the Khuârezm Shâh that he should retire thither, collect an army and trust to God. Jelâl-u'd-dîn, the Sultan's eldest son, did not at all approve of these counsels about retreating. He urged that they should defend the line of the Oxus. If his father was determined to retire towards Irâk he demanded that he might be entrusted with an army, with which to march against the enemy. "If fortune favour me, he said, I will carry off the ball of desire with the Chaugân of divine aid; but if fortune favour me not, neither will the finger of reproach be pointed at us, nor the tongue of malediction curse; and the world will not be able to say they have collected taxes and tribute from us for so long, and at a time like this they renounce our affairs and abandon us to be captive to infidels." The Sultân treated the advice of his son as the mere babbling of a child. He took refuge in the fatalism which says that good and ill have their appointed turn, and said they must await a favourable turn in the position of the stars.[18] Before leaving Balkh in order to follow the advice of Amad-ul-Mulk, Muḥammad sent a detachment to Penjab, between Termed and Samarkand, to watch the movements of the enemy. News now arrived of the fall of Bukhara. His troops, which consisted not of his own men, who had been left to protect Transoxiana, but of some of his mother's Kankalis, plotted against him. That very night he slept in another tent, and in the morning his old tent was found to be riddled with arrows. When they found that their plans were discovered, his treacherous troops deserted him and joined Chinghiz. Meanwhile Badr-u'd-dîn, one of his ministers, also fled and joined the invaders, and went the length of forging letters as if they had been written by some of his officers to Chinghiz Khân, urging him to attack their master, and also forged replies, promising them aid. These letters were entrusted to a spy, who was ordered to let them fall into the Sulṭân's hands.[19]

Muḥammad now retired towards Nishapur. When he reached Kalât, near Tus, he was urged to make a stand, for the position was a strong one, it being a valley, seven miles long, surrounded by mountains, and was the place where at a later day Nadir Shâh deposited his treasures. Some provisions were accordingly collected there and preparations made for a stand, but he abandoned the notion, and on the 18th of April he reached Nishapur,[20] where he gave himself over to despair and to indifferentism This mood was encouraged by his dreams, which were of a lugubrious nature; one night, according to Juveni, he saw a number of spirits with haggard faces, dishevelled hair, and black clothes, bruising their heads, while they raised a dreadful wailing. "On asking them what they were they replied that they were the betrayers of Islâm." On another occasion as he was on his way to the mosque he saw two cats, one black and the other white, fighting one another in the porch of the temple. He accepted this as a presage of the issue of the struggle between him and the Mongols. When the cat which he had chosen as his champion was defeated he heaved a deep sigh, and he then gave himself up to dissipation and surrounded himself with frivolities,[21] the usual resource of despair. As he retired towards Nishapur he had told the

[18] *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, Raverty's Notes, pp. 274 and 275; Erdmann, pp. 368 and 369; D'Ohsson, vol. I, pp. 240-243.

[19] *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, p. 276 note.
[20] *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, p. 276 note; Erdmann, p. 390.
[21] Erdmann, p. 391.

inhabitants of the various towns to make terms with the invaders, as he was unable to defend them. He probably thought that their invasion was only a temporary one, and that they would speedily retire again. The Mongol intelligence department was skilfully managed, and they were no doubt speedily made aware of Muḥammad's flight and its direction. Thereupon, while the siege of Samarkand was progressing, Chinghiz Khân detached an army in pursuit of him. This was divided into two divisions, the first tuman was commanded by Chepe Noyan. This was followed by a second under Subutai Baghatur. They were ordered to pursue Muḥammad wheresoever he should retire. They were to put Shahnahs or governors in all the towns that submitted, and to destroy all who resisted. They were given three years in which to complete their task, and were ordered to rejoin Chinghiz by way of the Desht-i-Kipchak, after rounding the northern end of the Caspian.[22] They set out and first went to Penjab, which means the five streams, and finding no boats there they made some large coffers of wood, which they covered with cowhides to keep out the water, and in which they put their weapons and goods, then led their horses into the water and held on to their tails, having first tied the wooden coffers to themselves. Thus, says our author, the horse drew the man and the man drew the coffer filled with arms and other necessaries, and all crossed in a body.[23] D'Ohsson opportunely quotes the similar description given by Carpini of the mode in which the Mongols crossed rivers. The friar adds, however, that they sat on the boxes, and steered themselves with two oars.[24] Nicetas Khoniates makes a similar statement about the Pechenegs, whom he describes as crossing the Danube on bags of leather containing cork, and sewn so that not a drop of water could penetrate them. On these they sat, catching hold of the tails of their horses, holding above them their saddles and arms, and using their horses as shields and the leathern bags as boats.[25] The Musalmân historians tell us nothing about the passage of the Oxus being disputed, but in the *Yuan-shi-lei-pen* there is an account which seems taken from the biography of Ko-pao-yu in the *Yuan-shi*, which distinctly says it was. According to this account, the Muḥammadans had lined the banks of the Gan-mu, *i.e.*, of the Amu or Oxus, with their best troops, they constructed ten entrenchments, and put a number of well-armed boats on the river. Ko-pao-yu was detached to attack these entrenchments and boats. He constructed a number of Ho-tsien, or fire arrows, which he threw among the boats, and thus set fire to them. The Muḥammadans having been thrown into disorder, the Mongols attacked the entrenchments and forced them.[26] The two chiefs now crossed the Oxus and entered Khorasân, which was then divided into four provinces, with Balkh, Merv, Herat, and Nishapur as their chief towns. They first approached Balkh, where at the instance of the magnates the citizens supplied them with food. Having left a Shahnah there they moved forward towards Herat, Taishi Baghatur commanding their advance-guard. Herat submitted freely to them, and they then advanced to Zawah, whose people refused to open their gates or to furnish provisions. The Mongols were in too great haste to stop and besiege the place and were passing on, when they were piqued by the jibes and boasts levelled at them from the ramparts amidst the beating of kettledrums. They accordingly turned aside, and after three days' attack captured the town, put everybody to death whom they met with, and burnt and destroyed what they could not carry away. The invaders then moved on towards Nishapur, obtaining news about Muḥammad by applying torture to those whom they captured; they sent messengers into the various towns to announce the approach of Chinghiz Khân with the main army, and summoned them to surrender, threatening them with terrible penalties if they refused. Those which submitted received a Mongol governor, or Shahnah, who was endowed with a special seal.[27] The smaller towns which resisted they overwhelmed. The larger ones they passed by, not wishing to delay.

But Muḥammad had not waited for them. Leaving Fakhru-ul-Mulk, Nizam-u'd-dîn Abul-Maali, his secretary, Siau-ul-Mulk Araz Suseni, and Majiru-ul-Mulk Kufi-Rukhi, in command

[22] *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, p. 988 note.
[23] Ibn-al-Athir, *ad loc.*
[24] Vincent. *Spec. Hist.*, vol. IV, lib. XXXI, Cap. xvii. p. 450; D'Ohsson, vol. I, p. 244, note.
[25] *Stritter*, vol. III. p. 929; D'Ohsson, vol. I, pp. 244 and 245 note.
[26] Gaubil, pp. 36 and 37.
[27] Tamgha.

of a strong garrison there, he appointed the eunuch Sherif-u'd-dîn to be governor of the town, and then under pretence of a hunting party retired towards Isferain, south of the Ala Tagh mountains. Sherif-u'd-dîn was at the time at Khuârezm, and he died while on the way to take his command, at three days' march from Nishapur. His death was concealed from his escort, for fear they should plunder his goods, until one of the regents came out of the town under pretence of going to meet him and took charge of it, but the escort, consisting of 1,000 men, refused to enter the city. It was afterwards attacked by the Mongols and dispersed.[28] The Mongol advance guard under Taishi reached the city on the 19th rabi the first, *i.e.* the 24th of May. He had apparently sent on a small body of men with 14 horses and some couples of camels, who having come to blows with the garrison were all put to death. He now demanded provisions, and also that the town should open its gates. Provisions were supplied, but as to surrendering the town Majiru-ul-Mulk replied that it had been entrusted to his care, and he bade them speed on after the Sultân on whose capture he would then become their man.[29] Presently Chepe and Subutai having arrived demanded that the Mufti, the Kadhi, and the Vizier should be sent to them. Three of the common people personated these three officials. To them the Mongol generals remitted a proclamation, written in Uïghur characters, in their master's name, and in these terms:— "Commanders, great grandees, and commonalty, know that God has given me the empire of the world from the east to the west. Whoever submits shall be spared, but those who resist shall be put to death, with their wives, children, and dependents." He also bade them supply food to the Mongol contingents which were following, not to oppose fire to water, nor trust to the strength of their walls, nor yet to their defenders, if they wished to escape annihilation.[30] Muḥammad having learnt that the Mongols were closely following him retired, according to Nissavi, to Bostam in Tabaristan, and having summoned the Amir Omar, one of his officers, who came from that province, he entrusted to him ten coffers sealed with the royal seal, and asked him if he knew what they contained. He answered, No. The Sultân replied they were full of jewels, some of which were of inestimable value, and added further that only two men in the whole world, who were both there present, knew what was in the coffers, and he ordered them to be taken to the strong fort of Ardahan, which Omar accordingly saw done.[31] The retreating Sultân soon reached Rai, but a courier arrived to say the Mongols were close by, so he sped on again towards Farzand, some distance to the south-west of Kazvin.[32] There, or as De la Croix says, at Maradaulat Abad, his son, Rokn-u'd-dîn had got together an army of 30,000 men from Irâk. His other son, Ghiath-u'd-dîn, with a portion of his harem had been sent to the fort of Kharendar, near Ñissa, to Taju-u'd-dîn Tughan. Muhammad now summoned Nasretu-u'd-dîn Hazarasp, Atabeg of Luristan, a crafty and skilful prince, to go and assist him with his counsel. When Hazarasp arrived, he prostrated himself seven times before the royal tent, and Muḥammad did him the special honour of offering him a seat. When he had returned to his lodgings he sent his vizier, Amad-ul-Mulk, with two generals, to consult with him. He advised that they should seek shelter in the Shiran or Shutran mountains, and as the Sultân hesitated, urged that they should cross the range separating Lur from Fars, and enter the Fars country. In the meanwhile an army of 100,000 Kurds, of the tribes Shebankiar and Shul,[33] and of Lurs, with which he might garrison the mountain fortresses, and defy the Mongols. Muḥammad suspecting that this was an intrigue to embroil him with Said, Atabeg of Fars, refused his assent, and determined to stay in Irâk.[34] While he was still hesitating at Farzand, news came that the Mongols were at Rai. On leaving Nishapur their two commanders, sped on night and day, and stopped for nothing on their march, says Ibn-al-Athir, neither plunder nor slaughter. They thus effectually secured the line of Muḥammad's retreat, following like him the strip of fertile country bordering the salt desert of Khorasan on the

[28] D'Ohsson, vol. I, p. 246; Erdmann, p. 392.
[29] Erdmann, p. 394.
[30] Rashidu'd-dîn in D'Ohsson, vol. I, pp. 247 and 248.
[31] Nissavi in De la Croix, pp. 234 and 235.
[32] See Erdmann, note 291.
[33] Living in the mountains north of Khuzistan and Fars respectively.
[34] D'Ohsson, vol. I, pp. 249-251; Erdmann, pp. 392 and 393; *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, p. 277 note; De la Croix, p. 235.

north. They traversed the fertile district of Kumus, which from its many mountains was called Jebal by the Arabs, and approached Tus. The country to the east of this town was submissive, and was spared. The people of Tus itself having opposed them were duly punished, and a darugha or commissary was apparently left in the town. Thence they advanced through the beautifully wooded district of Radigan to Kabushan, or Kashan, which they also captured. Thence again onwards to Isferain, which, as we have seen, Muḥammad had passed through. Still they sped on to Bostam. Here the two roads bifork which lead respectively through Mazanderan and Kum. The two Mongol commanders accordingly separated, while Chepe swept through the lands bordering the Caspian on the south, and apparently laid a heavy hand on Amol and Asterabad; Subutai marched along the southern side of the Elburz range, and subdued with considerable bloodshed Sarabad, Dameghan, and Semnan. The two commanders rejoined their contingents again at Rai whose ruins still remain near Teheran.[35] According to Mirkhond there was at this time a terrible feud going on at Rai between the adherents of two rival sects. Those who followed the rite of Abu Hanifa had recently burnt a mosque belonging to the followers of the Imâm Shafiyi. The latter, who were naturally greatly enraged, sent the Kadhi and several notables to invite Chepe to go to them. At their instigation, after the city had been secured, in consequence of the Shafiyis having surrendered two of its gates, the Mongols massacred the Hanifas, then being convinced they could not rely on the fidelity of those who had betrayed their co-religionists, they killed the Shafiyis as well, and according to some writers, a million of men perished there.[36] After the fall of Rai, the two commanders again separated. Subutai marched upon Kazvin, and Chepe upon Kum, no doubt to cut off the Sultan's retreat in the direction of Ispahan. Kum is situated about half-way between Kazvin and Ispahan, and still contains some splendid monuments, those of Shah Sefi and Shah Abbas, the second being especially magnificent. At the approach of the Mongols a similar feud was in progress between the Hanifas and the Shafiyis at Kum as at Rai. The latter told Chepe that the people of Kum were very mutinous, since they followed the doctrines of Abu Hanifa, and so incensed him against them that under pretence that one of his orders had not been obeyed he ordered the greater part of them to be killed or reduced to slavery, after which Kum was plundered.[37] Chepe then advanced upon Hamadan, a famous old city of Irâk, and probably to be identified with Ecbatana, the capital of the ancient Medes. It was strongly fortified, and its fertile gardens were watered by the thousand springs that come from the neighbouring mountain of Alwand.[38] At this time the governor of Hamadan was the Seyid Ala-u'd-daulat, the Hamadani, or, according to others, the latter's son, Majd-u'd-daulat. He was very submissive, and supplied the Mongols freely with cattle, clothes, provisions, &c., upon which they spared the town. Some of Chepe's enemies suggested that he had been corrupted.[39] He now speedily reduced to submission the neighbouring towns of Dinavar, Zava, Holvan, Nihavand, &c.[40] Chepe now apparently rejoined Subutai, who had captured Kazvin. The citizens there defended themselves in the streets, sword in hand, and killed many of the Mongols. Their desperate resistance was, however, unavailing, and a general massacre followed, in which 50,000 of them perished.[41] We have seen how Muḥammad had retired to Farzand near Kazvin, where his son, Rokn-u'd-dîn, had collected a considerable army. On the approach of the Mongols, however, this army rapidly melted away, while his prudent counsellor, the Atabeg of Luristan, returned home, and he was presently surprised by an advance corps of the invaders, and his people were dispersed. Rokn-u'd-dîn fled towards Kerman, while Muḥammad himself with his eldest son, Jelal-u'd-dîn, went to the fortress of Kharendar already named, called Kurunduj by Miles and Karunduz by Major Raverty, situated between Kazvin and Tebriz, and where he had already sent his other son, Ghiath-u'd-dîn, and part of his harem. In this struggle the Sulṭân had fortunately not been recognized, in consequence of

[35] Erdmann, p. 395; D'Ohsson, vol. I, pp. 248 and 249.
[36] D'Ohsson, vol. I, p. 249 note; Erdmann, pp. 395 and 396; De la Croix, pp. 277 and 278.
[37] Mirkhond, quoted by Petit de la Croix, p. 278; and D'Ohsson, vol. I, pp. 324 and 325, note.
[38] De la Croix, p. 279.
[39] Erdmann, p. 396; De la Croix, p. 279.
[40] *Id.* De la Croix, p. 279.
[41] D'Ohsson, vol. I, p. 325.

the smallness of his escort. He ran considerable risk, however, of being captured, since his horse was actually wounded.[42] He reached Kharendar safely, but only stayed a day there, when having obtained some horses, he set out in the direction of Baghdad. When the Mongols reached Kharendar they laid siege to it vigorously, but having learnt that the Sulṭân had left it, they went on in pursuit. Meanwhile, however, he had changed his route, doubled on his pursuers, and gone to the strong fortress of Serjihan,[43] situated on a high mountain, some leagues to the north-west of Kazvin. The disappointed Mongols, finding themselves at fault, put their guides to death, and once more went in pursuit.[44] After a delay of seven days at Serjihan Muḥammad passed into Ghilan, where one of the local chiefs, named Saaluk, called Togluk in the *Shajrat-ul-Atrak* urged him to remain, but he barely stayed a week when he again went on into the province of Sebender, where he arrived in sad plight, and lost the remaining wealth he had with him. He passed through Amol, and at length arrived at Istidareh or Astadad, which names probably refer to the town still called Asterabad.[45] There, according to Muḥammad of Nissa, he went regularly to the mosque, said the five daily prayers, and caused the Korân to be read to him by the Imâm. He shed tears, and protested before God that if he recovered his power justice should reign in his empire. But the Mongols were closely following him. They were guided by Rokn-u'd-dîn, prince of Kabud-Jamel in Mazanderan, whose uncle and cousin had been put to death by his order, while he had appropriated his principality. By the counsel of those about him he now took a small boat, and sought refuge in an island in the Caspian. The island to which he went was called Ab-Sukun, and according to Ibn Haukal was situated in the Caspian, opposite a town of the same name, which formed the port to the town of Jorjan in Mazanderan.[46] When Muḥammad retired from Transoxiana he sent word to his mother, Turkhan Khatun, who had been his regent at Khuârezm, to retire with his harem into Mazenderan. She had been on bad terms with him and had been approached by Chingbiz, who had, wishing to profit by their disunion, sent his chamberlain Danishmend to her, promising to spare Khuârezm, and even to put her in possession of Khorasan. She did not respond to these insidious advances, but when she heard that her son had retreated, retired southwards with his harem and treasures, having at Khuârezm, first put to death the various princes who had been imprisoned. Among them were two sons of Tughrul, the last Seljuk ruler of Irâk, the prince of Balkh, and his son, the Lord of Termed, the princes of Bamian and Vaksh, the two sons of the Lord of Signak, the two sons of Maḥmud, the last prince of Ghur, and many other chiefs. She had them thrown into the Oxus, and only spared Omar Khân, son of the prince of Yazar, whose knowledge of the country would make him useful. He served her well, but notwithstanding when she got near Yazar she had his head cut off also.[47] Marching by way of Dahistan she reached Mazanderan, and by the counsel of her son took refuge in the fort of Ilal, one of the strongest in the Mazanderan mountains.[48] The Mongols besieged her there for three months, and built a wall all round it, so as to effectually blockade it. After a while the place began to run short of water, although the country was so rainy that no provision for water-tanks or reservoirs had been made there. When it at length capitulated, for this reason it was deemed a supernatural visitation, since rain generally fell there every day, and the people deemed it a judgment of God for the slaughter of so many princes. They were confirmed in this by the fact that directly after the place surrendered there fell some heavy rain which even flooded the place.[49] The Sulṭâna might have escaped, if she had taken refuge with her grandson, Jelal-u'd-dîn. She, however, hated him bitterly, and also his mother, Aigeak, and she preferred braving the Mongols rather than seeking help from him.[50] She was taken with the vizier Nasiru'd-dîn and Muḥammad's harem to Chinghiz Khân's camp,

[42] *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, p. 277 note; D'Ohsson, vol. I, p. 251; Erdmann, p. 396.
[43] *i.e.*, the head of the world.
[44] D'Ohsson, vol. I, p. 252; Erdmann, pp. 396 and 397.
[45] It is so called in the *Shajrat-ul-Atrak*, p. 143.
[46] D'Ohsson, vol. I, pp. 254 and 255; Erdmann, p. 397.
[47] D'Ohsson, vol. I, pp. 257-259.
[48] *Id.*, p. 259.
[49] De la Croix, pp. 274 and 275; *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, p. 993 note.
[50] D'Ohsson, vol. I, pp. 260 and 261; De la Croix, p. 276.

then at Talikan. Nasir-u'd-dîn and the boys were put to death. Two of the girls were given to Chagatai, who put one in his harem, and gave the other to his chief officer, Habesh Amid. A third was married to Danishmend, Chinghiz Khân's chamberlain. Another of the princesses, named Khân Sulṭân, who had married Osman, prince of Samarkand, was, according to an improbable account, made over to a dyer at Imil. Muḥammad of Nissa says more probably that she was married to Juchi, the eldest son of Chinghiz Khân, and that she bore him several children.[81] Turkhan Khatun herself was taken to Mongolia. Nissavi says she was treated with great indignity, and that Chinghiz when at table used to throw her bits of meat as if she had been a dog.[82] She died at Karakorum in 1233.[83] We have seen how Muḥammad had confided ten cases of jewels to one of his officers, with orders to take them to Ardehan, a lofty fortress, situated north of Rai, in the mountains separating Mazanderan and Irâk, but the Mongols having appeared before the place, promised his life to the commander if he would surrender the jewels, which he accordingly did, and these treasures were carried off to Chinghiz Khân.[84] We have seen how the Khuârezm Shâh sought shelter at Absukun. We are told that he had barely embarked to go thither when a party of pursuers appeared on the bank and fired a volley of arrows after him, and some of them in their eagerness rushed into the sea, and were drowned. He was much distressed with the news that his harem had been captured, and his distress was increased by an attack of pleurisy. He contrasted his recent position as the master of an immense empire with his present one, when he had only a few yards of earth for a grave. He rested in a tent, and people came from Mazanderan and brought him refreshments, and in return he gave them fiefs, &c., the diplomas being often written out by the recipients of these favours themselves, since most of his suite had been sent on missions to his sons. Some years later, when Jelal-u'd-dîn recovered a portion of his father's dominions, he carried out these dispositions, and any one who could show him a knife or a towel which had been given him by his father as evidence of some grant the transaction was duly respected.

Feeling that his end was approaching, Muḥammad summoned his sons, Jelal-u'd-dîn, Uzlak Shâh, called Arzalak Sulṭân by Raverty, and Ak Sultan. Having revoked the disposition by which, under his mother's influence, he had nominated Uzlak Shâh as his successor, he girded the sword upon Jelal-u'd-dîn, saying that he alone was capable of saving the empire, and bidding his younger sons do him homage and obey him. A few days later he died. One of his attendants named Shamš-u'd-dîn Maḥmud, washed his body and wrapped it in his shirt, there being no other linen to bury it in. His body was removed some years later by Jelal-u'd-dîn, and buried in the fortress of Ardehan. Erdmann dates his death on the 10th of February 1221.[85] D'Ohsson says that the opinions of eastern historians are much divided in regard to Muḥammad. Rashid and the author of the *Jihan kushai* represent him as irresolute, overcome with fear, putting too much trust in astrologers, and at the same time as given up to pleasure and debauchery. Even while the Mongols were pursuing him he was surrounded by dancing and singing women. Ibn-al-Athir, a contemporary, gives a more favourable account of him, and says he was well-informed, especially in law, that he loved the society of learned men, doctors of the law, and religious men, and that disciplined by hard work, he devoted himself to affairs of state and the good of the people. Zehebi describes him as active, vigilant and intrepid, but as having a criminal ambition. Whichever view is taken as to his general qualities, there can be no doubt that he showed great weakness in the presence of the Mongols.[86]

On Muḥammad's death Jelal-u'd-din made his way to Mangushlak on the eastern shore of the Caspian, and having sent on his two younger brothers, Uzlak and Ak-Sulṭân, to report his approach, set off on his way to the kernel of the empire, namely, Khuârezm, which was as yet free from the Mongol arms. Turkhan Khatun had retired some time before from there, as I have described with the Sulṭân's harem, but there still remained a garrison of

[81] D'Ohsson, vol. I, p. 260; De la Croix, p. 276.
[82] De la Croix, p. 276.
[83] D'Ohsson, vol. I, p. 260.
[84] Nissavi, quoted by D'Ohsson, vol. I, p. 261.
[85] D'Ohsson, vol. I, pp. 254-256; Erdmann, p. 398.
[86] D'Ohsson, vol. I, pp. 256 and 257.

90,000 Kankalis, under the command of Buji Pehluvan, a maternal uncle of Uzlak Sultân, Kujai Tikin, Ughul Hajib and Timur Malik, the intrepid defender of Khojend.[57] These troops were no means favourable to Jelal-u'd-dîn. They were mostly Kankalis, and therefore favoured the pretensions of Uzlak Sultân, whose mother was of their race, and whose claims they upheld; besides he was a boy of very ordinary intellect, and not likely to keep the tight hand over them that Jelal-u'd-din would, and they accordingly plotted to destroy him. The plot was disclosed to him by Inanj Khân, and the Sultân determined to leave the dangerous city, and accordingly set out with 300 companions headed by Timur Malik. The Mongols had placed a cordon of troops round the northern borders of Khorasan to prevent his escape in that direction. Jelal-u'd-dîn, however, sped on by way of Nissa to Shadbakh Shadyakh.[58] At Shadyakh, near Astuseh Sabekan,[59] he had to cut his way through a body of 700 Mongols who tried to stop him, and this, says Muhammad of Nissa, was the first success won by the Musalmâns over the Mongols. He managed to reach Shadyakh, where he delayed three days, and then went on to Ghazni. Hardly had he left Khuârezm when news arrived there that the Mongols were advancing upon the town. Uzlak Sultân and Ak Sultân hastened after their brother to recall him. Near Kharender, a strong fort close to Nissa, from which the historian, Muhammad of Nissa, took his name, they were met by the same body of Mongols who had tried to stop their brother, and who were making inquiries in which direction he had fled. The nephew of Muhammad of Nissa went out of the fortress to divert the Mongols' attention from the young princes, but having learnt who they were, the latter pursued, captured and put them to death. Their heads were put on lances, and exhibited publicly.[60] It is said that the jewels which were found on the clothes of the two princes and the other Khuârezmians were bartered by the Mongols, who did not know their value, to the neighbouring peasants of Vesht, who were greatly enriched in consequence.[61]

Let us turn once more to the Mongols. After the capture of Samarkand, and apparently when he heard that the sons of Muhammad had on his death retired to Khuârezm, Chinghiz determined to send a strong army there, and gave the command of it to his three eldest sons, Juchi, Chagatai, and Ogotai. The Mongols had already made a venture in that direction. After Juchi captured Yanghikent, the Ulus Bede, or Uïghurs, who were with him, were allowed to return home to Mongolia, and he replaced them by a contingent of 10,000 Kankalis under Ainal Noyan, called Tainal by D'Ohsson, and sent them against Khuârezm. Ainal having gone on with the advance guard, left a Mongol officer in charge of these Turcomans. They speedily killed him, whereupon Ainal having returned, put many of them to death. The rest fled to Merv and Amuyeh.[62] Kurkanj, or Urgenj, was the capital of Khuârezm. Its ruins are still known as Kunia Urgenj. The Arabs called it Al Jorjania, and it is described by Mokadessi as a town of some importance.[63] Like the other towns of Khuârezm it was situated on the Oxus, which corresponds to the Nile in watering a green strip of fertile land bounded on either side by sandy wastes. We have seen how Jelal-u'd-dîn and his brothers withdrew from the district. Abulghazi tells us that Khumar Tikin, a Kankali chief, and brother of the virago Turkhan Khatun, had been appointed governor, and was assisted by Mogol Hajib and Feridun, and a great number of naukars and other officers.[64] Erdmann, apparently from Juveni, adds the names of Buka Pehluvan and the Sepehsilar Ali Murghaini.[65] Khumar put the place in a condition for a long defence. Before the siege fairly began, the garrison had a foretaste of disaster. A body of Mongols who were scouring the neighbourhood for provisions having approached the town, and carried off some horses and asses, were pursued by the Khuârezmians as far as Bagh-i-Khurram,[66] where they fell into an ambush,

[57] *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, p. 286 note; Erdmann, pp. 407 and 408.
[58] Erdmann, p. 408.
[59] Raverty says Astawah, p. 285. (Ashabat, close to the Tejend river?).
[60] Erdmann, pp. 407 and 408; *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, Raverty's Notes, p. 286; D'Ohsson, pp. 263 and 264.
[61] D'Ohsson, *loc. cit.*; De la Croix, p. 246.
[62] Erdmann, p. 374; D'Ohsson, vol. I, pp. 223 and 224.
[63] See Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, vol. II, p. 965, &c.
[64] *Op. cit.*, pp. 117 and 118.
[65] *Op. cit.*, p. 409.
[66] *i.e.*, the Garden of Delights.

and the greater part of them were slaughtered. The pursuing Mongols chased them even into the town, some of them entering it through the Kabilan or Kalanian Gate with the retreating crowd. Abulghazi says they advanced as far as the Tenureh Gate. Erdmann tells us the best authorities calculate that 100,000 perished on this occasion, which must be an immense exaggeration.[67] The main army of the Mongols soon after arrived, and proceeded to attack the city. They first summoned it, promising it easy terms if it submitted, Juchi telling the people that his father had made the place over to him, and he wished to prevent its being destroyed, and had given orders that his men were to refrain from pillage. The more prudent people were for submitting, more especially as the Khuârezm Shâh had sent them word from Absukun counselling them not to resist, but the governor notwithstanding sent back a defiant answer, encouraged no doubt by the fact that the town was garrisoned by over 50,000 troops. The Mongols accordingly planted their battering engines and pounded the city almost incessantly, using wooden balls soaked in water made out of the neighbouring mulberry-trees in lieu of stones, which were scarce there. Meanwhile they also plied the garrison liberrally with threats and fair promises. Having tried ineffectually to fill up the ditch they determined to drain it by cutting a canal and thus lay it dry. The 3,000 men who were employed in this work were attacked suddenly by the garrison, and all perished, but the work went on, a guard was set over the workmen, and the ditch was at length drained and was then filled up with earth, straw, and faggots, but the garrison behaved bravely, assault after assault was given in vain, and great losses were sustained on either side. The prolonged siege, which had lasted more than six months, and the severe losses, caused trouble in the Mongol camps, and led to much disputing between the princes Juchi and Jagatai. On this being reported to Chinghiz he superseded them, and gave the supreme command to their younger brother, Ogotai, who, by his tact and discretion once more restored discipline. He then ordered a general assault, during which the houses in the town were fired by stink-pots. The garrison still kept up the fight in the streets, even the women and children taking part in it. This went on for seven days. Driven at length into three districts of the city and terribly harassed by the Mongols, they sent word that they were willing to surrender, and sent the chief of police out with a message, "We have suffered from your severity, it is time we should test the quality of your mercy." "How," said Juchi in a rage, "can they say they have felt our severity when by their resistance they have destroyed so many of our soldiers? It is we who have felt their severity, and will now let them taste ours."[68] Orders were given for the citizens to go out of the place, and the artizans and handicraftsmen were put aside and sent off to Tartary, the young women and boys were divided as slaves, while the rest of the inhabitants were distributed among the soldiers and remorsely killed. Juveni and Rashid tell us each Mongol soldier had 24 Khuârezmians to execute. After this butchery, they pillaged what remained of the town, and then submerged it by opening the dyke which restrained the waters of the Oxus, and all those who had hid away in their houses perished. In the sack of other towns, says Ibn-al-Athir, some of the inhabitants escaped, either by hiding away or fleeing or lying down among the corpses; but at Khuârezm those who escaped the sword of the Tartars were drowned in the waters of the Jihun.[69] Abulghazi adds that at this time there was at Urgenj a celebrated Sheikh named Nadjmud-dîn-Kubra, son of Omar of Khiva. The Mongol princes sent word to him to leave the city with his family, so that he might not be trampled under the horses' feet. The Sheikh answered that he was not alone, but had relatives and servants with him. They told him he might take ten people with him. He said he had more than ten. They then told him to take a hundred. He replied he had more than that, upon which they increased the number to a thousand. But his answer was, In happier days I knew this people, whose friend I was. How can I desert them now in their misfortune. The Mongols soon after arrived at his door, and, after sending several of them to hell, says

[67] Abulghazi, p. 118; Abulfaraj, *Chron. Syr.*, p 488; Erdmann, p. 410 and note 315.

[68] D'Ohsson, vol. I, p. 269.

[69] D'Ohsson, vol. I, pp. 269-270.

Abulghazi, he ended by winning the martyr's crown. "We belong to God, and we shall return to him."[70]

Minhaj-i-Saraj reports a strange story that on the capture of Khuârezm the women were separated from the men. Having selected such of the former as they wanted, the rest were divided into two bodies and stripped naked, the Mongols standing round with drawn swords, told them they heard the women of the place were good pugilists, and they made them attack each other with their clenched fists during a whole watch, when they fell on them with their swords and martyred them. "The Almighty reward them," ejaculates our author.[71]

After the capture of Khuârezm, the three princes secured Kat, Feraber, Dargan, Zamaksher and Great and Little Urgenj,[72] and then rejoined their father. This campaign against Khuârezm is referred to in the baldest fashion in the Chinese notices. The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* says Jochi, Chaadai, and Ogidai received orders to cross the Amui[73] and attack the city of Urungichi.[74] When they had reached the city, they sent to Chinghiz to ask who should take the supreme command. He ordered Ogidai to take it."[75] The *Yuan-shi* merely says "the princes Ju-chi, Ch'â-ho-tai, and Wok'uo-t'ai, captured the city of Yü-lung-gie-chi[76] and other places.[77] In the *Hvang-yuan* we read that in the autumn of 1221 Chinghiz Khan sent his eldest, second and third sons with the right flank of the army to attack Yü-lung-kie-che[78] and Bu-jin-ye-ha-da.[79] Chinghiz's third son was entrusted with the chief command.[80]

[70] *Koran*, Sura, 2, verse 151; Abulghazi, ed. Desmaisons, pp. 119 and 120; Erdmann, p. 412.
[71] *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 1100, 1101.
[72] De la Croix, p. 256.
[73] *i. e.* the Amui Daria.
[74] *i. e.* Urgenj.
[75] *Op. cit.* p. 147.
[76] *i. e.* Urgenj.
[77] Bretschneider, *Notices, etc.* p. 61.
[78] Urgenj.
[79] Probably, says Dr. Bretschneider, a misspelt name.
[80] The *Yuan-shi-lei-pen* says that the three princes captured Yulong and Kieshi, thus making two names out of Urgenj.—Gaubil, p. 38; *id.* 66.

FOLKLORE IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

BY S. M. NÂṬEŚA ŚÂSTRÎ PAṆḌIT.

II.—WHY BRÂHMANS CANNOT EAT IN THE DARK.

Among Hindûs, especially among Brâhmaṇs of the Madras Presidency—and I now see from personal observation that it is the same in the Bombay Presidency also—there is a custom, while taking their meals, of leaving their food uneaten when it so happens that from any cause the light is blown out. Of course this could occur only in the night-time. Such mishaps now-a-days take place only in poor families sitting down to supper with a single light. Hence the following story told as the origin of this custom is being forgotten. It runs as follows:—

In a certain village there lived a Brâhmaṇ who had an only daughter. She was deeply read in Sanskṛit and was of the most charming beauty. He procured a husband for her as deeply read as herself. The betrothal had already taken place. Just after the girl attained her puberty a day was appointed for her nuptials; and the *muhûrtta* or auspicious time was fixed at the 10th *ghaṭikâ* of that night. On that very evening the son-in-law went to a tank to perform his *Sandhyâ vandana* or evening prayers. It swarmed with crocodiles. People never went near it. The son-in-law, being quite new to the village, entered the tank without knowing anything of the danger. Unfortunately there was none near to warn him. He had set his foot in the water when a crocodile caught him by the leg and began to drag him. That very night was fixed for his nuptials and a crocodile was taking him to feast on his flesh. He was extremely vexed at the calamity, and said humbly to his enemy, "My friend crocodile! Listen to my words first and then decide for yourself. A wife, the only daughter of an old Brâhmaṇ is waiting for me to-night. If you eat me now you take me away without my seeing her, my father-in-law and other relatives. Their hearts may break at the news of my death on the very day of the wedding. They may all curse you. If, on the contrary, you leave me now, I shall go home, speak to my wife and others about the sad calamity that has come over me, and after embracing and taking leave of her will come to you for your supper at the

15th *ghaṭikâ*. Till then leave me." The cruel crocodile though very fond of human flesh and himself dying of hunger, spared him for a few *ghaṭikâs* at his humble request. After extracting several oaths from him for his return in accordance to his promise the crocodile went into the water.

The son-in-law also went home. All his joys fled away; how could he be pleasant after his promise to the crocodile. Still, to give no uneasiness to the aged parents of his wife he underwent all the ceremonies and entered the bed-room at the 10th *ghaṭikâ*. Only 5 more *ghaṭikâs* remained for him to live in the world as he thought. He in a few words explained everything to his wife, and asked her permission. She showed no sign of sorrow, preached to him about the iron hand of fate, and that he must undergo what was written on his forehead. She most willingly gave him permission, and he returned to the tank even a *ghaṭikâ* earlier and called the crocodile who came and seized him.

At this moment a certain light glittered before the eyes of the crocodile and vanished. It was a woman that did it. The wife, after consoling her husband and preaching to him about the supremacy of fate, had accompanied him unobserved with a lighted lamp concealed in a vessel. Just when the crocodile applied its teeth to the leg of her husband, she took the lamp out, showed it before the crocodile, and quenched it. Nor did it go without its intended effect. The crocodile left the husband to himself and said, "You had better go now. I will never touch you after a lamp was quenched when I began my meals to-day." The husband was astonished at the device of his wife and still more at the faithful observance of a rule in an unreasonable beast. From that day it was fixed that men, who are more reasonable, should never eat when the lamp is blown out.

Another story is told. In a remote village there lived a poor woman who laboured from morning till night in different houses and returned to her hut with two measures of rice. That quantity would serve for ten ordinary persons. Being extremely poor she used to keep no lamp, but cook her rice in the dark, only guided by the light of the fire. When she sat down for her meals even the light of the fire decayed. So she had to eat in the dark. Though she used the full two measures of rice that she brought every day her hunger was never satisfied. She was always in extreme want.

Now it so happened that she had a younger sister who was somewhat richer than herself. The younger came to see her elder sister. The former never used to be without light, and so asked her sister to buy some oil that night and light a lamp. The elder was compelled by necessity to do so; for that she devoted a portion of her two measures of rice and returned home with great uneasiness and perplexity of mind as to how less than two measures would furnish their supper that night, while full two measures were found insufficient on former occasions for herself alone. The lamp was set for the first time in her house and she cooked the remaining rice. The younger sister was astonished to see her using so much for two. The elder, thinking with herself that the younger would soon see her mistake, cooked everything. Two leaves were spread and they sat down to their supper. Not even a fourth part of the rice in the pot was consumed, but already they were satisfied. The younger sister laughed at the foolishness of her elder who now said, "I do not know what magic you have in you. Every day I cook two measures of rice and fast the whole night, without finding them sufficient for myself. Now a fourth of less than two measures has satiated both. Please explain the cause." The younger sister, who was very intelligent herself, wanted to find out the cause, and asked next day to serve the meals without the lamp. Instead of eating she stretched her hand in front and caught a lock of hair. She asked the other at once to light the lamp, which being done there was a devil sitting before her. On being questioned how he came there he said that he was used thus to go to every one who ate without a lamp, and swallow his meals fast without leaving him a morsel. The elder sister perceived her mistake and used a lamp from that day. The demon ceased to come. She had abundance for herself and something to spare. So when the lamp is blown out devils are said to come and eat out of our leaves. Hence is the custom to rise whenever such mishaps occur.

A GEOLOGIST'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY OF ANCIENT INDIA.[1]

BY PROF. V. BALL, M.A., F.R.S., F.G.S.

The earliest traders in Indian commodities, of whose proceedings we have any record, were the Egyptians. According to Lenormant,[2] the bas-reliefs of the temple of Deir-el-Bahari at Thebes represent the conquest of the land of Pun under Hatasu. "In the abundant booty, loading the vessels of Pharaoh for conveyance to the land of Egypt, appear a great many Indian animals and products not indigenous to the soil of Yemen—elephants' teeth, gold, precious stones, sandal-wood, and monkeys."

Again,[3] "The labours of Von Böhlen (*Das Alte Indien*, vol. I, p. 42), confirming those of Heeren, and in their turn confirmed by those of Lassen (*Ind. Alt.* vol. II, p. 580), have established the existence of a maritime commerce between India and Arabia from the very earliest period of the annals of humanity." The principal commodities imported from India were gold, tin, precious stones, ivory, &c.

In the Mosaic period (1491-1450, B.C.), too, precious stones, which were to a great extent a specialty of India and the neighbouring countries, appear to have been well known, and were already highly valued. It is probable that some of the stones in the breastplate of the high priest may have come from the far East. The emerald, however, if then known, was probably derived from a mine in Egypt, to which reference will be made hereafter. At the same time there are grounds for believing that the word so rendered (*Exod.* xxviii. 18; *Ezek.* xxviii. 13) may not be correctly translated.

The next traders in Indian products were the Phœnicians, who for a time carried on their commerce with the ports of Aden, Cana, Haran, Yemen, and Muza, to which the commodities of India were brought for exchange by Arabian, and possibly Indian and Cingalese, ships.

Somewhere about 1015 B.C., Solomon joined Hiram, King of Tyre, in a nautical and commercial venture of a more ambitious nature than had previously been attempted, "For the king had at sea a navy of Tarshish with the navy of Hiram; once in three years came the navy of Tarshish, bringing gold and silver, ivory, apes, and peacocks."[4]

These ships were the first which had ever doubled the southern parts of Arabia and then sailed straight for India. The first port in that country of which we have any mention is Ophir. The vessels were built of timber from Judea, at Elath and Erziongeber, and they were manned by Phœnicians. They were called "ships of Tarshish," because they were of the same form and build as those which had previously been employed in the trade to Tarshish, situated, as is now generally known, in the south of Spain.

It is needless, perhaps, to discuss here the many views which have been put forward as to the identity of Ophir. Lassen[5] says it was on the site of Abhira, on the western coast, adjoining the province of Gujarât. Others locate it in Ceylon; but General Cunningham's researches place it also in the Gulf of Cambay. The name Ophir, or Sophir, he identifies with Sauvira, a name derived from that of the ber-tree (*Zizyphus jujuba*), which is plentiful in that region.[6]

Since gold, silver, ivory, apes, and peacocks are productions of India—and the Hebrew name for the last is derived from *tukki*, an Indian word—there is internal evidence that Ophir was situated in that country. It is not likely to have been in the more Eastern, Burmese, or Malayan countries, where, it must be admitted, the same commodities might have been obtained.[7]

Passing the notices of precious stones to be found in the biblical books written during the course of the next five centuries, we find that Herodotos (fifth century B.C.) gives us some insight into the nature and extent of certain

[1] From the Presidential address to the Royal Geological Society of Ireland, March 19, 1883.

[2] *Hist. Anc. de l'Orient*—English ed., vol. II, p. 299.

[3] *l. c.* p. 301.

[4] 1 *Kings*, i. 22; also see ix. 28, &c.

[5] *Ind. Alter.*, vol. II, pp. 584-592.

[6] *Anc. Geog. of India*, pp. 496-7; and 560-62.

[7] Mr. Eastwick estimates that the gold which reached Solomon by way of the Red Sea amounted to 3,330,000 lbs. in weight, or 160 millions sterling. In his Paper entitled, "Gold in India," it may be added, he is inclined to locate Ophir in the Malabar country, in the neighbourhood of the gold-bearing regions of Southern India.

Indian mineral productions. Babylon obtained precious stones and dogs (probably Tibetan mastiffs) from India.[8] In the enumeration of the nations and tribes which paid tribute to the Persian monarch, Darius, the Indians alone, we are told, paid in gold, all the others paying in silver. The amount of this gold was 360 Eubœic talents = £1,290,000. Herodotos pointedly, moreover, speaks of India as being "rich in gold";[9] and he relates the famous and widespread fable of the gold-digging ants, the origin of which has been fully ascertained.[10] I shall only add now that the "horns of the gold-digging ants," referred to by Pliny and others were, probably, simply samples of the ordinary pickaxes used by the miners. In Ladakh, and, probably, also in Tibet, these implements are made of the horns of wild sheep, mounted on handles of wood.

The portion of India conquered by Darius was probably situated chiefly to the north-west of the Indus. The Indus itself, as well as some of its tributaries, is known to be auriferous.

Many commentators on the above and other references by subsequent authors to the existence of gold (and silver), as indigenous products of India, object that mines of these metals are or were not known to exist in India. Thus Lassen says: "If the ancients speak of abundant gold in India, it is either only a false amplification of the early and true account of Northern India, the country of the Dârds, between Kaśmîr and the Upper Indus, or a false conclusion, from the fact that the Indians used much gold for ornaments and other purposes." Heeren, like Lassen, alludes doubtfully to Pliny's statement (*vide postea*) as to the existence of abundant gold and silver mines in the country of the Nareæ; he attributes the quantity of gold which must have been in Ancient India to commerce with other gold-producing countries, namely, Tibet and Burma. He even suggests[11] that African gold found its way to India in early as well as it is known to have done in later times. Our most recent knowledge of India, however, affords evidence that the amount of gold derived from indigenous sources must have been very considerable before the alluvial deposits were exhausted of their gold throughout wide regions.

When it is remembered that about 80 per cent. of the gold raised throughout the world is from alluvial washings, and when this fact is considered in connexion with the reflection that wide tracts in Australia and America, formerly richly productive, are now deserted, being covered with exhausted tailings, it can be conceived how these regions in India, and there are very many of them, which are known to be auriferous, may, in the lapse of time, after yielding large supplies of gold, have become too exhausted to be of much present consideration. More than this, however, recent explorations have confirmed the fact, often previously asserted, that in Southern India there are indications of extended mining operations having been carried on there.

Evidence exists of the most conclusive kind of large quantities of gold having been amassed by Indian monarchs, who accepted a revenue in gold dust only, from certain sections of their subjects, who were consequently compelled to spend several months of every year washing for it in the rivers.

The already-quoted facts taken from the pages of the Bible and Herodotos must be accepted as evidence that gold was an export from India, and that to so large an extent, that the suggestion that it was first imported may be safely rejected. A large amount, very probably, reached Northern India in the course of trade from Tibet; but it is incredible that the vast stores which, as will be shown on a future page, were in the possession of the princes of Southern India about 600 years ago, were, to any considerable extent, derived from extraneous sources.

Much uncertainty exists as to the date of the famous Indian epic known as the *Râmâyaṇa*. By Wilson, however, it is supposed to have been written about 300 B.C.; but it refers to a time probably contemporaneous with Solomon. It represents India as abounding at that early period in wealth, which we cannot but conclude

[8] Herodotos, lib. I, c. 192. [9] *l. c.* lib. III, c. 106.
[10] *Scient. Proceedings R. Soc. Dub.*, for 1880. The fable has been shown by Sir Henry Rawlinson and Dr. Schiern *Ind. Ant.* vol. IV, pp. 225ff.) to have originated in the peculiar customs of the Tibetan gold miners, which would appear to be the same at present, as they were in the time of Herodotos. The name "Ant" gold was possibly first given to the fragments of gold dust brought from Tibet on account of their shape and size.
[11] *Asiatic Nations* (Bohn's ed.), vol. II, p. 32.

was mainly of indigenous origin. In the description of the capital town of Ayôdhyâ, as quoted by Heeren,[12] we are told "it was filled with merchants and artificers of all kinds; gold, precious stones, and jewels were there found in abundance; every one wore costly garments, bracelets, and necklaces." Again, "The present made to Sîtâ consisted of a whole measure of gold pieces and a vast quantity of the same precious metal in ingots; golden chariots, golden trappings for elephants and horses, and golden bells are also noticed as articles of luxury and magnificence."

The *Indika*, by Ktesias, the Knidian (398 B.C.) was the first regular Greek treatise on India. The fragments of it which have been preserved by Photios and other writers have recently been brought together and carefully annotated by Mr. McCrindle,[13] to whose work I am indebted for the following extracts bearing upon our subject. Ktesias's knowledge of India was all derived at second-hand from persons he came in contact with at the Persian Court, where he resided under Darius and his successor, Artaxerxes Mnemon.

Ktesias informs us that there is a lake in the country of the Pygmies upon the surface of which oil is produced. The Pygmies are described as being covered over with long hair. A tribe corresponding to this description has been reported to exist in Upper Burma, and there also are the only largely productive petroleum deposits, which, moreover, we know to have been worked since the earliest times.[14] Silver also was and is found in this region. This report, however, it should be clearly understood, requires very distinct confirmation before it can be accepted. It is probably merely a fable; but the existence of sources of rock-oil and silver in Upper Burma is noteworthy, no other region being known to produce both, though silver is found in many localities in India, and rock-oil in Asam and the Panjâb.

The *elektron* or amber of Ktesias, a product of trees, was certainly *shellac*, and the insects found with it, which yielded a red dye, were lac insects. As, therefore, this amber does not properly belong to our subject, I shall say no more about it at present. Gold, we are told, was only obtained on certain "high-towering mountains" inhabited by the griffins—a race of four-footed birds, about as large as wolves, having legs and claws like those of the lion, and covered all over the body with black feathers, except only on the breast, where they are red. Now, if we omit the word "birds" in the above, and for "feathers" read "hair," there is no difficulty in recognising the griffins as the Tibetan mastiffs, which are powerful, hairy, often black-and-tan-coloured dogs, specimens of which, by the way, appear to have been taken to the Persian Court as examples of the gold-digging ants, which were first described by Herodotos.[15] We may, I think, therefore, justly conclude that the locality referred to was situated in Tibet.

Gold was also said to be obtained from a spring, being drawn from it in earthen pitchers in which it congealed. This story is obviously founded on the casting of ingots; but I cannot see that Lassen's view, that it shows that the Indians knew how to extract gold from *ores*, follows, since it may merely refer to the melting of alluvial gold dust. Silver is said to occur also in the above-mentioned country of the Pygmies, upon which Lassen remarks that silver is only known to occur in Ajmir. It has, however, a much wider distribution, as I have shown in my *Economic Geology*; but the only region in which it is regularly produced at present is Upper Burma.[16]

Iron is said to be found in the same spring or fountain as the gold; and Ktesias had two swords, made of Indian iron, given to him respectively by the King of Persia and his mother. This iron consisted, I believe, of ingots of *wootz* or cast-steel, from which Damascus blades have been made since time immemorial.[17] The power of iron to ward off thunderstorms, which is referred to by Ktesias, suggests rather an early knowledge of the use

[12] *Asiatic Nations*, vol. II, pp. 149, 150.

[13] *Ind. Ant.*, vol. X, pp. 297ff.

[14] Ball, *Economic Geology of India*, p. 138.

[15] Herodotos (lib. I, c. 192) tells us, as pointed out by Lenormant, that India supplied Babylon with "precious stones and large dogs; and so great was the passion for the latter, that Tritantæchmes, Satrap of Babylon under the Achæmenians, had set apart four cities or large villages, exempted from all other taxes, on condition of maintaining his dogs."—*Manual of the Ancient History of the East*, vol. I, p. 496.

[16] *Economic Geology*, p. 234.

[17] The name *wootz*, according to Lassen, *Ind. Alter.* (vol. I, p. 239), is derived from the Sanskrit, from two words signifying diamond and thunderbolt, *vajra*.

of lightning conductors than of the properties of the magnet, which is the explanation offered by Baehr.

The *Pantarba* is a kind of stone which, when thrown into the water, had the power of drawing together other stones of various colours to the number of 77. It has been suggested by Count Von Veltheim that this was some kind of opal, which, on being put into water, exhibited a rich play of colours. Upon this I can offer no opinion: no more probable supposition suggests itself to my mind. The sardine stone, the onyx, and other seal stones, are said to be found in certain high mountains. There is no further indication of locality. Possibly Ujjain in Mâlwâ, or some of the other places where mines of Chalcedonic minerals occur, was intended.

Evidence of various kinds exists that in the time of the Indian monarch, Aśôka, about 250 B.C., the mineral resources of India were well known and were largely availed of. Stone architecture on a magnificent scale, which is still extant, bears testimony to the skill of the Buddhist stone-masons of a still earlier period. The elaborate carvings on some of these prove the excellence of the tools which were employed; probably they were made of Indian steel or *wootz*. The famous Aśôka monoliths of a later date, from 35 to 40 feet long, and about as many tons in weight, are, in their way, too, remarkable, though not exhibiting such ornate designs.

In B.C. 307,[18] according to the *Mahâwansa*,[19] the King of Ceylon (or Lañka), Dewanampiatisso, was installed, and shortly afterwards he sent an embassy to Aśôka at Palibothra, the presents consisting of sapphires, lapis-lazuli, rubies, and eight varieties of pearls, which, we are told, rose miraculously from the earth and sea respectively on the auspicious occasion. Aśôka's return-gift consisted of golden and other ornaments, and as an especial rarity, "costly hand-towels, which to the last moment they are used (are cleansed by being passed through the fire) without being washed."

Now, with reference to the above, I venture to think that the translator has made a mistake as regards lapis-lazuli. It has never been known to be a product of Ceylon. The word possibly means either the asteria (or star sapphire), or another blue mineral called iolite (or dichroite), both of which occur in Ceylon. In this connexion it may be interesting to note that, in some excavations made recently on the supposed site of Aśôka's throne,[20] there were obtained sapphires and emeralds, mostly broken into splinters, two pebbles of iolite, some beads of lapis-lazuli, coral, &c., and some imitation emeralds, made of glass. Lapis-lazuli, therefore, was possibly known in Aśôka's time, but probably it did not come from Ceylon, but from the mines in Badakshân, to be mentioned hereafter. The hand-towels were most likely made of woven asbestos, a substance which has long been known to occur in Kâbul,[21] and may very possibly have reached India from thence.

The work by Megasthenes (302 B.C.), entitled τα 'Ινδικα, no longer exists, except in fragments which have been quoted by subsequent writers. These have recently been brought together by Mr. M'Crindle[22] from the pages of Strabo, Pliny, Arrian, Diodoros, &c. It is probable that these fragments represent only a small portion of the whole work; but so far as they go, since the individual quotations by each of the authors are checked by those of the others, we are justified in the belief that the general facts related are as they were originally stated by Megasthenes.

The first statement bearing on our subject is taken from Diodoros[23]:—"And while the soil (*of India*) bears on its surface all kinds of fruits which are known to cultivation, it has also under ground numerous veins of all sorts of metals, for it contains much gold and silver, and copper and iron in no small quantity, and even tin and other metals, which are employed in making articles of use and ornament, as well as the implements and accoutrements of war."

Upon this I shall only here remark that the item of greatest interest is the tin. Even in Homeric times reference to this metal as coming from India is to be found in conjunction

[18] The chronology of the *Mahâvansa* is in error by 60 to 66 years; this date should be about 245 B.C.—Ed. *I. A.*

[19] A History of Ceylon for Twenty-four Centuries, from B.C. 543; translated by Turnour, p. 70.

[20] Vide *Proc. As. Society, Bengal*, May, 1881, p. 89.

[21] *Economic Geology of India*, p. 519.

[22] *Ind. Ant.*, vol. VI, pp. 120-135, 236-250, 333-349.

[23] *Ind. Ant.*, vol. VI, p. 120.

with the mention of *elephas* or ivory. The Greek name for it, *kassiteros*, is moreover said to be derived from the Sanskrit, *kastira*. That India produced tin in sufficient quantities for exportation is, I believe, most improbable. The tin which she did export probably came to the Indian ports from the Malayan countries or Tenasserim.

The fable of the gold-digging ants, already alluded to as having been related by Herodotos, is quoted by Strabo and Arrian from Megasthenes. Arrian further also refers to the account by Nearchos,[24] who says that "he had not himself seen a specimen of the sort of ant which other writers declare to exist in India, though he had seen many skins of them which had been brought into the Makedonian camp."[25] But Megasthenes avers that the tradition about the ants is strictly true—that they are gold-diggers, not for the sake of the gold itself, but because by instinct they burrow holes in the earth to lie in, just as the tiny ants of our own country dig little holes for themselves; only those in India being larger than foxes, make their burrows proportionately larger. But the ground is impregnated with gold, and the Indians thence obtain their gold. Now, Megasthenes writes what he had heard from hearsay, and as I have no more exact information to give, I willingly dismiss the subject of the ant.

Pliny, in his list of the Indian Races, which is believed to have been mostly borrowed from Megasthenes, says:—"Next follow the Nareæ, enclosed by the loftiest of Indian mountains, Capitalia. The inhabitants on the other side of this mountain work extensive mines of gold and silver." Capitalia may certainly be identified with Mount Abu; and although the highest authorities are divided as to the identity of the Nareæ, the mention of mines of gold and silver compels me to believe that the Nayyars of Malabar were intended, as in Malabar and the neighbouring regions are situated not only the ancient gold mines which have attracted so much notice of late years, but there are also enormous ancient mines in the districts of Kadapa and Karnul from whence argentiferous galena appears to have been extracted, and from this ore silver was, very probably, obtained.[26] In another passage in this list of Pliny we find the following statement:—"Gold is very abundant among the Dardæ and silver among the Setæ." On this Mr. M'Crindle remarks that the Setæ are the Sata or Sataka of Sanskrit geography, which locates them in the neighbourhood of the Daradas. I was inclined to believe that the country of the Setæ may have been the Wazir-i-rupi, or silver country of the Wazirs, *i.e.*, Kulu, where argentiferous galenas undoubtedly do occur. Colonel Yule identifies them, however, with the Sanskrit *Sekas*, and he places them on the Bannas, about Jhajpur, south-east from Ajmir. There are extensive ancient mines from which galena was obtained near the Taragarh hill in Ajmir; but, so far as I can ascertain, there is no record of their having produced silver. Galena, known to contain silver, appears to have been mined for at Jodawas in Alwar, and at Jawar or Zawar in Udepur, but this latter locality was chiefly remarkable, indeed unique in India, for producing zinc.[27]

Further on, in Pliny's enumeration above alluded to, we meet the following passage:—"Beyond the mouth of the Indus are Chrysæ and Argyræ, rich, as I believe, in metals. For I cannot readily believe what is asserted by some writers, that their soil is impregnated with gold and silver. At a distance of twenty miles from these lies Crocala." This last, according to Mr. M'Crindle, is identified with Karkalla, the district which includes Karâchi; but Colonel Yule identifies the former two localities with Burma and Arakan, as will be mentioned below in connexion with Ptolemy's reference to the same subject.

About the year 30 B.C. Dionysios Perigetes, in his *Oikoumenes Perithesis*, gives a rough indication of the position of the region from whence the diamonds which at that time found

[24] M'Crindle's Arrian, p. 217; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. V, p. 93.

[25] These I believe to have been skins of the Tibetan mastiffs (or griffins), which, I understand, are still brought to India for sale.

[26] Vide *Economic Geology of India*, p. 232.

[27] Todd (*Rajasthan*, (Mad. ed.) vol. I, pp. 11, 230, 433); also *Jour. A. S. Beng.* vol. XIX, p. 212), has described this as being a tin mine, an error which has misled Lassen (*Ind. Alt.*, vol. I, p. 239), who states that the large production from this mine may account for the fact that the Indian name of tin, already alluded to on a previous page, was at so early a period spread throughout the western world.

their way to Europe were derived.[58] The *adamas*, he states, together with beryl, green jasper, topaz, and amethyst, were found in the river beds of the country lying to the east of Mount Parapamissus (*i. e.* the Hindu Kush) and Ariana. Although some doubt may be felt in this instance as to the true meaning of the term *adamas*, its applicability to the diamond, when used by Manilius a few years later, is indisputable. This latter author flourished during the Augustan age (B.C. 31 to A.D. 14), but the exact date of his poem is not known.

Pliny, A.D. 77.—In his *Historia Naturalis*, the industrious compiler, Pliny, has given an extraordinary amount of information regarding precious stones and metals, a large proportion of them being of Indian origin.

Reference has already been made to those passages which appear to have been derived from the older authors, more particularly to those referring to gold. A locality, namely the Ganges, mentioned by Pliny (lib. xxxiii., c. 21), may, perhaps, refer to known sources of the precious metal in the tributaries of the Upper Ganges. His remarks on the quantity of gold in India, lib. xxxiii., c. 21), are full of interest.

Regarding iron, he says the best is made by the Seres; some authors suppose them to have been an Indian tribe inhabiting Sarhind, the modern Ambala District, but the balance of evidence is certainly in favour of their having been Chinese. The next quality is from Parthia. Elsewhere he says (lib. xii, c. 8). that the Romans obtained steel, together with pearls, at Cape Comorin.

His account of the Murrhine on the whole bears out the view as to its nature, stated below, save that he records (lib. xxxvii, c. 7), that "a person of consular rank, who some years ago used to drink out of this cup, grew so passionately fond of it as to gnaw its edges" —a fact not consistent with it being a substance having the hardness of the Chalcedonic minerals.

Regarding amber, he quotes the account by Ktesias, which, as has been shown, refers to shellac, and alludes to the fable of amber being produced from the tears of the meleagrides (guinea fowl). Another statement of his which I cannot explain is, that the Indians polish amber by boiling it in the grease of a sucking pig.

Adamas.—Under this head the diamond appears to have been included, together with some other stones. "It is," he says (lib. xxxvii, c. 15), "the substance that possesses the greatest value, not only among the precious stones, but of all human possessions, a mineral which for a long time was known to kings only, and to very few of them." Where, however, he refers to its hexangular and hexahedral form, he appears to have been alluding to some other mineral; but his mention of splinters as being used by engravers of other stones again points to the true diamond. He says it could only be broken after being steeped in the blood of a he-goat.

Smaragdus.—Twelve varieties are mentioned (lib. xxxvii., caps. 16, 17). Some of these may have been emeralds, especially those of the third rank, which are said to have come from Egypt. This locality is considered to have been Mount Zalora, in Upper Egypt, which still produces emeralds, and was probably the only locality for them known by the ancients. With reference to some of the other varieties, I feel no little confidence in suggesting that they may have been jade, but this mineral is also included in his account of *Jaspis.*

Beryls are said to be found in India, and rarely elsewhere (lib. xxxvii, c. 20). It is certainly true that they do occur in India, but I am unaware of their being now highly esteemed by the natives, as appears to have been the case in Pliny's time.

Opals, according to Pliny, were alone produced in India. I am not aware of any known source of precious opal in India. His reference is therefore, probably, to some of the common varieties.

Want of space prevents me from further analysing Pliny's catalogue, the more particularly as it does not add much to what is elsewhere given on previous pages.

The *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea* (*Circa*, A.D. 80-89 ?)—The author of this work, a Greek merchant, resident in Egypt, is not known to us by name. His statements of the Indian export and import trade are given with

[58] Vide the Latin version, vv. 315 and 1107.

a great deal of method and obvious accuracy. The following extracts are from Mr. M'Crindle's translation. The principal ports mentioned are Barugaza, the modern Bharoch, on the Narmadâ; Barbarikon, on the Indus; Mouziris (Mangalor), and Nelkunda (south of Mangalor), both the last being on the coast of Malabar. First, as regards the exports: Indian iron and sword blades were exported from Arabia to Adouli in Africa. Indian iron is mentioned in the Pandects as an article of commerce, and the Arabian poets celebrate swords of Indian steel—as well they might, since the material of the famous Damascus blades was *wutz*, which was manufactured in an obscure village in the Haidarâbâd territory.[29] From the ports of Mouziris and Nelkunda gems in great variety were exported; but these, it is expressly stated, were not produced in India, but were brought from Taprobane or Ceylon. They probably consisted of the varieties of what we now call corundum, viz., sapphire, ruby, &c. Separately, the Ἀδάμας is mentioned as being sent from these ports, and it seems probable that under this title we may understand that diamonds, the production of Indian mines, are referred to.

From Barbarikon, on the Indus, a stone called καλλεανὸς was exported. It has been suggested that gold stone or chrysolite was indicated by this name. I cannot think that this is likely to be correct. Chrysolite of value is not, so far as we know, a product of that region; more probably, as has been suggested by Dana, it was turquoise, or an allied mineral now called callianite. If this identification be correct, it probably came through Afghanistan from Persia—the most famous known source of it being at Amsar, near Nishapur in Khorasân. Its occurrence anywhere nearer is extremely doubtful.[30]

From Barugaza to Egypt vast quantities of Ὀνυχινὴ were exported. They reached the seaport from Ozene and Paithana, the modern Ujjain in Mâlwa, and Paithan in Haidarâbâd. These are still known as the principal sources, among many, where pebbles of onyx and other Chalcedonic minerals are obtained from the detritus of the Dekhan basalt.[31] The famous Μουρρίνη, which fetched extravagant prices[32] in the Roman markets, was also obtained in Ozene and exported from Barugaza.

Regarding the identity of this substance, Hermann Müller, as quoted by Mr. M'Crindle, remarks:—"Six hundred writers emulously applying themselves to explain what had the best claim to be considered the *Murrha* of the ancients, have advanced the most conflicting opinions. Now it is pretty well settled that the Murrhine vases were made of that stone which is called in German *flusspath* (*spato fluore*)." In spite of a desire not to augment this intolerable number of opinions, I must register an objection to this judicial decision of Professor Müller. Fluor-spar happens to be, though so common a mineral in other countries, of the very greatest rarity in India, and there is no record of its occurrence in the Dekhan basalts. It is, moreover, a mineral which, while it is susceptible of being made into ornamental objects, is, from its softness, easily injured by wear and tear, and therefore possesses little durability. On the other hand, at Ujjain, a great variety of Chalcedonic minerals are found, and I therefore prefer to follow those of the six hundred writers who have identified one or other of its varieties with the ancient murrha. At the present day cups and vases of carnelian, agate, &c., are obtainable in Bombay; and I think it most improbable that the modern *Akiks*, or lapidaries, who are the direct descendants of those who made the murrhine cups 2,000 years ago, ever saw, much less worked, the mineral called fluor-spar.

Another argument in support of this identification has been urged by some writers; it is that stone cups and vases, and fragments of them which have been obtained in excavations at Rome, have, on examination, proved to be of this material. None of fluor-spar are recorded.

The Σάπφειρος was, we are told, exported from Barbarikon. If this were the true sapphire of modern times, its export from the most northern port, and, therefore, furthest from the recognised sources of the stone, would in itself be difficult to explain. It has been, however, clearly shown by King [*Precious Stones*] and

[29] Vide *Economic Geology*, p. 340.
[30] *Economic Geology*, p. 435.
[31] *Economic Geology of India*, p. 502, where numerous references and a full account of the trade will be found.
[32] Nero gave for one 300 talents, = £58,125. They were first seen at Rome in the triumphal procession of Pompey.

Dana [*Mineralogy*] that the Σάπφειρος of Theophrastos, Pliny, and Isidoros, &c., was what we now call lapis-lazuli. For Pliny says, "*Sappheiros cœruleus est cum purpura, habens aureos sparsos.*" Now lapis-lazuli is characterised by having scattered through the blue mass small crystalline particles of golden-coloured iron pyrites.

As further evidence in favour of this interpretation, there is the fact that there are very ancient mines of lapis-lazuli at Firgamu in Badakshân (not Beluchistân, as has been incorrectly stated by some writers), and it might very easily have been brought by caravans through Afghanistân to Barbarikon. The mines alluded to are described by Wood in the account of his journey to the Oxus, and both Marco Polo and Tavernier refer to the occurrence of the mineral in that region. Captain Hutton, in 1841, found it on sale at Kandahâr. He mentions several places in Afghanistan where it was said to occur.[33]

The Ὑάκινθος, on the other hand, which was exported from the southern ports Mouziris and Nelkunda, is thought by some to have been the sapphire, as also was the hyacinthus of Pliny (lib. xxxvii, cap. 44), and its variety the asteria (*id.* lib. xxxvii, cap. 49). The *yâqût*, as the name is now understood in India, is either a ruby, or the inferior spinel (more properly called *la'l*), or even a garnet. According to Salmasius, quoted by Mr. M'Crindle, the Ὑάκινθος is the ruby, while according to Solinus it would appear to be the amethyst. This is a point on which Indian geology throws no certain light, as neither rubies nor sapphires appear to have been indigenous products.[34]

In the Persian work on precious stones quoted hereafter, it will be seen that in the thirteenth century the same generic name was applied to the ruby, sapphire, and other varieties of corundum.

With reference to the imports which are of interest as indicating the requirements, if not of the whole of India, at least of that portion of Western India into which they were carried, we find the following enumeration :—

Silver : Costly plate, from Egypt to Barugaza.
Gold and silver coins, from Egypt to Barugaza.
Gold bullion, from Arabia to Barugaza.
Arsenic, from Egypt to Mouziris and Nelkunda.
Lead, from Egypt to Mouziris and Barugaza.
Tin, from Egypt to Mouziris and Barugaza.
Antimony sulphide, from Egypt to Mouziris and Barugaza.
Copper, from Egypt to Mouziris and Barugaza.

The import of silver plate at this early period is remarkable. Whether it has been kept up in modern times, so far as the requirements of the natives are concerned, I cannot say, but the other substances are still largely imported. In four years recently, for instance, upwards of 200 tons of arsenic, in the forms of white arsenic, orpiment, and realgar, were imported; and the antimony sulphide, called *surma* by the natives of India, is largely used for anointing the eyes.

Χρυσόλιθος was also exported from Egypt to all four ports. It appears to be tolerably clear that this mineral was not our modern chrysolite, but was the topaz, while the topazion of Pliny was in part at least chrysolite, as he says it yielded to the file and wore with use; but his mention of a statue, 4 cubits high, which was made of it, indicates a crystal of a size quite unheard of; probably this was either beryl or jade.

Ptolemy (A.D. 140-160). *Diamonds.*—The *Adamas* river of Ptolemy, according to Lassen's analysis of the data, was not identical with the Mahânadî, as I have suggested in my *Economic Geology*,[35] but with the Subanrekhâ, which is, however, so far as we know, not a diamond-bearing river, nor does it at any part of its course traverse rocks of the age of those which contain the matrix of the diamond in other parts of India. This *Adamas* river was separated from the Mahnada (*i.e.* Mahânadî) by the Tyndis and Dosaron; the latter, according to Lassen, taking its rise in the country of Kokkonaga (*i.e.* Chutia Nagpur), and to which the chief town, Dosara (the modern Doesa), gave its name. But, according to this view, the Dosaron must have been identical with the modern Brâhmaṇî, which, in that portion of its course called the Sunk (or Koel), included a diamond locality. I cannot regard this identification as satisfactory, as it does not account for the Tyndis intervening between the Dosaron and Mahnada, since, as a matter of fact, the Brâhmaṇî and Mahânadî

[33] *Economic Geology of India*, p. 528.

[34] It should be stated that there have been recent discoveries of sapphires in the Himâlayas, but there is no evidence that they were ever found there before.

[35] *Economic Geology*, p. 30.

are confluent at their mouths. Lassen, however, identifies the Dosaron with the Baitarnî, and the Tyndis with the Brâhmaṇî. This destroys the force of his remark as to the origin of the name of the former, since at its nearest point it is many miles distant from Doesa.

Another locality of Ptolemy's, said to be situated on the Ganges, in the country of the Sabaræ, may, perhaps, be identical with Tavernier's Soumelpour on the Koel; it was situated some miles distant from the Ganges. Wherever it was, it produced most diamonds.

A third locality mentioned by Ptolemy has been variously identified with Sambhalpur and Wairagaṛh[36] in West Gondwâna, the position of which last was not correctly known to either Ritter or Lassen, though the fact of the existence of diamond mines there had been recorded by Firishta and Abu'l-Fazl.

Ptolemy stated that Ceylon produced the beryl, hyacinth (? = sapphire), and all sorts of metals; the last is, however, not the case, Ceylon being rather poor in metallic ores.

Under the name Bathana, a source of the onyx is mentioned by Ptolemy; this appears to have been a well-known locality at Paiṭhan on the Gôdâvarî, which was alluded to as Plithana by the author of the *Periplus*.

The sardonyx mines of Ptolemy are probably identical with the famous carnelian and agate mines of Râjpîpla, or rather, as it should be called Ratnapur.

The loadstone rocks of India, which attracted so much notice by several early writers, were known to Ptolemy; they may possibly be identified with certain hill ranges in Southern India which mainly consist of magnetic iron.[37] Early writers connected their presence with the fact that many of the vessels and boats engaged in the Indian coasting trade contained no iron in their construction, and hence probably arose the well-known fable about the injury to shipping caused by the loadstone rocks. The surf boats, however, have no iron in their construction, simply because bolts or nails would render them too rigid; nor have the vessels of the Lakhadives and Maldives, because iron ores do not occur in coral islands.

The identity of Argyre (where, according to Ptolemy, there were mines of silver), Chrysé chersonesus, Chrysé chora, and Chalkitis, have recently been discussed by Colonel Yule.[38] The first he proves to be Arakan, where, however, there are no silver mines; and considering the geological structure of the country, it is almost certain there never were any. I have been recently informed by General Sir Arthur Phayre that Argyre is probably a transliteration of an ancient Burmese name for Arakan. It seems likely, therefore, that it was from putting a Greek interpretation to this name that the story of the silver mines owed its origin. According to Colonel Yule, the Arabs probably adopted their ideas from the Ptolemaic charts. With regard to the other localities, he says, "The golden Chersonese is specifically the protuberant delta of the Irâwadî, Pegu, the Suvarṇabhûmi, or golden land of ancient India, whilst the golden region behind is Burma, the oldest province of which, above Ava, is still formally styled in State documents Sonaparânta, "Golden frontier." Ptolemy's Chalkitis, also, or copper region, approximates curiously to the Tampadipa, or Copper Island of the Burmese State phraseology, "a region which embraces Ava and the ancient capital Pagan." These identifications remove from the region of probability what has sometimes been urged, that Argyre and Chrysé were countries which supplied India with large quantities of silver and gold.

Arrian (*Circa*, A.D. 146).—The first part of Arrian's *Indika* was founded on the works of Megasthenes, and Eratosthenes, and the second on an account of the voyage made by Nearchos the Kretan from the Indus to the Pasitigris. The parts of this compilation which bear upon our present subject have already been anticipated in the description of Megasthenes' writings, and need not, therefore, be repeated.

The authors whom I have consulted with reference to the Roman trade with India are: Robertson,[39] Renaud,[40] and Priaulx.[41] This trade, which succeeded that of the Greeks,

[36] See *Economic Geology of India*, p. 37.
[37] *l. c.*, p. 335.
[38] *Proc. R. Geograph. Soc.*, 1882, p. 654.
[39] *Historical Disquisition concerning the Knowledge which the Ancients had of India*. London: 1809.
[40] *Relations Politiques et Commerciales de l'Empire Roman avec l'Asie Orientale . . . pendant les cinque premiers siècles de l'ère Chrétienne. Jour. Asiatique*, 6th ser., 1863, tome 1.
[41] *Apollonius of Tyana*.

came to an end in the sixth century. Besides what has already been independently quoted from the pages of Pliny and Ptolemy, there do not appear to be any records of much importance bearing upon the present subject.

An account of India, written for Palladius towards the close of the fourth or beginning of the fifth century, makes special reference to the loadstone rocks, possibly quoting from Ptolemy. In the fifth century Hierocles speaks of the Brâhmaṇs as being clothed in garments made from a soft and hairy filament obtained from stones. This, it seems most probable, owed its origin to some mistaken notion as to the origin of cotton rather than to the use of woven asbestos, as has been suggested.

Under the Emperor Justinian, in the sixth century, Cosmas (surnamed Indicopleustes), an Egyptian merchant, made several voyages to India, and recorded his experiences in a work called *Christian Topography*, in which some account of the export trade of India is given. He mentions how the Persians became rivals of the Romans at the Indian ports, and how the precious commodities were conveyed from thence up the Persian Gulf, and were distributed by means of the Euphrates and Tigris. Gradually the trade to Constantinople, the then seat of the Romans, was thus diverted.

Eighty years after the death of Justinian, Muḥammad published his new religion, and it was not long before the Arabians spread themselves as conquerors over the countries adjoining their own, thence spreading by sea and land over an ever-widening area. To a great extent they wrested the Oriental trade from the Persians; they established a mart at Basorah, which speedily rose to an importance scarcely exceeded by that of Alexandria in the height of the Greek and Roman period. So little is known of the details of this trade, that there is only barely sufficient evidence for the conclusion that, as regards the mineral productions, it did not differ materially from that which preceded it in the hands of other nationalities. The most important work giving an account of India at about this period is the famous voyage by a Muḥammadan traveller, with annotations by another, called Abu Seid al Hassan of Girâf.[42] Their account is confirmed by another Arabian called Masûdî, whose universal history bears the fantastic title, *Meadows of Gold and Mines of Jewels*.

The effect of this absorption of the trade of the Red Sea was to deprive the European nations of that highway of commerce, and the requirements of Europe had to be brought to Constantinople from India and China by long and tedious overland journeys, which became especially arduous during the Crusades. This state of things continued till the discovery by the Portuguese in the fifteenth century of the long sea passage round the Cape of Good Hope. From various sources, however, we are enabled to pick up fragments of information referring to different centuries included in this interval. Thus a Sanskrit work called the Bṛhat Saṅhita,[43] which, it is believed, was written in the sixth century, contains a very detailed account of diamonds, their varieties, qualities, and attributes. Of especial interest is a list of eight localities where diamonds were found. Most of these I have succeeded in identifying with sites where diamond mines are known to have been worked.[44] With regard to some of the localities, however, it is more than doubtful whether they ever produced diamonds.

The first Englishman who visited India appears to have been Sighelmas, Bishop of Shirburne, who was sent thither, in the year 883, by King Alfred,' to visit the famous Christian Church named after St. Thomas. This Bishop, we are told, made his journey in comfort, and brought back with him "many splendid exotic gems and spices, such as that country plentifully yielded"[45]—a fact in itself of no great importance, save that it is a link in the chain.

Somewhere between the years 1067 and 1081 Marbodius wrote a poem entitled *De Lapidibus Preciosis*, in which he gave expression to the then prevailing ideas as to the sources and qualities of the diamond. Far India is recognised as its native place, and the use of splinters of it for engraving upon other gems

[42] First translated in A.D. 1718 into French by M. Renaudot.

[43] Translated by Dr. Kern, *Jour. Roy. Asiatic Society*, N. S., vol. VII, 1875, p. 125.

[44] *Economic Geology of India*. p. 2.

[45] Recorded by William of Malmesbury in *De Gestis regum Anglorum*, Book ii, cap. 4. *Vide* Hakluyt's *English Voyages*.

is alluded to. Its hardness is said to yield to steeping in goat's blood—a fable already quoted from Pliny. How this idea originated it is not easy to say; possibly it may be connected with the sacrificial offerings which preceded the search for diamonds, as will be described on a future page.

In the eleventh century, according to Dr. Burnell, wealth must have abounded in Southern India, because it was then that the numerous Śaiva temples were built; and in the thirteenth century the great Vaishṇava temples were erected. Regarding the famous inscription on the Tanjore temple, he has written as follows:—"The full importance in Indian history of Vira Chôḷa's reign is only to be gathered from this inscription; but it contains other information also of great value. It proves, *e.g.*, that in the eleventh century gold was the most common precious metal in India, and stupendous quantities of it are mentioned here. Silver, on the other hand, is little mentioned; and it appears that the present state of things, which is exactly the reverse, was only brought about by the Portuguese in the sixteenth century. I submit that the great abundance of gold spoken of in the inscription can have arisen only from mines, and that in the terrible convulsions caused by the irruption of Moslem invaders from the north and Europeans from the west, the position of these gold-fields was lost sight of."

It has been remarked upon this, that[46] "the full significance of this statement as affecting Southern India can be understood only when taken in connection with the large areas which are known to have been worked by the natives. It seems to leave little room for doubting that the reefs and soils when first opened up were extremely rich, and that the soils as we find them now have been impoverished by repeated washings." In the year 1293, Alau'd-dîn, afterwards Emperor of Dehli, took the city of Deogaṛh, but the citadel still held out. Subsequently Ala raised the siege, on receiving a ransom, the amount of which may well appear incredible, 15,000 lbs. of pure gold, 175 lbs. of pearls, 50 lbs. of diamonds, and 25,000 lbs. of silver, being enumerated among the items. So much appears certain, that Alau'd-dîn levied an enormous sum upon Deogaṛh, and that consequently it must at that time have been a very great city and rich emporium."[47] It has been suggested that this wealth must have been acquired by working the ancient mines of Southern India.

MUḤAMMAD BIN MANSÛR (thirteenth century).—The remarkable Persian work on Precious Stones by this author was translated first into German by Joseph von Hammer.[48] The following facts are from an English version[49]:—*Diamond.*—Seven kinds are recognised, namely, (1) white transparent; (2) the pharonic; (3) the olive-coloured, the white of which inclines to yellowish; (4) the red; (5) the green; (6) the black; (7) the fire-coloured. In spite of this elaborate classification, Muḥammad's knowledge of the *habitat* is very vague. He says:—"In the eastern parts of India is a deep ravine, inhabited by serpents, where diamonds are produced. Some people suppose that it is found in the *yâqût* mines." Here there is an obvious allusion to the diamond myth—to be described hereafter.

Corundum (*Senbade*), he says, quite correctly, is next in hardness to the diamond, and is of a reddish or bluish colour. The mines were situated in India, Zanzibar, Siwas, Kerman, Nubia, and Ethiopia. The best kinds were from Siwas and Nubia.

Yâqût.—Under this title are included six classes: (1) red (*i.e.* ruby); (2) yellow (*i.e* Oriental topaz); (3) black (*i.e.* pleonaste); (4) white (*i.e.* white sapphire); (5) green (*i.e.* Oriental emerald); (6) blue, or smoke-colour (*i.e.* sapphire). Of these classes sub-divisions into varieties are given. It is certainly a most remarkable fact that at so early a period the essential identity of these precious stones—a fact only comparatively recently ascertained by chemical examination—should have been known to the Persians. The hardness and other characters are correctly stated also by Muḥammad. The locality of the principal mines is stated to be the island of Saharan, which is sixty-two farsangs in diameter, and lies forty farsangs behind the island of Ceylon. The *yâqûts* are found there in a high

[46] Brough Smyth: *Report of Gold Mines of South-East Wynaad*, &c.

[47] *Hand-book for Madras.* (Murray, 1859), p. 94.

[48] *Mines de l'Orient*, vol. VI.

[49] *Asiatic Journal*, vol. IX, 1820, p. 345.

mountain. This jumble is not easy to explain, the true locality being Ceylon itself, which is noted for its high mountains, culminating in Adam's Peak. Another locality is also mentioned, Tara, near Cairo, where mines were discovered A.D. 1270.

A stone, called by Muḥammad the *chamahen*, should come here, if, as is stated, it is next to the diamond in hardness; but this is inconsistent with another assertion that, when rubbed on a hard stone, it colours it red. When broken, it divides into branches. The most beautiful is blackish-red; it is found in the district of Karak. But for the first statement I should be inclined to identify this as jasper.

Spinel (*La'l*).—Of this there are four classes, namely, the red, yellow, violet, and green. Of the red there are eight varieties. Muḥammad only mentions one mine, that in Badakshân, the capital of which, Balkh, gave origin to the term *Balas*. His account, which is as follows, was unfortunately not available to me when giving a *précis* of information regarding the locality[50]:—"At the time of the caliphate of the Abbasides, a mountain at Chatlan was rent open by an earthquake, where there was found the *la'l* of Badakshân, bedded in a white stone. It is very hard to polish, and it was a long time before it could be smoothed, till it was at length accomplished by means of the gold marcasite called *ebrendshe*. Smaller stones are found in the bed round a large one, like the seeds of a pomegranate. The miners call this bed of the Spinel *maal*. There were found in the mines first red, then yellow *la'l*, and it belongs to the kinds of the *yâqût*." The discovery of these mines by a landslip finds a parallel in a recent discovery of sapphires in the Himalayas.[51] The white stone which formed the matrix is probably limestone. Wood, in 1837, stated that the matrix was a red sandstone *or* a limestone impregnated with magnesia, but he did not personally visit the mine.

Turquoise (*Fîrûzah*).—Obtained at Nishabar, Ghasna (? Ghazni), Irak, Kerman, Kwaresm, the first being the most valued. There is, therefore, no Indian locality; such seems to be still the case.

Talc (*Sitârah-e-zamîn* = star of the earth)—Two kinds—one found in the air (? *superficially*), and the other in mines. Muḥammad says—"Artificial pearls are made from it, and it does not burn or calcine with fire. If you dissolve it and rub the limbs with it, it makes them fire proof. Talc can neither be pounded in mortars nor broken to pieces with hammers. The way to dissolve it is to boil it with beans; to wrap it then in a piece of linen. If dissolved talc is mixed with a little resin and saffron, and used as ink, it makes a gold ink, and, without saffron, silver ink."

Rock Crystal (*Bullûr*).—Of this two kinds are mentioned, one being clear, and the other dark-yellowish. The added statement that they can be melted like glass, and then coloured so as to imitate the *yâqût*, *la'l*, or emerald, is unintelligible, since rock crystal by itself is a most infusible substance. Perhaps what is meant is, that siliceous sand was used in the manufacture of the glass or paste of which false stones were made.

Muḥammad says that at Ghasna, there were four crystal vessels, each of which could contain two skins of water. He mentions that crystals of other minerals and wood (probably crystals of tourmaline) often occurred enclosed in the *bullûr*. Some fanciers, we are told, prefer the Arabian to the Indian variety.

Amethyst (*Jemst*)—Four kinds: (1) deep rose-colour and sky-blue; (2) pale rose-colour and deep azure; (3) pale rose-colour and sky-blue. It was much esteemed by the Arabs. Muḥammad does not refer to its occurrence in India, but states that it was obtained near the village of Safwa, three days' journey from Medina. Wine drunk out of a goblet made of amethyst does not intoxicate, upon which Muḥammad's translator remarks:—"This opinion was also current in Europe, and the name *jem* or *jemshîd* is connected with it. The Greek word αμεθυστος also means "unintoxicated," but it is originally derived from *jhemest*, as the jasper from *yashb*; hyacinth from *yâqût*; emerald from *zumurrud*; pearls (*Margarita*) from *marvârîd*; turquoise from *fîrûzah*; lapis-lazuli from *lâjvard*; sardonyx from *sard*; talc from *talq*; chalk from *kals*."

Emerald (*Zumurrud*).—Seven varieties or different shades are recognised. The mine

[50] *Economic Geology*, p. 430.

[51] *Records of the General Survey of India*, vol. XV, 1882, p. 138.

was situated on the border of Negroland, in Egyptian territory. The matrix of the gem was talc and red earth. It seems probable that this was the source of the emeralds which went to India, and also supplied the Greeks and Romans. A soap-green emerald was also found at Hejas, in Arabia.

Owing to the fact that jade was not recognised as a distinct mineral until introduced into Europe from the New World, the older writers sometimes, on account of its hardness and transparency, spoke of it as emerald, while others applied to it the term jasper. There can be no doubt that jade is meant by the following, not jasper, as his translator has it:—

Yasheb, or *Nussz*.—Five kinds: (1) white and light; (2) whitish yellow; (3) black-green; (4) transparent black; (5) dust-colour. Muḥammad adds that in China they make false *yashb*, which is distinguished by its smoky smell, and that there are two mines in China called respectively Ak-Kash which produces light, and Kut-Kash which produces dark *yashb*. It is found on the frontiers of Kashgar, Kerman, and Arabia.

Kash is the name for jade current in Eastern Turkistân, and *su* or *zu* is the name by which it is known to the Chinese, who esteem it more highly than do the people of any other nation.[53]

Chrysolite? (*Sheberjed*).—This is said by Muḥammad to be obtained in the same mine as the emerald, of which it is a variety according to some authorities. If so, it cannot be what is now known as chrysolite, which is the transparent variety of olivine. Muḥammad mentions a number of other minerals, among them several ores. Of the magnet he says there are four kinds, namely, the iron, gold, silver, and tin, which attract these metals respectively, possibly by this it is meant to be conveyed that ores ascertained to contain these metals exhibited magnetic properties.

The following statements, regarding the knowledge possessed by the Persians of the relative specific gravities of some precious stones, are of interest:—

"Abu Rihan is said to have found by experiment that a miskal ($= 1\frac{1}{2}$ drachm) of blue *yâqût* (sapphire) is equal to five dank and a tasû of red *yâqût* (ruby), or to five dank and two and a half tasû of *la'l* (spinel), and that four dank, minus a tasû of coral, are equal in size to four dank, minus two tasû of onyx and crystal. The mode of discovering the size and weight is the following:—A vessel is filled with water, and the stones thrown singly into the water; the quantity of water which is expelled from the vessel by means of each stone is equal to the room it occupies."

MARCO POLO.—A notable authority on the mineral production of India during this same thirteenth century is the famous Venetian traveller, Marco Polo. In reference to the diamond, he states that it was only obtained in what he designates as the kingdom of Mutfili—a name which has been identified by Colonel Yule with Motupalle, a still existing port in the Guntur district of Madras. The proper name of the kingdom was Telingana, which therefore included the so-called Golconda mines of the Kṛishnâ Valley; but Marco Polo extended to it that of the town or post which he visited. It is noteworthy, as testimony of an early trade, that Marco Polo states that "those diamonds brought to Europe are, as it were, the refuse of the finer stones, which go to the Great Kaan and the other kings and princes of India." He describes three methods as being followed in the search for diamonds:—

First: After the rains the beds of torrents from the mountains were searched; these localities were infested with venomous snakes.

Second: Pieces of meat were thrown down from the tops of mountains into inaccessible valleys; these pieces of meat were pounced upon and carried up to the tops of mountains by white eagles, and, when recovered, diamonds were found sticking to them. This story, made familiar to all by the travels of Sindbad the Sailor, is one of great antiquity. The earliest mention of it, according to Colonel Yule, is by St. Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis, in Cyprus, who, in the fourth century, wrote a treatise on the twelve jewels in the breastplate of the High Priest. The tale, as told by him, however, refers to the jacinth, not to the diamond.

A list of the authors who have alluded to

[53] *Economic Geology*, p. 516, *et seq.*

this tradition will be found in Colonel Yule's edition of Marco Polo.[53] Its origin, as first suggested by me,[54] I shall discuss in connexion with the account given by Nicolo Conti.

Third : This method, which may be described as a corollary of the second, consisted in searching the birds' droppings and intestines for diamonds which they had swallowed with the meat.

Marco Polo, in various parts of his book, refers to other precious stones, especially to the Balas rubies and "azure" or lapis-lazuli of Badakshân. The value of the former was kept up by a limit being imposed by the king on the out-turn. The latter, he says, occurred in a vein like silver, and was the finest in the world.

In reference to gold and silver[55] there are several important facts recorded; among others, the enormous extent of the accumulation of gold in the treasuries of the princes of Southern India, upon which Colonel Yule remarks, after speaking of the spoil carried off by Alau'd-dîn, that "some years later, Muḥammad Tuglak loads two hundred elephants and several thousand bullocks with the precious spoil of a single temple." And a further statement, given on the authority of Wassaf, is, that "Kales Dewar, Raja of Malabar, about the year 1309, had accumulated 1,200 crores of gold, *i.e.* 12,000 millions of dinars."[56]

Marco Polo distinctly mentions copper, gold, and silver as being imports into Malabar and Cambay from Eastern countries in his time.

FERISHTA.—Our next authority is the Indian historian, Ferishta, who wrote in 1425. What he says on the subject is chiefly of importance as confirming other evidence of the great wealth possessed by the princes of Southern India in the form of stores of precious stones and bullion. It has already been partly quoted on page 238. He refers to now long-deserted diamond mines in the Central Provinces of India,[57] which I have been able to identify as having been situated at Wairagaṛh, in the Central Provinces.

NICOLO CONTI.—The last writer of what may be called the fabulous period, which closed with the fifteenth century—at least in so far as regards the diamond fable—was the Venetian, Nicolo Conti, an account of whose voyage is given by Baptista Ramusio[58] in his book of *Voyages and Travels*, on the authority of Messer Pogio, Fiorentino. The locality where the diamonds were found was at Abnigaro, fifteen days' journey northwards from Bisnagar.[59] As to its identity, I am not yet quite satisfied. We are told that the mountain which produced the diamonds was inaccessible, being infested with serpents, but was commanded by another mountain somewhat higher. "Here, at a certain period of the year, men bring oxen, which they drive to the top, and having cut them into pieces, cast the warm and bleeding fragments upon the summit by means of machines which they construct for the purpose. The diamonds stick to these pieces of flesh. Then come vultures and eagles flying to the spot, which seizing the meat for their food, fly away to places where they may be safe from the serpents. To these places the men afterwards come and collect the diamonds which have fallen from the flesh." He then describes a different process, which is simply that of washing for diamonds in the beds of rivers. For as far back as we have any certain knowledge of them, the diamond miners have all belonged to one or other of the non-Aryan or aboriginal tribes, who regard the mines as being the special property of the blood-thirsty goddess, Lakshmî, whose cruel nature requires much propitiation. To this day sacrificial offerings are made to her on the opening up of mines, of whatever sort, and occasionally the meat is placed on an altar-like scaffold; and in India, as a matter of course, vultures and kites, with other raptorial birds, would carry away and devour whatever portions of meat they could seize upon. Out of this custom it seems to me most probable that the tradition grew which has now attained to such a respectable antiquity. Lookers-on, unacquainted with the semi-savage rites, regard them as essential parts of the search for diamonds.

[53] Vol. II, p. 298.

[54] *Jour. As. Society, Bengal*, vol. L, pt. ii, p. 31.

[55] Yule's *Marco Polo*, 1st ed. vol. II, pp. 276, 284; and pp. 325 and 327.

[56] *Marco Polo*, vol. II, p. 284, note 6.

[57] *History*, Ed. by J. Briggs (London: 1819), vol. II, p. 261.

[58] *Delle Navigationi et Viaggi*. Venice: 1613.

[59] These two names are so written in Ramusio's volume, but in a translation of the passage, published by the Hakluyt Society, they are given as Albenigaras and Bizengulia.

UERTOMANNUS.—In the year 1503, Lewes Uertomannus, who is described as a Roman gentleman, travelled in Western and Southern India. The account of his travels contains some interesting particulars bearing on our present subject.[60] Of Cambaia he says (p. 381): "In this region is also a mountaine where the onyx stone, commonly called corneola, is founde, and not far from thence also another mountaine where the calcedony and diamant are founde." If by *diamant* the diamond is meant in this passage, the fact is noteworthy, as the Ponassa of Ptolemy is probably identical with the modern Punasa in this region. At the same time a doubt must be expressed as to true diamonds having been ever found there. Further on our author says, (p. 383):" Sixe miles from the city of Decan (? Bisnagar) is a mountaine where diamonds are digged. It is compassed with a wall and kept with a garrison."

Uertomannus mentions that two European dealers in precious stones named respectively John Maria and Peter Antonie, resided at Calicut with the king's license. They had acquired a fair diamond of 32 carats, worth 35,000 crowns, a pearl of 24 carats, and 2,000 rubies, some of 1 carat, and some of 1½ carat. On their attempting to depart secretly with their treasures to Cannanore, they were murdered by order of the king.

Under the heading, "Of the Diamondes of the Old Myne," our author says (p. 424):— "These diamondes are found in the first India in a kingdom of the Morres, named Decan, from whence they are brought to other regions. There are also found other diamonds which are not so good, but somewhat whyte, and are called diamondes of the new myne, which is in the kingdom of Narsinga (Lower Kṛishṇâ). They of the old mine are not pollyshed in India, but in other places. There are made lykewise in India false diamondes of rubies, topazes, and white sapphires, which appear to be fine, and are also found in the island of Zeilan (Ceylon). These stones differ in none other save that they have lost their natural colour." In another place he gives information as to the local prices of other precious stones, as rubies, spinel, sapphires, topaz, &c.

Next follow a group of authors, the accounts of whose travels are to be found in Baptista Ramusio's above-mentioned work. The first of them is Andrea Corsali, Fiorentino, whose letter, addressed to Signor Guliano de Medici, Duca di Fiorenza, is dated Cochin, 6th January, 1515; it contains only a few unimportant facts bearing upon this subject.

Another of these authors is Ludovico Barthema, whose information is almost identical with that already quoted from Lewes Uertomannus. The precise date of Barthema's work I have been unable to ascertain.

From the book of Odarodo Barbosa, which refers apparently to a period about the year 1519, and to a voyage to India made by way of the Cape of Good Hope, we learn that at Bisnagar, *i.e.* Vijayanagar, jewels brought from Pegu and Ceylon were on sale in great abundance, as also were diamonds from Narsinga. This author gives also a full account of the values, &c., of a number of precious stones, namely, rubies, spinel, diamond, sapphire, topaz, turquoise, hyacinth, and emerald, and mentions the localities where they were obtained, but these details are too voluminous for reproduction here.

GARCIAS AB HORTO.—Our next authority is Garcias ab Horto, a physician resident at Goa, who, in 1565, produced a work in Portuguese, containing a considerable amount of interesting and—much of it, though not all—obviously accurate information on our present subject.[61] He tells us that there are two or three localities near Bisnagar (Vijayanagar) where diamonds were obtained, the industry being a considerable source of revenue to the king, as all stones above 30 mangelis (= 150 grs.?) became his property. Another mine also in the Decan produced excellent diamonds. It was situated in the lands of a native prince, near the territory of Imadixa (*i.e.* of Aḥmad Shah ?) This last was probably identical with the mine at Wairagaṛh, in the Central Provinces.

Garcias treats with scorn the old fable of the valley inhabited by serpents, and moreover points out that a Jesuit father, François de Tamara, who had repeated it, was therefore

[60] *The History of Travel*, &c., done into English from the original Latin. By R. Eden and R. Willes. Lond.: 1577.

[61] *De Arom. et Simp. Historia*, a Latin version by Clusius of Antwerp, 1567.

not worthy of credence, when he stated that diamonds were to be found in Brazil. The statement is of importance when it is remembered that the first diamond mines in Brazil were not opened up till 1728, or more than 160 years later. It may be added that the version of the fable just alluded to is that one where the serpents guard the jewels, and while they are engaged eating the meat thrown to them, the diamond-seekers are enabled to pick up the stones. Garcias speaks of several large diamonds which were known to exist in his time; two weighed 140 and 120 mangelis respectively (*i.e.* 700 and 600 grs.) Far exceeding these in size was one which he had heard of from a native who had seen it; it was said to be equal in size to a fowl's egg; it weighed 250 mangelis, or 1,250 grs. This was, according to Tavernier, who wrote a century later, the form of the Great Moghul diamond when originally found. So that it seems quite possible that this casual notice by Garcias is the earliest mention of that famous stone.

Even in the time of Garcias it would seem that the tailings from earlier washings were sometimes rewashed with good results. He states that Lispor, in the Decan, was a principal mart for the sale. (Can this have been Vizapur or Bijapur?).

The geographical limits of Balaghâṭ—a name used not only by Garcias, but also by some other writers—it would, probably, be impossible to closely define now. The name is still conserved as that of a particular district, but in early times it seems to have been applied to all the region in Southern India *above* the Ghâṭs, which was sometimes also called the Carnata, a name now, however, restricted to a district *below* the Ghâṭs.

With reference to other precious stones, Garcias states that a false smaragdas (emerald) was made of glass in Balaghâṭ and Bisnagar. He distinguishes four varieties of ruby, as the true, carbuncle, balas, and spinel. Of sapphires he says two kinds were found in Calicut, Cannanore, and several places in Bisnagar. We have no knowledge of true sapphires ever having been obtained in these districts. Both hyacinth and garnet were found in Calicut and Cannanore, the latter being distributed throughout the whole of Cambay and Balaghâṭ. Beryl was found in Cambay, Martaban, and Pegu, also in Ceylon; glasses and vases were made from it.

Garcias states that the Murrhine cup was made of jasper; more correctly, perhaps, it was made of carnelian, as suggested on a previous page.

CÆSAR FREDERICK.—About the year 1567, a traveller named Cæsar Frederick[62] visited Western and Southern India. In a translation from his original account we find the following passage:—"The rubies, saphyres, and the spinels be gotten in the kingdom of Pegu. The diamants come from divers places, and I know but three sorts of them. That sort of diamants that is called *chiappe* cometh from Bezeneger. Those that be naturally pointed come from the land of Delly and Iawa (by which we must understand Borneo), but the diamants of Iawa are more waightie than the other. I could never understand from whence they that are called balassi come." The signification of *chiappe* is uncertain. The naturally-pointed stones probably come from Chutia Nagpur, or Kokrah, as it was then called, since Tavernier describes the stones from that region as being of this character, and it is believed that they were taken to Dehli. The term "balas" was applied to the spinel rubies from Badakshân. Possibly, it may have been used for those diamonds which had a roseate tinge.

On another page Frederick says:—"Also, five days' journey from Bezeneger, is the place where they get diamants. I was not there, but it was told me that it is a great place, compassed with a wall, and that they sell the earth within the wall for so much a squadron, and the limits are set how deepe or how low they shall digge. Those diamants that are of a certain size, and bigger then that size, are all kept for the king. It is many years agone since they got any there, for the troubles that have been in that kingdom."

FITCH AND NEWBERRY.—The famous traveller, Ralph Fitch, and his companion, Newberry, have left on record an account of their journeys in India, which refers to the years about 1583.[63] In reference to precious stones, the

[62] A translation of the account of his travels is given in Hakluyt's *Voyages*, vol. II, 1599, p. 213.

[63] Hakluyt's *English Voyages*, vol. II, 1599, p. 253.

following are the most important passages:—Bellergan, the modern Belgaum, was said to be "a great market of diamants, rubies, sapphires, and many other *soft* (*i.e.* precious) stones." We are told that a jeweller named William Leades, who was one of their party, remained behind them in the service of the King of Cambay.

The next passage explains the use of the name Iawa, or Java, by Cæsar Frederick, and others:—"Laban (*i.e.* Borneo, the name being retained in Labuan) is an island among the Iawas, from whence come the diamants of the new water, and they find them in the rivers, for the king will not suffer them to digge the rock."

Speaking of Patanaw (Patna) on the Ganges, below Banâras, it is said:—"Here at Patanaw they find gold in this manner. They digge deepe pits in the earth, and wash the earth in great bolles, and therein they find the gold, and they make the pits round about with brick, that the earth fall not in." I cannot but think that there is a mistake here, due to an account of gold-washing in the country to the south having been mixed up with a description of the method of sinking ordinary irrigation-wells in the neighbourhood of Patna. It is not likely that gold was ever found in sufficient quantity in the Gangetic alluvium, near Patna, to repay the cost of searching for it.

ABU'L FAZL.—Here we may turn aside again from European authorities to an Oriental writer, who, being a Muḥammadan like the already quoted Ferishta, presents us with much more useful and matter-of-fact statements than are to be found in any works by Hindus. Abu'l Fazl, the author of the *Ain-i-Akbari*, written in 1590, refers to the occurrence of and working for several minerals, especially diamonds, gold, and iron. The diamond mines at Beiragaṛh, in Gondwana, which he mentions as having been taken possession of by the ruler of Kullem, or Chanda, were probably the same as those already mentioned by Ferishta. In any case, it is certain that Beiragaṛh may be identified with the modern Wairagaṛh in the Central Provinces, where traces of the mines are still to be seen.

Gold was obtained, he says, in certain streams in Kashmir by pegging down, under water, the hairy skins of animals, which served to arrest the auriferous dust in its descent with the current. Long ago it was suggested that such skins were the origin of the idea of the skins of the gold-digging ants, mentioned by Nearchos and others, but the explanation given on a previous page is the more probable one. He alludes to the "steel" mines at Nirmal, which can be identified with a locality in Haidarâbâd, where a high quality of steel was prepared, most of which found its way to Persia, for manufacture into the Damascus swords, to which reference has already been made.

The enormous salt deposits of the Panjâb are noticed by Abu'l Fazl; and here may be quoted a passage from Strabo,[64] which should have appeared on a previous page:—"It is said that in the territory of Sopeithes there is a mountain composed of fossil salt sufficient for the whole of India. Valuable mines also both of gold and silver are situated, it is said, not far off, among other mountains, according to the testimony of Gorgus, the miner of Alexandria." Since this salt crops out at the surface, and in Kohat especially, can be easily quarried, it is only natural that it should have attracted attention in the very earliest times.

GOEZ.—Recently I came upon a work, dated 1602, and entitled *Travels of Benedict Goes from Lahore, in the Mogol's Empire, to China, in* 1602,[65] which contains perhaps the earliest account, by a European author, of the production of jade in Kashgar. He says:—"The commodity best for carrying from Hirakan (*i.e.* Yarkand) to Katay (China) is a certain shining marble, which, for want of a fitter name, Europeans call jasper. The King of Katay buys it at a great price, and what he leaves the merchants sell to others at exceeding great rates. Of it they make vessels, ornaments for garments and girdles, with other toys, whereon they engrave leaves, flowers, and other figures. The Chinese call it *tushe.*[66] There are two kinds—one more precious, like thick flints, which are found in

[64] B. xv, chap. i, s. 30.

[65] *New General Collection of Voyages and Travels.* London: T. Astley, 1747, Vol. IV, p. 645.

[66] In the original, *Tusce*—a mistake, no doubt, for "*Yushe.*"

the river Kotan, not far from the city royal;[67] the other meaner sort is digged out of quarries and sawed into slabs about two ells in breadth. The hill where they are dug, called Kosanghi Kasho, or the stony mountain, is twenty stages from the same mountain. This marble is so hard that they must soften it with fire to get it out of the quarry. The king farms it every year to some merchant, who carries provisions for the workmen for that space of time."

Goez mentions (p. 647), that besides this jasper (*i.e.* jade), "diamonds of the rock,"[68] and azure (*i.e.* lapis-lazuli) were carried as presents by ambassadors from the West to the Emperor of China.

As stated in my *Economic Geology* (p. 517), the mines of Kotan are mentioned by Chinese authors who wrote 2000 years ago; and the system of dredging the rivers of that region for jade is known to have been in practice for many centuries. Other mines are situated at Karakash, in the Kuenlun range. These have been visited and described by several Europeans of late years.

Recently a rather general acceptance has been given to the view advocated at great length by Fischer, that the discovery of jade implements in Swiss lake dwellings is testimony of a pre-historic immigration of Asiatic tribes into Europe, as there is said to be now no known source of the material in Europe. This view has been, I understand, lately contested by Dr. Meyer, of Dresden, but I have not yet seen his work on the subject.

In the year 1609, De Boot published his famous work on precious stones. This, however, being merely a compilation as regards the information given about India, there is nothing in it which is not contained in the already quoted authors. It may also be added here, that the edition of De Boot's work, published by De Laet in 1847, only adds to his account facts derived from Methold.

JAHANGIR.—In the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* (1616),[69] an account is given of diamond mines in the Chutia Nagpur, province of Bengal, which I have shown to be identical with the Soumelpour, visited and described by Tavernier, as will be mentioned on a future page. There is no local tradition as to the precise site of these mines, which, therefore, remain to be rediscovered; but the search was certainly conducted in the bed of the Koel river.

METHOLD.—Our next authority is an English traveller named William Methold, whose account[70] of a visit to the diamond mines, made by himself and others, is entitled *Of the south-eastern parts, viz., Golchond, and other adjacent Kingdoms within the Bay of Bengala.* The visit appears to have been made between the years 1622 and 1626, the latter being the date of the publication.

The mines were situated 108 English miles from Masulipatam; they had only recently been discovered by the chance finding of a valuable stone by a goat-herd; when seen by Methold they gave occupation, according to native report, to 30,000 persons, a large proportion of whom were engaged in baling out the mines by hand—a tedious operation still practised in some parts of India. The mines were farmed out by the king for a sum of 300,000 pagodas, but he reserved to himself all stones of above 10 carats weight. In 1622 the mines were temporarily closed, owing to an ambassador from the Great Moghul having demanded a tribute of 3 lbs. weight of the finest diamonds. The locality was situated on the Krishṇâ river, and was probably identical with the Gani or Coulour of Tavernier, the exact position of which has only recently been satisfactorily fixed as being identical with the modern Kollur.

LORD.—In the year 1630, a clergyman named Henry Lord, who was attached to the English establishment in Western India, published a curious pamphlet, entitled *The Discovery of the Banian religion.* In it he gives an account of the Banians' ideas as to the first discovery of diamonds. It is attributed by them to the first progenitor of the Śûdras, or lowest caste of Hindus. Now the diamond miners throughout India, with rare exceptions, so far as I have been able to ascertain, still belong, and have

[67] By the Jesuits' map the river of Kotan runs about ninety miles east of Yarkand.

[68] I am not quite clear as to the precise significance of this phrase, "diamonds of the rock," unless, perhaps, it is equivalent to "diamonds of the old mine," an expression apparently used for stones having crystalline forms, called *naifes* in India, as contrasted with "diamonds of the new mine," which were rounded pebbles.

[69] Translated by Blochmann, *Jour. As. Soc., Bengal*: vol. XL, p. 113.

[70] Purchas's *Pilgrims*, vol. V, p. 1002. London: 1626.

always belonged, either to the Śûdras or the aboriginal tribes, with whom they are much mixed up. This fact I hold to be of much importance in connexion with the explanation which I have offered of the origin of the diamond mining fable in connexion with the accounts of it given by Marco Polo and Nicolo Conti.

TAVERNIER (1665-1669).—In the accounts of his several journeys in India, Tavernier has given us a considerable amount of information, the value of which is, however, affected by the fact that these accounts contain a number of internal inconsistencies which it is impossible to reconcile with one another.

Diamonds.—Upon this subject the old jeweller naturally discourses at length.[11] I shall only here mention that the diamond mines at Raolconda, Gani or Coulour, and Soumelpour have been identified by me[12] with the modern localities, Râmulkôta, Kolur, and a spot on the Koyil river in the district of Palamau in Bengal. Another locality which he mentions, namely, Gandicota, has also been identified. If Tavernier's statements regarding the discovery and cutting of the Great Moghul diamond are to be relied upon, then that stone must have been distinct from the *koh-i-nur*. When writing of their probable identity, I overlooked the independent evidence which exists as to the *koh-i-nur* having been in the possession of the Moghul emperors long previous to the time when, according to Tavernier, they acquired the Great Moghul.

Gold.—In reference to this metal Tavernier says:—"Towards the Tibet, which is the ancient Caucasus, in the territories of a Raja beyond the kingdom of Cashemir, there are three mountains close by one another, one of which produces excellent gold. . . ."

"There is gold also comes from the kingdom of Tipra (Tiperâ on the borders of Asam); but it is coarse, almost as bad as that of China."

If gold washing or mining was carried on in any part of Peninsular India at the time of his visits, it is certainly remarkable that he should have been unaware of it, especially as he had heard of its being worked for in Tibet and Tiperâ. Still I cannot but suppose that there were washings in some remote regions of which he knew nothing.

Silver and Tin.—"As for silver mines (he writes), there are none in all Asia, but only in Japan; but some years since at Delegora, Saṅgora, Bordelon, and Bata (localities in the Malayan countries), have been discovered plentiful mines of tin, to the great damage of the English, there being now enough in Asia of their own besides (*sic* in English translation). The statement about silver is inconsistent with another made subsequently, that in Asam there were mines of both gold and silver.

Rubies, Sapphires, &c.—What Tavernier says on the subject of these stones shows that he was unaware of the existence of any source for them in Peninsular India. He says that they occur in only *two* places in all the east, and then forthwith mentions *three*. "The first is a mountain, twelve days' journey, or thereabouts, from Siren (*i.e.* Siriam), toward the north-east, the name whereof is Capelan. In this mine are found great quantities of rubies and espinels, or mothers of rubies, yellow topazes, blue and white sapphires, jacinths, amethysts, and other stones of different colours. . . . . ." "The natives of the country call all coloured stones rubies, and distinguish them only by the colour; sapphires they call blue rubies; amethists, violet rubies; topazes, yellow rubies; and so of other stones." The ruby mines are described in the *Economic Geology of India*, p. 427. They are situated about seventy miles north-east of Mandalay, the capital of Ava. "The other place where rubies are found is a river in the island of Ceylon. . . . The people make it their business to search among the sands for rubies, sapphires, and topazes. All the stones that are found in this river are generally fairer and clearer than those of Pegu." "Some rubies, but more Ballei's rubies, and an abundance of bastard rubies, sapphires, and topazes, are found in the mountains that run along from Pegu to the kingdom of Camboya."

Whether by Camboya Tavernier meant Cambodia, beyond Siam, is uncertain; but he can scarcely have meant Cambay. He says that it is an error to suppose that emeralds are found in the East. Those exported from the Philippines to Europe were first brought thither by Spaniards from Peru.

[11] *Proceedings*, R. *Soc. Dub.*, for 1880.

[12] *Economic Geology of India.*

In the above-quoted paragraph on gold in the region beyond Cashemir, the other two mountains he mentions produced "granats" (*i.e.* garnets), and "azure" (*i.e.* lapis-lazuli), respectively. This reference is, doubtless, to well-known mines of the spinel or Balas ruby, and lapis-lazuli, which are situated in Badakshân.[13]

In 1673, a work was published on Asia by John Ogilby, which, as giving an epitome of the knowledge possessed in England of the mineral resources of India at that time, is not without interest. But some of the statements are not founded on fact. Thus, he says (p. 105): "The Ganges is supposed to abound with gold and pearls, and from its bottom are fetched all manner of precious stones, on some of which are represented the shapes of beasts, plants, and other things." And again: "The kingdoms of Golconda and Decan afford the inhabitants excellent diamonds. India also produces topazes, berils, rubies (which the Arabians call *yâqût*), hyacinths, granats, smaragds, chrysolites, amethysts, agats, Bezoar stones, and borax. Some places yield gold and silver and all manner of other metals."

Many of these minerals, it is believed, do not occur in India proper, and the term therefore is probably used in a very extended sense, and hence misconception has arisen no doubt. On page 157 he makes a remarkable statement, which might be used in support of the view contested in an early part of this Paper, namely, that India received *all* her gold from abroad. He says "Hindostan (by which, perhaps, only the realm of the great Moghul is meant) possesses great quantities of gold and silver; but all is brought thither by strangers, never returning out again, for they melt down the European or foreign coins, and recoin them with the Moghul's stamp."

In a map, published by Wells in 1700, the positions of the diamond mines of Coulour and Raolconda are given with much greater accuracy than is the case in Rennell's map, published at the close of the eighteenth century. I was, however, confirmed in my conclusion as to the identification of the former by a manuscript map by Col. Colin MacKenzie, dated 1798, which is preserved in Calcutta.

In the maps of both Ogilby and Wells, Narsinga, a place often mentioned in the early accounts, is indicated as being situated to the east of Bisnagar (*i.e.* Vijayanagar).

HAMILTON.—Captain Hamilton, who traded in the East Indies between the years 1688 and 1728, is our next authority.[14] He informs us that iron was made into anchors at Balasore, apparently by European methods; if so, this was the first manufacture of that kind in India of which there is any record. He quotes a curious story as to mercury having been brought to Achin in Sumatra from the Andaman Islands by a native, who, having been held for some time as a slave, was allowed to revisit his country on several occasions, and after each returned with some mercury which, he stated, was obtainable there (*i.e.* probably in the Little Andaman). This statement, together with a consideration of the geological structure, has led me to suggest the possibility of a future discovery of the metal in the islands of the Andaman group. In age and in character there appear to be several points of resemblance between some of the Andaman rocks and those which contain the valuable mercury mines of California.

"The diamond mines, being but a week's journey from Fort St. George, make them pretty plentiful there; but few great stones are now brought to market there, since that great diamond which Governor Pitt sent to England. How he purchased it, Mr. Glover, by whose means it was brought to the governor, could give the best account, for he declared to me that he lost 3,000 pagodas by introducing the seller to Mr. Pitt, having left so much money in Arcat as security, that if the stone was not fairly bought at Fort St. George, the owner should have free liberty to carry it where he pleased for a market; but neither the owner nor Mr. Glover were pleased with the governor's transactions in that affair."[15]

"Some customs and laws at the mines are: when a person goes thither on that affair he chooses a piece of ground, and acquaints one of the king's officers, who stay there for that service, that he wants so many *covets* of ground to dig in; but whether they agree for

[13] *Economic Geology of India*, pp. 429, 529.

[14] *New Account of the East Indies*, vol. I, chap. xxix. Maderas or Chinapatam.

[15] A different version of the transaction by Mr. Pitt himself was published after his death.

so much, or if the price be certain, I know not. However, when the money is paid the space of ground is inclosed, and some sentinels placed round it. The king challenges all stones that are found above a certain weight—I think it is about 60 grains; and if any stones be carried clandestinely away above the stipulated weight, the person guilty of the theft is punished with death. Some are fortunate, and get estates by digging, while others lose both their money and labour."

The remaining two authorities among those Europeans who personally visited the mines they describe were, Mustapha,[76] a Turk, who traversed the diamond-bearing region of Chutia Nagpur in 1758, and Motte,[77] who was deputed by Lord Clive in 1766 to purchase diamonds at Sambhalpur, on the Mahânadi. The facts they record are chiefly of interest as proving the existence of the industry at those periods, and need not be further dwelt upon here.

In recapitulation of the conclusions which I have been led to as the result of this analysis of the facts recorded by the above-quoted writers, the following may be enumerated:—

First. The great antiquity of the knowledge possessed by the natives of India with reference to certain metallurgical processes, is, I think, fairly established. The most notable of these is, undoubtedly, that by which *wutz* or cast steel was manufactured. Probably the method of refining gold which is mentioned in the *Ain-i-Akbari* is also very old; but we have no earlier record of it. I question the accuracy of a statement made by Strabo, or at least its applicability, even in his time, to the whole of India, where he says: "The Indians, unacquainted with mining and smelting, are ignorant of their own wealth."

Second. Many ancient, long-forgotten mines, the names of which, only, have survived in more or less archaic garbs, have, by the methods here adopted, been identified with modern sites. In most of these cases geological evidence has established these conclusions, and in some instances they have been further ratified by local traditions acquired as the result of personal inquiries.

Third. Several fables of world-wide notoriety have been shown to have had their origin in *facts* connected with customs which were formerly little understood, but, being still in practice, are now susceptible of close examination and explanation

Speaking generally, I venture to believe that I have in this Paper placed within the reach of historians a number of facts that serve to elucidate several subjects hitherto manifestly puzzling to those unacquainted with the results which have been arrived at by the systematic examination of the Geology of India.

[76] *Oriental Repertory*, vol. II, p. 261. London: 1808.

[77] *Asiatic Annual Register.* London: 1799.

SANSKRIT AND OLD-CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo.C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

(*Continued from p.* 215.)

No. CXLIX.

The original plates, from which the present inscription is edited, belonged to Sir Walter Elliot, K.C.S.I., and have been presented by him to the British Museum. I have no information as to where they were found. They are three in number, each about 8″ long by 3¾″ broad. The edges of them are raised into high rims; and the inscription is in a state of excellent preservation throughout. The ring, on which the plates are strung, is about ½″ thick and 4″ in diameter; it had not been cut when the grant came into my hands. The seal on the ring is circular, about 2⅝″ in diameter. It has, in relief on a countersunk surface,—at the top, the sun and moon, and an elephant-goad; across the centre, the legend *Śrî-Tribhuvan*[*â**]-*ṁkuśa;* below this, a standing boar, facing to the proper right; and, at the bottom, a floral device. The language is Sanskṛit throughout.

This is an Eastern Chalukya inscription, not specifically dated, of the time of Amma II., also called Vijayâditya and Râja-Mahêndra. And it records the grant of a field at the village of Guṇḍugolanu, in the *vishaya* of Veṅgî or Veṅgînâṇḍu,[1] to a Brâhmaṇ named Vâmanaśarmâ, of the Bhâradvâja *gôtra*, an inhabitant of the village of Kallûru. The grant was made by Amma II. at the request of his wife's parents, Kâma and Nâyamâmbâ.

[1] *Nâṇḍu* is an Old-Canarese or Telugu word, of which the modern form is *nâḍu*, meaning just the same as the Sanskṛit *vishaya*.

I

IIa.

IIb.

IIIa

IIIb.

Text.[2]

First plate.

[1] Ôm Svasti Śrîmatâṁ sakala-bhuvana-saṁstûyamâna-Mânavya-sagôtrâ-

[2] ṇâṁ Hârîti-putrâṇâṁ Kauśikî-vara-prasâda-labdha-râjyânâm=mâtṛi-gaṇa-pa-

[3] ripâlitânâṁ Svâmi-Mahâsêna-pâd-ânudhyâtânâṁ bhagavan-Nârâyaṇa-pra-

[4] sâda-samâsâdita-vara-varâha-lâṁchchha(chha)n-êkshaṇa-kshaṇa-vaśîkṛit-ârâti-maṇḍa-

[5] lânâm=aśvamêdh-âvabhṛita(tha)-snâna-pavitri(trî)kṛita-vapushâṁ Chalukyânâṁ kulam=a-

[6] laṁkarishṇôs=Satyâśraya-Vallabhêndrasya bhrâtâ Kubja-Vishṇuvarddhanô=shṭâdâśa varshâṇi[3] [||*]

[7] Tad-âtmajô Jayasiṁhas=trayas-triṁśataṁ[4]m || Tad-anuj-Êndra-râja-nandanô Vishṇuvar-ddha-

[8] nô nava |(||) Tat-sûnu[r*]=Mmaṁgî(gi)-yuvarâjaḥ paṁcha-viṁśati[ṁ*] || Tat-putrô Jayasiṁha-

Second plate; first side.

[9] s=trayôdaśa |(||) Tad-avarajaḥ Kokkili[ḥ*] shaṇ=mâsân |(||) Tasya jyêshṭhô bhrâtâ Vishṇuvarddhanas=tam=u-

[10] chchâṭya sapta-triṁśatam |(||) Tat-putrô Vijayâditya-bhaṭṭârakô=shṭâdaśa |(||) Tat-sutô Vishṇu-

[11] varddhanaḥ shaṭ-triṁśatam |(||) Tat-sutô Vijayâditya-narêndramṛigarâjas=sâshṭa-chatvâ-riṁśataṁ [||*]

[12] Tat-sutaḥ Kali-Vishṇuvarddhanô=dhy-arddha-varsham |(||) Tat-sutô Guṇaga-Vijayâdi-tyaś=cha-

[13] tuś-chatvâriṁśatam |(||) Tad-bhrâtur=yyuvarâjasya Vikramâditya-bhûbhuja[ḥ*] nandana-

[14] ś=śaucha-Kandarppa[ḥ*] triṁśad=varshâṇi Bhi(bhî)ma-râṭ [||*] Tat-tanaya[ḥ*] sha[5]ṇ=mâsân Kollabigaṇḍa-bhâskara[ḥ*] [||*]

[15] Tad-agra-nandanô=ṁba-râjas=sapta varshâṇi |(||) Tad-agra-sûnur=bbâlô Vijayâ[dityaḥ] paksham=êkam [||*]

[16] Tam=âkramya kârâgârê nidâ(dhâ)ya Châlukya-Bhîma[6]-pitṛivyâṁ(vyô) Yuddhamall-âtmajas=Tâla-nṛipê(pô)

[17] mâsam=[ê*]kam [||*] Tad-anu Vikramâdityas=saṁvatsaraṁ [||*] Kollabigaṇḍa-tanûjô Bhi(bhî)maḥ Ka-

Second plate; second side.

[18] rayilladâta-nâm=âsît | dvâdaśa varshâ[n*] Veṁgi(gî)-nâthô dâyâda-vairi-timiram=apâsya [||*]

[19] Tasya Lôkamahâdêvyâṁ[7]m=Amma-râjas=sutô=jani | vikramêṇ=Ârjunô dharmmê Dharmmarâ-

[20] ja iv=âpara[ḥ*] |(||) Sa samastabhuvanâśraya-Śrî-Vijayâditya-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêśva-

[21] [ra*]ḥ paramabhaṭṭârakaḥ parama-brahmaṇya[ḥ*] Veṁgî-nâṇḍu-vishaya-nivâsinô râpṭra-(shṭra)ku(kû)ṭa-pramukhân=ku-

[22] ṭuṁbina ittham=âjñ[â*]payati [|*] Satyasya janma-bhûmis=saj-jana-saṁsêvitas=sarô-nâ-

[23] tha(?)ṁ(ḥ) vikrama-guṇ-aika-dhâmâ nṛipa-Kâmaḥ pûjit-Êśa-pada-kamalaḥ |(||) Ru(rû)-pa-lâvaṇ[y*]a-

[24] śau(sau)bhâgya-satya-dharmma-parâyaṇâ Nâyamâ[ṁ*]b=âṁgaṇâ tasya sarôruha-dal-êkshaṇâ [||*]

[25] Tâbhyâṁ[8]m=asmadi(dî)yya(ya)-śvasu(śu)ra-śvaśru(śrû)bhyâ[ṁ*] prârtvya(rtthya)mânair=asmâbhi[ḥ*] Kallûru-grâma[9]-vâstavya-

[26] Bhâradv[â*]jagôtra-Vâjasanêya-V[â*]mana[10]bhaṭṭa-pautrâya Śivvanabhaṭṭa-putrâya Vâ-manaśâ-

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[2] From the original plates.

[3] This sentence is incomplete. The words *Veṁgî-dêśam=apâlayat* require to be supplied.

[4] This *anusvâra* is a mistake.

[5] This letter, *sha*, was at first omitted and then inserted below the line.

[6] This letter, *ma*, was at first omitted and then inserted, in rather a cramped manner, between the *bhî* and the *pi*.

[7] This *anusvâra* is a mistake.

[8] This *anusvâra*, again, is a mistake.

[9] This letter, *ma*, was at first omitted and then inserted below the line.

[10] This letter, *na*, was at first omitted and then inserted below the line.

Third plate; first side.

[27] rmmaṇê Guṇḍu(?ṇṭu)golanu-nàma-ggrâ(grâ)mê pûrvva-disi(śi) râja-mânêna dvâdaśa-khoṇḍik-ôdra(ddra ?)va-bija-

[28] vàpa-kshêtram=udaka-pûrvvam=uttarâyaṇa-nimittê dattam=iti[11] viditam=astu va[ḥ*] |[12] sarvva-kara-parihâ-

[29] rêṇa śâsâ(sa)nîkṛitya [||*] Asya kshêtrasy=âvadhayâḥ [|*] pûrvvataḥ Tepalamupariya-dakshiṇāta[ḥ*]

[30] Punnîśvaramma-nagaruvu | paśchimataḥ Bhaṭâri-pannasa | uttarata[ḥ*] Guṇḍi(?ṇṭi)-yabhaṭlaveru-

[31] vu |(||) Asy=ôpari ṇa(na) kênachid=bâdhâ karttavyâ yaḥ karôti sa pamcha-mahâpâtaka-

[32] saṁyuktô bhavati |(||) Tathâ ch=ôktaṁ Vyâsêna [|*] Bahubhir=vvasudhâ dattâ bahubhiś=ch=ânupâli-

[33] tâ | yasya yasya yadâ bhûmis=tasya tasya tadâ phalaṁ |(||) Sva-dattâṁ para-dattâṁ vâ

[34] yô harê[13]t=tu vasuṁ[14]ndhâ(ndha)râṁ shashṭi-varsha-sahasrâṇi vishṭâyâṁ jâyatê kṛimiḥ [||*]

Third plate; second side.

[35] Âjñâptiḥ Kaṭaka-râjaḥ | Êtasya rakshakâsyuruhastyubhayagaṇa[15]-sahasra-dvitayê |[16] Kal-vapâkshî-[17]

[36] vumâchepu(?shu)-patayaḥ Balâka-piṁ[18]chchha-chchhatra-Velâbhaṭ[â*]ḥ || Mâdhavabhaṭ-ṭasya kâvyam |(||) Dattandrâja[19]-Ma-

[37] hêndrasya Viśvakarmm-ôpamêna cha Koṇḍâchâryyêṇa nâmn=âtaṁ[20] likhitaṁ śâsanaṁ śubhaṁ ||

TWO SANSKRIT INSCRIPTIONS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

BY DR. G. BÜHLER, C.I.E., VIENNA.

The following two short inscriptions are in the cellars of the British Museum and were copied by the editor in 1881.

No. 1.

Transcript.

(1) ओं नमः शिवायः सोमः सोमपवित्रिताधरदलैः संस्तूयते
(2) यो द्विजैः ।। सौम्यैः सामसमूहसंगविमलैः सोमार्च्चितसा-
(3) मगैः ।। कैलासे कलकोकिलालिवहुले देवैश्च दैत्यादिभिः ।
(4) सोव्यात्सोमसुधावपुर्भुवि भवो भावान्विता भक्तिदः ।। योगी
(5) योगिवरैरगे गणगणैर्यक्षैश्च यक्षालये ।। सिद्धैः सिद्धिव-
(6) लैरलं सुखनिधिर्लोके च लोकाधिपैः ।। विद्यापादविलेपना-
(7) दिविभवैर्विद्याधरैः सादरं ।। पूज्यो यः सततं समाधिकुसुमैर्भा-
(8) वोज्वलैः सोवतात् ।। त्यक्तामात्यनृपे कलावपि सुधीः सत्वोज्झितप्रा-
(9) णिनि ।। सत्योपेतगुणाकरो नययुतस्त्यागी क्षमी योगवित् । शूरक्रू-
(10) रजनं प्रति क्रमवशाच्छ्रीपुण्ययुक्तं कुलं ।। त्यक्त्वासौ धनसंपदो
(11) वकुलजः श्रीयोगचर्यां गतः ।। तेनेदं सुसमाहितेन मनसा संरक्ष-

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[11] This letter, *tu*, was at first omitted and then inserted below the line.

[12] This mark of punctuation is unnecessary, and was probably engraved by mistake for the omitted *visarga*.

[13] First *tta* was engraved here, and then it was corrected into *rê*.

[14] This *anusvâra* is a mistake.

[15] Some correction or other is required here. Probably we should read *rakshakâḥ syur=Uru-Hasty-ubhayagana*.

[16] This mark of punctuation seems to be unnecessary.

[17] This letter, *kshî*, is very faint, and was perhaps intended to be cancelled.

[18] This *anusvâra* is a mistake.

[19] Correct into *Dattaṁ râja*.

[20] Correct into *nâmn=êdaṁ*.

Line 1, read शिवाय ।। L. 3, read बहुल. L. 4, read भावान्वितान्. L. 5, read सिद्धिब°. L. 8, read वोज्ज्वलैः

(12) णायापदां ॥ शंभोश्चारुसुभेरकारि भवनं पाषाणकूटैरिदं ॥ आस्ते
(13) यत्र झरेश्वर सह गणैः शंभुर्व्विभुर्भूतिदः ॥ तीर्थान्यत्र समा-
(14) हितान्यवितथं श्रीपुष्करादीन्यपि यं दृष्ट्वापि कथाप्रपंचरचना-
(15) न्तामादिसंकीर्त्तनात् ॥ संपर्क्काद्यादि कौतुकाद्भुवि जनः 'कुर्याद-
(16) थाराधनं ॥ त्यक्त्वा पापमशेषमुग्रभयदं पुण्यैः समापूर्यते ॥ सम्वत्
(17) ७८३ चैत्रे सुदि ५ पचम्याः निघनामिइ

Translation.

Om! Adoration to Śiva!

1. May that Bhava, who, united with Umâ (*somaḥ*) is praised by gentle Brâhmaṇas, the Soma-worshipping singers of Sâmans, whose lips are sanctified by (*draughts of*) Soma-juice, and who are pure through their connexion with numerous Sâmans—he who (*is lauded*) by the gods, the Daityas and the rest on Kailâsa that abounds in flocks of sweet-voiced koïls,–he whose body carries the moon-nectar and who grants devotion, protect all beings existing on earth.

2. May he afford protection who (*himself*) an ascetic and a treasure of great happiness, must constantly be worshipped devoutly with the flowers of abstract meditation, rendered brilliant through attachment (*to him*), by the best of ascetics, by the crowds of Gaṇas on the mountain, by the Yakshas in their home, by the Siddhas, whose strength consists in supernatural power, and by kings in (*this*) world, (*and*) by the Vidyâdharas whose might is derived from anointing the feet of (*the goddess of*) Learning and similar services rendered to her.

3. Vakulaja, who even in (*this*) Kali (*yuga*) when ministers and princes are disregarded, and when (*all*) creatures are destitute of purity, (*is*) wise, truthful, a mine of good qualities, endowed with modesty, liberal, patient (*of austerities*), versed in (*the doctrines*) of *Yoga*, a hero against cruel men, gradually abandoned his family that possessed prosperity and spiritual merit and his riches, and turned to the practice of the famous Yoga (*Śâstra*).

4. With perfect devotion he built, in order to ward off misfortunes, this temple of Śambhu with beautiful and brilliant most excellent stones, where Śambhu-Jhareśvara, the giver of welfare, dwells together with the Gaṇas. All places of pilgrimage, even famous Pushkara and the rest, are certainly concentrated in this (*building*).

5. If men in this world worship him (*Siva*), after merely visiting this (*temple*), by conversations (*regarding him*), by lauding his name and so forth, by becoming united with or attached to (*him*), they will be freed from all guilt that causes dreadful dangers and be filled with spiritual merit. Saṁvat 783 on the fifth day (5) of the bright half of the month Chaitra the completion (?).[1]

No. 2.

In the beginning of No. 2 three stanzas and a half in the Śârdûlavikrîḍita metre have been lost; the last two *Pâdas* of the fourth are readable in part only. Two letters of the first Pâda of stanza 4 are visible above the line which I have marked as the first in the transcript. The words which I have translated by 'caused to be restored,' *sughaṭitaṁ achîka raduchchhritam* mean literally 'caused to be made well fitted and high.'

The person who restored this temple of Śiva is the same who built the Dêvâlaya, referred to in No. 1. The date 781 I take to be equivalent to 725 A.D., as the alphabet evidently belongs to the 8th century of our era.

Transcript.

(1) ----- या विद्याधरैर्व्वन्दि --- दृष्ट्वापि किरा[त] ---
(2) [-- ।य]ः परीतामनः शुद्धिं यान्ति विमुक्तिलाभफलदां या योगि[नां संम-]

L. 12, read °शुभैर°. L. 13, read झरेश्वरः. L. 15, read °न्नामा°. L. 17, read पञ्चम्यां ; °मिति.

[1] Metre of the five verses, Śârdûlavikrîḍita in honour of Śiva. A great many passages can be taken, and, no doubt, are intended to be taken in two or three ways, But the wretched composition is not worthy of a detailed explanation, as it yields not a single historical fact beyond what is plain already. The figures of the date closely resemble the Telugu numerals, except in the case of 5, which has clearly the older form *na*. The era is probably that of Vikrama, and the date equal to 726 A.D. The character of the alphabet which palæographically is very interesting, points to this conclusion. I am not certain about the meaning of the last word *nighanam* which I have translated conjecturally by 'completion.'

(3) ता ॥ सिंहव्याघ्रतरक्षुदंतिकपयः सारंगसंघा अपि त्यक्त्वा – –
(4) [र] माचरन्ति सचिवे भीतिं विना यस्य च ॥ कालात्पाप्तपरिक्षयं [सु]
(5) घटितं सिद्धेश्वरस्यालयं [॥] तस्यार्चीकरदुच्छ्रितं वकुलजो नाम्ना व्र-
(6) ती धार्म्मिकः ॥ इशाराधनतत्परः परदयासंसक्तचेताः क्षमी सं-
(7) साराण्णवमुत्तितीर्षुरखिलं न्यायेन लब्धैर्द्धनैः [॥] देवानंदेन वन्द्याय
(8) कोविदानन्दकारिणा ॥ सिद्धेश्वराय देवाय श्लोकाः पंच प्रपंचिताः ॥ ॥
(9) सम्वत् ७८१ कार्त्तिक सुदि १३ निघनमिति ॥ ॥ श्री ओं

Translation.

4\. . . . . obtain a purification of the heart which gives as its fruit the gain of final liberation (*and*) which (*is highly esteemed by*) Yogins; and in whose presence lions, tigers, hyenas, elephants, monkeys and even herds of deer, abandoning . . . . . fearlessly roam.

5\. A virtuous ascetic, called Vakulaja, who is assiduous in the worship of Îśa, whose heart is filled with compassion for others, who is patient (*of austerities*) and desirous of emerging from the whole ocean of transmigration caused to be restored, with money obtained in a righteous manner, a temple of that Siddheśvara, which owing to (*the length of*) time had become a ruin.

6\. Devânanda, who gladdens the learned, has composed (the above) five verses for divine Siddheśvara who is worthy of adoration. Saṁvat 781, on the 13th day of the bright half of the month Kârtika, the completion (?) Śrî, O(ṁ).

THE ORIGIN OF THE ŚRÎVAISHṆAVAS OF SOUTHERN INDIA.

BY PANDIT S. M. NAṬEŚA ŚÂSTRÎ.

On questioning my grandfather about the origin of the Ayyaṅgârs, the Vaishṇavas or Śrîvaishṇavas of the Madras Presidency, he told me the following story, which I reproduce as nearly as possible in the way he related it:—

"In the good old days the *maṭhams* were always the seats of learning. They were then not the petty things they are now. They answered the purpose of a university, and unlike our modern Indian universities, were both teaching and examining bodies. *Kâvya*, *Nâṭaka*, *Alaṁkâra*, the *Vêdâṅgâḥ*, *Vêdas*, *Bhûgôla*, *Lilâvati*, and every department of knowledge was taught. And whenever parents wanted to give a sound and liberal education to their sons they sent them to the nearest *maṭham*.

It is said, and has almost been established, that the great Râmânujâchârya, the founder of the Ayyaṅgâr sect, was born in the beginning of the 12th century at Śrîperumbûdûr, near Madras. He was of the Smârta and Advaita school. His parents, uncles, and other relatives were all Smârtas, even after his starting the Vaishṇava faith. He gave signs of remarkable intelligence, and so his parents sent him to the Kâñchîpuram *maṭham*, to be educated there. He passed his days in study.

One day, it is said, the Śaṅkarâchârya wanted to take an oil bath. The pupils used to serve their master in turn, and that day it was Râmânuja's. He was rubbing the oil over the bald head of the Śaṅkarâchârya, and another student was taking lessons by his side. A stanza was read in which the face of Vishṇu was represented to be red as the lotus. The Śaṅkarâchârya at once exclaimed that it was a *luptôpamâ*, or defective comparison, as there were objects surpassing the lotus in their redness, which might have been used for the simile. As an example, he indicated the buttocks of the monkey. Râmânuja, who was a firm believer in Vishṇu, cried out. Tears from his eyes dropped on the thighs of the Śaṅkarâchârya, and pierced them like molten lead. At once he ordered Râmânujâchârya to leave the *maṭham*, and he accordingly went. And now being a hater of Śiva and a special worshipper of Vishṇu he started the new religion..

L. 4, read सविधे; कालात्प्रात ;° L. 6, ईशा°

This is what the Ayyaṅgârs tell of the origin of their religion. Let us examine it. Notice the indecency attributed to the Śaṅkarâchârya in referring the student to the buttocks of the monkey for a better comparison with the redness of Vishṇu's face. Śaṅkarâchârya as an Advaiti had equal regard to Śiva and Vishṇu, and would not be guilty of the indecent comparison here attributed to him. And to say that he stooped to being rubbed with oil is next to nonsense. That a man like him, who had renounced the pleasures of the world, should take an oil bath is to a Hindû incredible.

In the Smârta relation of the story, the former part is almost the same. At that time, *i.e.* in the middle of the 12th century, Buddhism and Jainism had made great inroads. People, not knowing what religion was, left one sect for another; the then Śaṅkarâchâryas used to go into the country and preach the Advaita doctrines which they professed. The *maṭhams* were resorted to by people to have their religious difficulties cleared up; so the Śaṅkarâchâryas, when absent, appointed some intelligent disciple in their stead. In accordance with this custom the Kâñchî Âchârya on one occasion appointed Râmânuja to officiate for him. An opinion spread among the people that the real Śaṅkarâchâryas knew nothing, and that they owed their fame to their intelligent students. When this opinion reached the Kâñchî Âchârya he returned to his *maṭham*, dismissed Râmânuja to his studies, and himself ruled over the see.

Râmânuja having already tasted the sweets of power, ambition now burnt in his heart to start a new religion. He left the *maṭham*, went to the modern Vishṇu-Kâñchî, and there proclaimed that faith was supreme, and Vishṇu, the protector, alone was the real deity. On this he built up his Vaishṇavism, and made known that he would freely accept converts into his religion without distinction of caste and receive them as Brâhmaṇs.

In all times people of other castes have looked up to Brâhmaṇism with jealousy, and when Râmânuja proclaimed that he would accept men of the lower castes to an equality with Brâhmaṇs, people flocked to him.

Râmânuja would speak to his followers about the necessity of the *Vêdas* to Brâhmaṇs, and ask them to study them, and himself would repeat portions of them to his disciples. As the majority of these could have no knowledge of Sanskṛit, they would be at a loss when they heard him repeating portions of the *Vêdas*. The difficulties of pronunciation, the peculiarities of tone, would confuse the minds of the new members. "Our Âcharya, instead of asking us to get by heart the *Vêdas*, might as well ask us to fly in the air" one would say to another, and would be ready to fall back on their old religion rather than undergo the painful task of getting the *Vêdas* by heart. Râmânuja would see the difficulty, and to carry out successfully his aim, the idea would at once occur to him to use the Tamiḻ stanzas containing simple and lovely descriptions of Vishṇu, and so retain on his side the dissatisfied converts. He ordered some of the most eminent among them to sing the praises of Vishṇu in Tamiḻ. Then it was that the *Tiruvâymoḻi* of the Śrîvaishṇavas, the sacred book of the whole sect for three centuries, and of the Teṅkalai Ayyaṅgârs even to the present day, was formed. Some of the gifted men engaged in this work were Paraiyahs and Chaklers. When the book was finished, Râmânuja said to his followers:— "Let this be your *Vêda*: let this be more honoured by you than the *Vêdas* are by the Brâhmaṇs." From that day the *Tiruvâymoḻi* was so respected by the whole sect and continued to be so till the time of Vêdântadêśika, who, perceiving the great defect of Vaishṇavism threw the *Tiruvâymoḻi* into the background, and restored the *Vêdas* as the religious book of the Vaishṇavas also, and started the new sect of the Vaḍakalais, who have as much faith in the *Vêdas* as other Brâhmaṇs. This, then, is the origin of the *Tiruvâymoḻi*.

The next peculiarity of the Śrîvaishṇavas is the wearing of the *laṅgôṭi* (Sans. *kaupîna*) throughout life, while the other Brâhmaṇs give it up after reaching their *Gṛihasthâśrama*. While all the common *Smṛitis* deny the *laṅgôṭi* to a *Gṛihastha*, why should the Vaishṇavas alone wear it? The sect originated from the dregs of the population, whose only dress was their *laṅgôṭi*. They could not do without it. They laboured all day in the fields with their loin-cloth on. And when Râmânuja talked to them about the *Pañchakachchha* of the Brâhmaṇs, and when they tried to wear their clothes in that fashion they would find themselves in an awkward con-

dition without it. An old habit is difficult to give up. They would cling to the *langôṭi*, and Râmânuja would allow the demand to his new adherents, and make it a rule that every Vaishṇava from that day forward snould wear the *langôṭi* in addition to his Brâhmaṇik dress, and thus the *langôṭi* remains a mark distinguishing the Vaishṇavas from other Brâhmaṇs.

In times of joy and sorrow, at festivals and on sacred days, Brâhmaṇs eat in companies. The Vaḍakalai Ayyaṅgârs of modern days have of late introduced among themselves the custom of eating in company, a pleasure long denied to them by their forefathers, and not enjoyed even to this day by the Teṅkalai Vaishṇavas. Indeed, in some families of the latter, the son and father do not sit in company at meals, a practice most repulsive to nature. The incongruity does not stop here. Suppose an old Teṅkalai Vaishṇava Brâhmaṇ who knows all the four *Vêdas* and does not know a single *prabandha* or verse of the *Tiruvâymoḻi*; he is no Brâhmaṇ in the eyes of his caste people; but the son of that old man, though he should not know a single syllable of Sanskṛit, if only he has got by heart, even without knowing the meaning, a line or two of the *Tiruvâymoḻi* is a Brâhmaṇ of the first water. The father and son do not eat together; the latter, deeming his Brâhmaṇism would suffer, sits to take his meals separated by a screen from his father. How arose this practice among the early Śrîvaishṇavas? Râmânuja would preach to his adherents about the necessity of *Paṅktibhôjanam*, or eating in rows. They would agree, and when they sat down must have found it unpleasant to sit in company with those whom it was formerly revolting for them to see in the same row before they became Brâhmaṇs. They could not give up their scruples so easily as their religion. When a man of socially high position sat down in the same row with another of low position the mind of the former revolted; he would prefer to renounce the new religion rather than undergo this degradation. Râmânuja would perceive this, and arrange that when parties wished to dine together, but did not care to sit side by side as orthodox Brâhmaṇs, they might use the separation of a screen.

To those that have not observed the Vaishṇava *namaskâra*, a word is necessary about it here. When two Vaishṇavas meet, each falls down simultaneously towards the other. The common Brâhmaṇ *Smṛitis* say that the younger should always prostrate himself to the elder. When Râmânuja received other castes as Brâhmaṇs he would preach to his followers the observance of the *namaskâra*, and that the younger should prostrate himself to the elder. But suppose a man of thirty, of rather high position in society had become a Vaishṇava; and another of fifty from a lower position had also become a Vaishṇava. When the rule that the younger should prostrate himself to the elder was taught, a difficulty would here arise. A man of socially higher position would object to prostrate himself to one of lower standing, though older than himself. The old and lower caste man would expect that the younger should respect him according to the principles of the new religion. Râmânuja solved the difficulty by uttering—

वैष्णवं वैष्णवं दृष्ट्वा मध्ये तिष्ठति माधवः ॥

that when two Vaishṇavas meet the god Vishṇu himself comes and stands between them. So in the one prostrating himself to the other he does not respect the man before whom he falls, but worships as it were the deity between.

In the extreme south of Tinnevelly district is the small town of N â ṅ g a n ê r i, wholly inhabited by Teṅkalai Vaishṇavas. Instead of *gôtras*, some of them classify themselves by a Tamiḻ word *Tiruméni*, signifying the beautiful body, as equivalent to the Sanskṛit *gôtra*. Some of the *Tiruménis* they give are clearly enough significant of the original caste from which their forefathers were converted to Vaishṇavism. One is *Êri iraṅgum tirumêni*, which means the ascending and descending beautiful body, indicative that the progenitor of the family was a climber of trees, *i.e.*, a *Śâṇân*. Another is *Veḷḷaiveḷukkum tirumêni*, which shows that their progenitor was of the washerman sect. Then we have *Taṭṭukkoṭṭum tirumêni*, cymbal sounding, *i.e.*, descended from musicians; and *Eṅgumkaṇḍa tirumêni*, the barber. Thus a number of *Tirumênis* have meanings which indicate the original caste of these Vaishṇava Brâhmaṇs.

Among Brâhmaṇs, widows shave the hair from their heads. But Vaishṇava widows, and now the Teṅkalai Vaishṇava widows only, have

a different rule among themselves. These latter do not shave their heads, and, if asked, they say, "Are our females to bend their heads to barbers as well as to Âchâryas?" This is similar to the Malayan saying, when he is questioned why he blackens his teeth, "Should we have white teeth like dogs." But let us see among whom this custom prevails now, and in olden times. It is now in vogue among the low castes, and was very prevalent among the Buddhists and Jains, and these sects may have supplied the bulk of the original converts.

When a Southern Brâhmaṇ goes to the north to travel, he is apt to be asked whether he does not wash himself in sacred rivers and tanks, and sully the waters. Śrîvaishṇavas have been observed doing so, and the northern Hindû at once concludes that every Brâhmaṇ from the south does so. But it is only the Vaishṇavas that do so, and are asked to do so by their religious codes. All other Brâhmaṇs wash only with lifted water, and never sully tanks or sacred rivers. This custom is one the Śrîvaishṇavas have brought with them from the low castes from which they originated, and which they still retain. The practice, in small villages, of both sexes washing themselves at the village tank is one of the most disgusting peculiarities of the low castes in Southern India.

The Teṅkalai Vaishṇavas, especially in the Chingleput and North Ârkâṭ districts, which are the cradle of their religion, marry in the presence of some Vaishṇava god. The rites are short, and have almost no Brâhmaṇik element in them. If the man is poor he may take water in the presence of the god, and accept the hand of the bride, and the marriage ceremony is complete; a practice which speaks for itself when we see that poor people of low caste in modern days do the same.

The Teṅkalai Vaishṇavas have no *hômas* in their ceremonies, which is almost the same as saying that the back-bone of the Brâhmaṇik religion is absent. Sometimes rice is measured out to the temple priest, who is ordered to prepare meals to feed a couple of Śrîvaishṇavas. This also is a practice which we see among the lowest castes of modern times.

It has taken me several years of contemplation to arrive at the numerous features above noted, and to be convinced beyond doubt that the forefathers of the Vaishṇavas were mostly other caste people, especially Buddhists."

Here my grandfather ended, and I said: "How do you account then for the *Vêda* honour, the *hôma* observance, the shaving of the hair of the widows, eating in rows, &c., observed among our Vaḍakalai Vaishṇava friends," and he added as follows:—

"Bear in mind that the original Vaishṇavas were all one, without any distinction of Teṅkalais and Vaḍakalais, as they now stand. By my former arguments, all of which apply now more to the Teṅkalais than Vaḍakalais, we see that the original Vaishṇavas had several non-Brâhmaṇik rites, and the Teṅkalai Vaishṇavas still retain the same. Vêdântadêśikar was born about the close of the 15th century, and in the former half of the 16th century made great changes in Vaishṇavism. He perceived several flaws in his religion which separated it from Brâhmaṇism. The *Vêda* and *hôma*, the warp and woof of the Brâhmaṇik religion, he found absent in the then Vaishṇavism. He boldly taught his followers the defects, and remedied them by introducing several Brâhmaṇik rites in place of non-Brâhmaṇik ones,—*e.g.*, he exchanged the *Tiruvâymoḻi* for the *Vêdas*. Now Vaḍakalai Vaishṇavas no longer read the former as the sacred book, but as one more purely literary than religious. *Hômas* were introduced; widows were compelled to shave their hair; and Brâhmaṇik marriage rites were introduced. Of course some liked the change, and joined it. These were named Vaḍakalai, the division giving preference to Sanskṛit mantras—from *Vaḍamoḻi*, a Tamiḻ word, meaning Sanskṛit. The original sect, from their preference for Tamiḻ mantras,—*Tenmoḻi*, meaning Tamiḻ,—were thenceforward called Teṅkalais. These two sects are the bitterest enemies to each other. Whether the *Vêdas* or the *Tiruvâymoḻi* should be repeated first in Vaishṇava temples is the main cause of dispute between these sects, which every year feeds well the barristers and vakils in every law court of the Madras Presidency. Broken heads, stoppage of processions, murder and other crimes arise from these religious disputes among them."

Here ends my grandfather's story.

I have given his views in the hope that some one more learned may take it up, and do more justice to the subject.

FOLKLORE IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

BY PANDIT S. M. NATEŚA ŚÂSTRÎ.

III.—THE SOOTHSAYER'S SON.

जन्मप्रभृति दारिद्र्यं दशवर्षाणि बन्धनम् ।
समुद्रतीरे मरणं किञ्चित् भोगं भविष्यति ॥

Thus a Soothsayer when on his death-bed wrote the horoscope of his second son, and bequeathed it to him as his only property, leaving the whole of his estate to his eldest son. The second son pondered over the horoscope, and fell into the following contemplations:—

"Alas, am I born to this only in the world? The sayings of my father never failed. I have seen them prove true to the last word while he was living; and how has he fixed my horoscope! *Janma prabhriti dâridryam!* From my birth poverty! I am not to be in that miserable condition alone. *Daśa varshâṇi bandhanam*: for ten years, imprisonment—a fate harder than poverty; and what comes next? *Samudratîrê maraṇam*: death on the sea-shore; which means that I must die away from home, far from friends and relatives on a sea-coast. The misery has reached its extreme height here. Now comes the funniest part of the horoscope. *Kiñchit bhôgaṁ bhavishyati*—that I am to have some happiness afterwards! What this happiness is, is an enigma to me: To die first, to be happy for some time after! What happiness? Is it the happiness of this world? So it must be. For however clever one may be, he cannot foretell what may take place in the other world. Therefore it must be the happiness of this world; and how can that be possible after my death? It is impossible. I think my father has only meant this as a consoling conclusion to the series of calamities that he has prophesied. Three portions of his prophecy must prove true; the fourth and last is a mere comforting statement to bear patiently the calamities enumerated, and never to prove true. Therefore let me go to Bânâras, bathe in the holy Gaṅgâ, wash away my sins, and prepare myself for my end. Let me avoid sea-coasts, lest death meet me there in accordance with my father's words. Come imprisonment: I am prepared for it for ten years."

Thus thought he, and after all the funeral obsequies of his father were over, took leave of his elder brother, and started for Bânâras. He went by the middle of the Dakhaṇ, avoiding both the coasts, and went on journeying and journeying for weeks and months, till at last he reached the Vindhya mountains. While passing that desert he had to journey for a couple of days through a sandy plain, with no signs of life or vegetation. The little store of provision with which he was provided for a couple of days, at last was exhausted. The *chombu*, which he carried always full, replenishing it with the sweet water from the flowing rivulet or plenteous tank, he had exhausted in the heat of the desert. There was not a morsel in his hand to eat; nor a drop of water to drink. Turn his eyes wherever he might he found a vast desert, out of which he saw no means of escape. Still he thought within himself, "Surely my father's prophecy never proved untrue. I must survive this calamity to find my death on some sea-coast." So thought he, and this thought gave him strength of mind to walk fast and try to find a drop of water somewhere to slake his dry throat. At last he succeeded, or rather thought that he succeeded. Heaven threw in his way a ruined well. He thought that he could collect some water if he let down his *chombu* with the string that he always carried noosed to the neck of it. Accordingly he let it down; it went some way and stopped, and the following words came from the well, "Oh, relieve me! I am the king of tigers dying here of hunger. For the last three days I have had nothing. Fortune has sent you here. If you assist me now you will find a sure help in me throughout your life. Do not think that I am a beast of prey. When you have become my deliverer I can never touch you. Pray kindly lift me up." Gaṅgâdhara, for that was the name of the Soothsayer's second son, found himself in a very perplexing position. "Shall I take him out or not? If I take him out he may make me the first morsel of his hungry mouth. No; that he will not do. For my father's prophecy never came untrue. I must die on a sea-coast and not by a tiger." Thus thinking, he asked the tiger-king to hold tight the vessel, which he accordingly did, and he lifted him up slowly.

The tiger reached the top of the well and felt himself on safe ground. True to his word he did no harm to Gaṅgâdhara. On the other hand, he went round his patron three times, and standing before him, humbly spoke the following words:—"My life-giver, my benefactor! I shall never forget this day, when I regained my life through your kind hands. In return for this kind assistance I pledge my oath to stand by you in all calamities. Whenever you are in any difficulty just think of me. I am there with you ready to oblige you by all the means that I can. To tell you briefly how I came in here:—Three days ago I was roaming in yonder forest, when I saw a goldsmith passing through it. I chased him. He, finding it impossible to escape my claws, jumped into this well, and is living to this moment in the very bottom of it. I also jumped, but found myself in the first storey; he is on the last and fourth storey. In the second storey lives a serpent half-famished with hunger. In the third storey lies a rat, similarly half-famished, and when you again begin to draw water these may request you first to release them. In the same way the goldsmith also may request. I tell you, as your bosom friend, never assist that wretched man, though he is your relation as a human being. Goldsmiths are never to be trusted. You can place more faith in me, a tiger, though I feast sometimes upon men, in a serpent whose sting makes your blood cold the very next moment, or in a rat, which does a thousand mischiefs in your house. But never trust a goldsmith. Do not release him; and if you do, you shall surely repent of it one day or other." Thus advising, the hungry tiger went away without waiting for an answer.

Gaṅgâdhara thought several times of the eloquent way in which the tiger addressed him, and admired his fluency of speech. His thirst was not quenched. So he let down his vessel again which was now caught hold of by the serpent, who addressed him thus:—"Oh my protector! lift me up. I am the king of serpents, and the son of Âdiśêsha, who is now pining away in agony for my disappearance. Release me now. I shall ever remain your servant, remember your assistance, and help you throughout life in all possible ways. Oblige me: I am dying." Gaṅgâdhara, calling again to mind the *Samudratîrê maraṇam*—death on the seashore—lifted him up. He, like the tiger-king, circumambulated him thrice, and prostrating himself before him spoke thus:—"Oh, my life-giver, my father, for so I must call you, as you have given me another birth, I have already told you that I am Âdiśêsha's son, and that I am the king of serpents. I was three days ago basking myself in the morning sun, when I saw a rat running before me. I chased it. He fell into this well. I followed him, but instead of falling on the third storey where he is now lying, I fell into the second. It was on the same evening that the goldsmith also fell down on the fourth storey, and the tiger whom you released just before me fell down into the first. What I have to tell you now is—do not relieve the goldsmith, though you may release the rat. As a rule, goldsmiths are never to be trusted. I am going away now to see my father. Whenever you are in any difficulty just think of me. I will be there by your side to assist you by all possible means. If, notwithstanding my repeated advice, you happen to release the goldsmith, you shall suffer for it severely." So saying, the Nâgarâja (serpent-king) glided away in zigzag movements, and was out of sight in a moment.

The poor son of the Soothsayer who was now almost dying of thirst, and was even led to think that the messengers of death were near him, notwithstanding his firm belief in the words of his father, let down his vessel for a third time. The rat caught hold of it, and without discussing, he lifted up the poor animal at once. But it would not go without showing its eloquence—"Oh life of my life, my benefactor: I am the king of rats. Whenever you are in any calamity just think of me. I will come to you, and assist you. My keen ears overheard all that the tiger-king and serpent-king told you about the Svarṇataskara (*gold-smith*), who is in the fourth storey. It is nothing but a sad truth that goldsmiths ought never to be trusted. Therefore never assist him as you have done to us all. And if you do you shall feel it. I am hungry; let me go for the present." Thus taking leave of his benefactor, the rat, too, ran away.

Gaṅgâdhara for a while thought upon the repeated advice given by the three animals about

releasing the goldsmith, "What wrong would there be in my assisting him. Why should I not release him also." So thinking with himself Gaṅgâdhara let down the vessel again. The goldsmith caught hold of it, and demanded help. The Soothsayer's son had no time to lose; he was himself dying of thirst. Therefore he lifted the goldsmith up, who now began his story:—"Stop for a while," said Gaṅgâdhara, and after quenching his thirst by letting down his vessel for the fifth time, still fearing that some one might remain in the well and demand his assistance, he listened to the goldsmith, who began as follows:—"My dear friend, my protector, what a deal of nonsense these brutes were talking to you about me; I am glad you have not followed their advice. I am just now dying of hunger. Permit me to go away. My name is Mâṇikkâśâri. I live in the East main street of Ujjaini, which is 20 *kôs* to the south of this place, and so lies on your way when you return from Bânâras. Do not forget to come to me and receive my kind remembrances of your assistance, on your way back to your country." So saying the goldsmith took his leave, and Gaṅgâdhara also pursued his way north after the above adventures.

He reached Bânâras, and lived there for more than ten years, spending his time in bathing, prayers, and other religious ceremonies. He quite forgot the tiger, serpent, rat, and goldsmith. After ten years of religious life, thoughts of home and of his brother rushed into his mind. "Enough of the merit that I have secured till now by my religious observances. Let me return home." Thus thought Gaṅgâdhara within himself, and immediately he was on his way back to his country. Remembering the prophecy of his father he returned by the same way by which he went to Bânâras ten years before. While thus retracing his steps he reached that ruined well where he released the three brute kings and the goldsmith. At once the old recollections rushed into his mind, and he thought of the tiger to test his fidelity. Only a moment passed, and the tiger-king came running before him carrying a large crown in his mouth, the glitter of the diamonds of which for a time outshone even the bright rays of the sun. He dropped the crown at his life-giver's feet, and leaving off all his pride, humbled himself like a pet cat to the strokes of his protector, and began in the following words:—"My life-giver! How is it that you forgot me, your poor servant, for so long a time. I am glad to find that I still occupy a corner in your mind. I can never forget the day when I owed my life to your lotus hands. I have several jewels with me of little value. This crown, being the best of all, I have brought here as a single ornament of great value, and hence easily portable and useful to you in your own country." Gaṅgâdhara looked at the crown, examined it over and over, counted and recounted the gems, and thought within himself that he would become the richest of men by separating the diamonds and gold, and selling them in his own country. He took leave of the tiger-king, and after his disappearance thought of the kings of serpents and rats, who came in their turns with their presents, and after the usual formalities and exchange of words took their leave. Gaṅgâdhara was extremely delighted at the faithfulness with which the brute beasts behaved themselves, and went on his way to the south. While going along he spoke to himself thus:—"These beasts have been so very faithful in their assistance. Much more, therefore, must Mâṇikkâśâri be faithful. I do not want anything from him now. If I take this crown with me as it is, it occupies much space in my bundle. It may also excite the curiosity of some robbers on the way. I will go now to Ujjaini on my way. Mâṇikkâśâri requested me to see him without failure on my return-journey. I shall do so, and request him to have the crown melted, the diamonds and gold separated. He must do that kindness at least for me. I shall then roll up these diamonds and gold ball in my rags, and bend my way home." Thus thinking and thinking he reached Ujjaini. At once he enquired for the house of his goldsmith friend, and found him without difficulty. Mâṇikkâśâri was extremely delighted to find on his threshold him who ten years before, notwithstanding the advice repeatedly given him by the sage-looking tiger, serpent, and rat, had relieved him from the pit of death. Gaṅgâdhara at once showed him the crown that he received from the tiger-king, told him how he got it, and requested his kind assistance to separate the gold and diamonds. Mâṇikkâśâri

agreed to do so, and meanwhile asked his friend to rest himself for a while to have his bath and meals; and Gaṅgâdhara, who was very observant of his religious ceremonies, went direct to the river to bathe.

How came a crown in the jaws of a tiger? It is not a difficult question to solve. A king must have furnished the table of the tiger for a day or two. Had it not been for that, the tiger could not have had a crown with him. Even so it was. The king of Ujjaini had a week before gone with all his hunters on a hunting expedition. All on a sudden a tiger—as we know now, the very tiger-king himself—started from the wood, seized the king, and vanished. The hunters returned and informed the prince about the sad calamity that had befallen his father. They all saw the tiger carrying away the king. Yet such was their courage that they could not lift their weapons to bring to the prince the corpse at least of his father; their courage reminds us of the couplet in the *Child's Story*:—

"Four and twenty sailors went to kill a snail;
The best man among them dares not touch her tail."

When they informed the prince about the death of his father he wept and wailed, and gave notice that he would give half of his kingdom to any one who should bring him news about the murderer of his father. The prince did not at all believe that his father was devoured by the tiger. His belief was that some hunters, coveting the ornaments on the king's person, had murdered him. Hence he had issued the notice. The goldsmith knew full well that it was a tiger that killed the king, and not any hunter's hands, since he had heard from Gaṅgâdhara about how he obtained the crown. Still, ambition to get half the kingdom prevailed, and he resolved with himself to make over Gaṅgâdhara as the king's murderer. The crown was lying on the floor where Gaṅgâdhara left it with his full confidence in Mâṇikkâśâri. Before his protector's return the goldsmith, hiding the crown under his garments, flies to the palace. He went before the prince and informed him that the assassin was caught, and placed the crown before him. The prince took it into his hands, examined it, and at once gave half the kingdom to Mâṇikkâśâri, and then enquired about the murderer. He is bathing in the river, and is of such and such appearance, was the reply. At once four armed soldiers fly to the river, and bind hand and foot the poor Brâhmaṇ, who sits in meditation, without any knowledge of the fate that hangs over him. They brought Gaṅgâdhara to the presence of the prince, who turned his face away from the murderer or supposed murderer, and asked his soldiers to throw him into the *kârâgṛiham*. In a minute, without knowing the cause, the poor Brâhmaṇ found himself in the dark caves of the *kârâgṛiham*.

In old times the *kârâgṛiham* answered the purposes of the modern jail. It was a dark cellar underground, built with strong stone walls, into which any criminal guilty of a capital offence was ushered to breathe his last there without food and drink. Into such a cellar Gaṅgâdhara was pushed down. In a few hours after he left the goldsmith he found himself inside a dark cell stinking with human bodies, dying and dead. What were his thoughts when he reached that place? "It is the goldsmith that has brought me to this wretched state; and, as for the prince: Why should he not enquire as to how I obtained the crown? It it of no use to accuse either the goldsmith or the prince now. We are all the children of fate. We must obey her commands. *Daśavarshâṇi bandhanam*. This is but the first day of my father's prophecy. So far his statement is true. But how am I going to pass ten years here? Perhaps without anything to keep up my life I may drag on my existence for a day or two. But how to pass ten years? That cannot be, and I must die. Before death comes let me think of my faithful brute friends."

So pondered Gaṅgâdhara in the dark cell underground, and at that moment thought of his three friends. The tiger-king, serpent-king, and rat-king assembled at once with their armies at a garden near the *kârâgṛiham*, and for a while did not know what to do. A common cause—how to reach their protector who was now in the dark cell underneath—united them all. They held their council, and decided to make an underground passage from the inside of a ruined well to the *kârâgṛiham*. The rat *râja* issued an order at once to that effect to his army. They with their nimble teeth bored the ground a long way to the

walls of the prison. After reaching it they found that their teeth could not work on the hard stones. The bandicoots were then specially ordered for the business, they with their hard teeth made a small slit in the wall for a rat to pass and repass without difficulty. Thus a passage was effected.

The rat *râja* entered first to condole with his protector for his calamity. The king of the tigers sent word through the snake-king that he sympathised most sincerely with his sorrow, and that he was ready to render all help for his deliverance. He suggested a means for his escape also. The serpent *râja* went in, and gave Gaṅgâdhara hopes of delivery. The rat king undertook to supply his protector with provisions. "Whatever sweetmeats or bread are prepared in any house, one and all of you must try to bring whatever you can to our benefactor. Whatever clothes you find hanging in a house, cut down, dip the pieces in water and bring the wet bits to our benefactor. He will squeeze them and gather water for drink; and the bread and sweetmeats shall form his food." Thus ordered the king of the rats, and took leave of Gaṅgâdhara. They in obedience to their king's order continued to supply provisions and water.

The Nâgarâja said:—"I sincerely condole with you in your calamity; the tiger-king also fully sympathises with you, and wants me to tell you so, as he cannot drag his huge body here as we have done with our small ones. The king of the rats has promised to do his best to keep up your life. We would now do what we can for your release. From this day we shall issue orders to our armies to oppress all the subjects of this kingdom. The percentage of death by snake-bite and tigers shall increase from this day. And day by day it shall continue to increase till your release. After eating what the rats bring you you had better take your seat near the entrance of the *kârâgṛiham*. Owing to the several unnatural deaths some people that walk over the prison might say, 'How unjust the king has turned out now. Were it not for his injustice such early deaths by snake-bite could never occur.' Whenever you hear people speaking so, you had better bawl out so as to be heard by them, 'The wretched prince imprisoned me on the false charge of having killed his father, while it was a tiger that killed him. From that day these calamities have broken out in his dominions. If I were released I would save all by my powers of healing poisonous wounds and by incantations.' Some one may report this to the king, and if he knows it, you will obtain your liberty." Thus comforting his protector in trouble, he advised him to pluck up courage, and took leave of him. From that day tigers and serpents, acting under the special orders of their kings, united in killing as many persons and cattle as possible. Every day people were being carried away by tigers or bitten by serpents. This havoc continued. Gaṅgâdhara was roaring as loud as he could that he would save those lives, had he only his liberty. Few heard him. The few that did took his words for the voice of a ghost. "How could he manage to live without food and drink for so long a time?" said the persons walking over his head to each other. Thus passed on months and years. Gaṅgâdhara sat in the dark cellar, without the sun's light falling upon him, and feasted upon the bread-crumbs and sweetmeats that the rats so kindly supplied him with. These circumstances had completely changed his body. He had become a red, stout, huge, unwieldy lump of flesh. Thus passed full ten years, as prophesied in the horoscope—*Daśavarshâṇi bandhanam.*

Ten complete years rolled away in close imprisonment. On the last evening of the tenth year one of the serpents got into the bed-chamber of the princess and sucked her life. She breathed her last. She was the only daughter of the king. He had no other issue—son or daughter. His only hope was in her; and she was snatched away by a cruel and untimely death. The king at once sent for all the snake-bite curers. He promised half his kingdom, and his daughter's hand to him who would restore her to life. Now it was that a servant of the king who had several times overheard Gaṅgâdhara's exclamation reported the matter to him. The king at once ordered the cell to be examined. There was the man sitting in it. How has he managed to live so long in the cell? Some whispered that he must be a divine being. Some concluded that he must surely win the hand of the princess by restoring her to life. Thus they discussed,

and the discussions brought Gaṅgâdhara to the king.

The king no sooner saw Gaṅgâdhara than he fell on the ground. He was struck by the majesty and grandeur of his person. His ten years' imprisonment in the deep cell underground had given a sort of lustre to his body, which was not to be met with in ordinary persons. His hair had first to be cut before his face could be seen. The king begged forgiveness for his former fault, and requested him to revive his daughter.

"Bring me in a *muhûrta* all the corpses of men and cattle dying and dead, that remain unburnt or unburied within the range of your dominions; I shall revive them all:" were the only words that Gaṅgâdhara spoke. After it he closed his lips as if in deep meditation, which commanded him more respect in the company.

Cart-loads of corpses of men and cattle began to come in every minute. Even graves, it is said, were broken open, and corpses buried a day or two before were taken out and sent for the revival. As soon as all were ready Gaṅgâdhara took a vessel full of water and sprinkled it over them all, thinking upon his Nâgarâja and Vyâghrarâja. All rose up as if from deep slumber, and went to their respective homes. The princess, too, was restored to life. The joy of the king knows no bounds. He curses the day on which he imprisoned him, accuses himself for having believed the word of a goldsmith, and offers him the hand of his daughter and the whole kingdom, instead of half as he promised. Gaṅgâdhara would not accept anything. The king requested him to put a stop for ever to those calamities. He agreed to do so, and asked the king to assemble all his subjects in a wood near the town. "I shall there call in all the tigers and serpents and give them a general order." So said Gaṅgâdhara, and the king accordingly gave the order. In a couple of *ghaṭikas* the wood near Ujjaini was full of people who assembled to witness the authority of man over such enemies of human beings as tigers and serpents. "He is no man; be sure of that. How could he have managed to live for ten years without food and drink? He is surely a god. Thus speculated the mob.

When the whole town was assembled just at the dusk of evening, Gaṅgâdhara sat dumb for a moment and thought upon the Vyâghrarâja and Nâgarâja, who came running with all their armies. People began to take to their heels at the sight of tigers. Gaṅgâdhara assured them of safety, and stopped them.

The grey light of the evening, the pumpkin colour of Gaṅgâdhara, the holy ashes scattered lavishly over his body, the tigers and snakes humbling themselves at his feet, gave him the true majesty of the god Gaṅgâdhara. For who else by a single word could thus command vast armies of tigers and serpents, said some among the people. "Care not for it; it may be by magic. That is not a great thing. That he revived cart-loads of corpses makes him surely Gaṅgâdhara," said others. The scene produced a very great effect upon the minds of the mob.

"Why should you, my children, thus trouble these poor subjects of Ujjaini? Reply to me, and henceforth desist from your ravages." Thus said the Soothsayer's son, and the following reply came from the king of the tigers; "Why should this base king imprison your honour, believing the mere word of a goldsmith that your honour killed his father? All the hunters told him that his father was carried away by a tiger. I was the messenger of death sent to deal the blow on his neck. I did it, and gave the crown to your honour. The prince makes no enquiry, and at once imprisons your honour. How can we expect justice from such a stupid king as that. Unless he adopts a better standard of justice we will go on with our destruction."

The king heard, cursed the day on which he believed in the word of the goldsmith, beat his head, tore his hair, wept and wailed for his crime, asked a thousand pardons, and swore to rule in a just way from that day. The serpent-king and tiger-king also promised to observe their oath as long as justice prevailed, and took their leave. The goldsmith fled for his life. He was caught by the soldiers of the king, and was pardoned by the generous Gaṅgâdhara, whose voice now reigned supreme. All returned to their homes.

The king again pressed Gaṅgâdhara to accept the hand of his daughter. He agreed to do so, not then, but some time afterwards. He wished to go and see his elder brother first, and then to return and marry the princess.

The king agreed; and Gaṅgâdhara left the city that very day on his way home.

It so happened that unwittingly he took a wrong road, and had to pass near a sea coast. His elder brother was also on his way up to Bânâras by that very same route. They met and recognised each other, even at a distance. They flew into each other's arms. Both remained still for a time without knowing anything. The emotion of pleasure (*ânanda*) was so great, especially in Gaṅgâdhara, that it proved dangerous to his life. In a word, he died of joy.

The sorrow of the elder brother could better be imagined than described. He saw again his lost brother, after having given up, as it were, all hopes of meeting him. He had not even asked him his adventures. That he should be snatched away by the cruel hand of death seemed unbearable to him. He wept and wailed, took the corpse on his lap, sat under a tree, and wetted it with tears. But there was no hope of his dead brother coming to life again.

The elder brother was a devout worshipper of Gaṇapati. That was a Friday, a day very sacred to that god. The elder brother took the corpse to the nearest Gaṇêsa temple and called upon him. The god came, and asked him what he wanted. "My poor brother is dead and gone; and this is his corpse. Kindly keep it under your charge till I finish your worship. If I leave it anywhere else the devils may snatch it away when I am absent in your worship; after finishing your *pûjâ* I shall burn him." Thus said the elder brother, and giving the corpse to the god Gaṇêśa he went to prepare himself for that deity's worship. Gaṇêśa made over the corpse to his *Gaṇas*, asking them to watch over it carefully.

So receives a spoiled child a fruit from its father, who, when he gives it the fruit asks the child to keep it safe. The child thinks within itself, "Papa will excuse me if I eat a portion of it." So saying it eats a portion, and when it finds it so sweet, it eats the whole, saying, "Come what will, what will papa do, after all, if I eat it? Perhaps give me a stroke or two on the back. Perhaps he may excuse me." In the same way these *Gaṇas* of Gaṇapati first ate a portion of the corpse, and when they found it sweet, for we know that it was crammed up with the sweetmeats of the kind rats, devoured the whole, and were consulting about offering the best excuse possible to their master.

The elder brother, after finishing the *pûjâ*, demanded from the god his brother's corpse. The belly-god called his *Gaṇas*, who came to the front blinking, and fearing the anger of their master. The god was greatly enraged. The elder brother was highly vexed. When the corpse was not forthcoming he cuttingly remarked, "Is this, after all, the return for my deep belief in you? You are unable even to return my brother's corpse." Gaṇêśa was much ashamed at the remark, and at the uneasiness that he had caused to his worshipper, so he by his divine power gave him a living Gaṅgâdhara instead of the dead corpse. Thus was the second son of the Soothsayer restored to life.

The brothers had a long talk about each other's adventures. They both went to Ujjaini, where Gaṅgâdhara married the princess, and succeeded to the throne of that kingdom. He reigned for a long time, conferring several benefits upon his brother. How is the horoscope to be interpreted? A special synod of Soothsayers was held. A thousand emendations were suggested. Gaṅgâdhara would not accept them. At last one Soothsayer cut the knot by stopping at a different place in reading, "*Samudra tîrê maraṇam kiñchit.*" "On the sea shore death for some time. Then *bhôgam Bhavishyati.* There shall be happiness for the person concerned." Thus the passage was interpreted. "Yes; my father's words never went wrong," said Gaṅgâdhara. The three brute kings continued their visits often to the Soothsayer's son, the then king of Ujjaini. Even the faithless goldsmith became a frequent visitor at the palace, and a receiver of several benefits from the royal hands.

IV.—RAṆAVÎRASING.

Once upon a time in the town of Vañjaimânagar,[1] there ruled a king, named Śivâchâr. He was a most just king, and ruled so well that no stone thrown up fell down, no crow pecked at the new drawn milk, the lion and

[1] Classical name of Karûr, a small but very ancient town in the Kôyambatûr District of the Madras Presidency.

the bull drank water from the same pond, and peace and prosperity reigned throughout the kingdom. Notwithstanding all these blessings, care always sat on his face. The fruit which makes life in this world sweet, the redeemer to him from the horrible Naraka of *Put*, a Putra, he had not. His days and nights he spent in praying that God might bless him with a son. Wherever he saw *pîpal* trees (*Aśvattharâjas*), he ordered Brâhmaṇs to circumambulate them. Whatever medicines the doctors recommended he was ever ready to swallow, however bitter they might be. "Eat even ordure to get a son," says the proverb, and accordingly he did everything to secure that happiness, but all in vain.

Śivâchâr had a minister, named Kharavadana, a most wicked tyrant as ever lived in the world. The thought that the king was without an heir, and had no hopes of one, awakened in his mind the ambition of securing for his family the throne of Vañjaimânagar. Śivâchâr knew this well. But what could he do. His only care was to send up additional prayers to frustrate the thoughts of Kharavadana, and to secure for himself a good position after death, without undergoing the severe torments of the *Put*, hell.

At last fortune favoured Śivâchâr; for what religious man fails to secure his desire? The king in his sixtieth year had a son. His joy can better be imagined than described. Lacs of Brâhmaṇs were fed in honour of the son-birth festival, *Putrôtsavam*, as it is technically called. The state-prisons were opened, and all the prisoners let loose. Thousands of kine and innumerable acres of land were offered to Brâhmaṇs, and every kind of charity was duly practised. The ten days of the *Sûtikâgṛihavâsu* (confinement) were over. On the eleventh day the father saw his much longed-for son's face, and read on the lines of it great prosperity, learning, valour, goodness, and every excellent quality.

The cradle-swinging, naming, and other ceremonies were duly performed, and the prince grew up under the care shown to a king's son. His name the elders fixed as Sundara. The minister, whose only wish was to get the throne for his family, was much disappointed at the birth of a son to his master. The whole kingdom rejoiced at the event, and the minister was the only man who was sorry. When one is disappointed in his high hopes and expectations, he devises plans to take away the barrier that lies in his way. Even so Kharavadana said to himself, "Let me see how the affairs get on. The old king is near his grave. When he dies, leaving a minor son, myself must be his regent for a time. Have I not then opportunity enough of securing for ever for myself and my family the throne of Vañjaimânagar?" So thought he within himself, and was quiet for a time.

Śivâchâr, who was a very shrewd man, on several occasions read the minister's mind, and knew very well how his intentions stood. "This cruel devil may murder my only son. I care not if he usurps the throne. What I fear is, that he may murder him. *Na daivam Śaṅkarât param.* No other god but Śaṅkara. And he must have his own way. If it is so written on the prince's head I cannot avoid it." Thus sighed Śivâchâr. and this sorrow (*śôka*), made him leaner day by day. Just ten years after the birth of Sundara, the king fell ill and was on his deathbed.

Śivâchâr had a servant, named Raṇavîrasiṅg, whom he had all along observed to be very honest and faithful. That servant the king called to his side, and asking all others except Sundara, who was weeping by his father's pillow, to leave the room, addressed him thus "My dear Raṇavîrasiṅg, I have only a few *ghaṭikas* before me. Listen to my words, and act accordingly. There is one God above us all, who will punish or reward us according to our bad or good acts. If by avarice or greed of money you ever play false to the trust that I am going to repose in you that God will surely punish you. It is not unknown to you what great difficulties I had in getting this only son, Sundara; how many temples I built, how many Brâhmaṇs I fed, how many religious austerities I underwent, &c., &c. God after all gave me a son." Here his sorrow prevented him from proceeding further, and he began to cry aloud, and shed tears, "Do not weep on my account, papa! We cannot wipe off what was written on our heads. We must undergo happiness or misery as is thereon scratched by Brahmâ," cried the prince. Raṇavîrasiṅg was melted at the sight. He took the boy on his lap, and with his own

upper garment wiped his eyes. The old man continued, "Thus you, my faithful Raṇavîrasiṅg, know everything. I now wish that I had not performed all that I did to get this son. For when I die at this moment, who is there to take care of him for the next? Kharavadana may devise plan after plan to remove my boy from this world, and secure the kingdom for himself. My only hope is in you. I give him into your hands." Here the aged father, notwithstanding his illness, rose up a little from his bed, took hold of his son's hand, and after kissing it for the last time, placed it in Raṇavîrasiṅg's, "Care not if he does not get the kingdom. If you only preserve him from the wicked hands of the minister whom I have all along seen to be covetous of the throne, you will do a great work for your old master. I make you from this moment the lord of my palace. From this minute you are father, mother, brother, servant, and everything to my son. Take care that you do not betray your trust." Thus ended the king, and sending at once for the minister, when he came he spoke to him thus, "Kharavadana! See what I am now. Yesterday I was on the throne. To-day, in a few minutes, I must breathe my last. Such is the uncertainty of life. Man's good acts alone follow him to the other world. Take my signet-ring. [Here the king took the ring from off his finger, and gave it to the minister]. Yours is the throne for the present, as long as the prince is in his minority. Govern well the kingdom. When the prince attains his sixteenth year kindly give him back the throne. Exercise a paternal care over him. Find a good and intelligent princess for his wife." Suddenly, before his speech was quite finished, the king felt the last pangs of death. The sage-looking minister promised him everything.

Śivâchâr breathed his last. After the usual weeping and wailing of a Hindû funeral, his corpse was burnt to ashes in a sandalwood pyre. All his queens—and there were several scores—committed *satî* with the corpse. The ceremonies were all regularly conducted, the minister himself superintended everything.

Kharavadana then succeeded to the throne of Vañjaimânagar. Raṇavîrasiṅg became the lord of the palace, and true to his promise exercised all care over his trust. He was always by the side of Sundara. That he might not lose the sweetness of boyhood in study and play, Raṇavîrasiṅg brought to the palace 20 gentlemen's sons of good conduct and learning and made them the prince's fellow-students. A professor for every branch of learning was employed to teach the prince and his companions. Sundara thus received a sound and liberal education, only he was never allowed to go out of the palace. Raṇavîrasiṅg guarded him very strictly, and he had every reason to do so. For Kharavadana, as soon as he became king, had issued a notice that the assassin of Sundara should have a reward of a *karôr* muḥrs; and already every avaricious hand was in search of his head. Before the issue of this notice, Kharavadana found out a good girl and married her to the prince. She was living with her husband in the palace, and Raṇavîrasiṅg strictly watched her, as she came from the minister. He would not allow Sundara to sleep in the same room with her. These strict watches and barriers to the sweet marriage-bed displeased the prince, even with his faithful servant. But the latter could not help it till he had full confidence in her. He used to advise Sundara not even to take a betel-leaf from her hands. But love is blind. So the prince within himself accused his old guardian; but he could not help following his orders. Thus passed on a few years.

Sundara reached his sixteenth year. Nothing happened about the transference of the kingdom; the prince, almost in imprisonment in the palace, had forgot everything about the kingdom. Raṇavîrasiṅg wished to wait till, as he thought, the prince had acquired better governing faculties. Thus some time passed.

Full eight years had elapsed from the death of Śivâchâr. Sundara was already eighteen, and still he had not received his kingdom. Nothing was neglected in his education. Though Raṇavîrasiṅg exercised all paternal care over him, still it was not to his liking; for he found in him a great barrier to the pleasures of youth. The only pleasure for the prince, therefore, was the company of his friends.

One fine evening on the fourteenth day of the dark half of Vaiśâkha month of the Vasanta season, the prince was sitting with his companions in the seventh story of his mansion

viewing the town. The dusk of evening was just throwing her mantle over the city. People in their several vocations were at that time ceasing work, and returning home. In the eastern division of the town the prince saw a big mansion, and just to break the silence asked his friends what that was. "That is the Râjasthânik Kachêri, a place you ought to have been sitting in for the last two years. The wretched minister, Kharavadana, has already usurped your seat; for if he had intended to give you back the kingdom he would have done it two years ago when you reached your sixteenth year. Let us now console ourselves that God has spared your life till now, notwithstanding all the awards promised to the taker of your head. Even that proclamation is dying out of the memory of the people now." So said one of his friends and ceased.

These words fell like arrows in the ear of Sundara and troubled him. The shame that he had been neglected brought a change of colour over his face which all his friends perceived, and they felt sorry for having touched upon the subject. The prince, perceiving that he had played a woman's part among his friends, resumed or pretended to resume his former cheerful countenance, and changed the conversation to some pleasanter topics. They separated very late that night. Before doing so, Sundara asked them all to present themselves in the durbâr hall early next morning. At the same time he also ordered Raṇavîrasiṅg to keep horses ready for himself and his friends for a morning ride through the town the next day. "I was only waiting to hear such an order from your own mouth, *Mai Bâb Chakravarti*; I was thinking from your retired disposition that you were not an energetic man. I will have the horses ready." Raṇavîrasiṅg at once issued orders to his servants to keep ready saddled and decked twenty-one horses for the prince and his companions. He also appointed a certain number of his men to ride in front of the party.

The morning came. The friends assembled as promised the previous evening. The prince and they, after a light breakfast, mounted their horses. The horsemen rode in front and behind. The prince with his friends marched in the middle. Raṇavîrasiṅg with drawn sword rode side by side with him. The party went through the four main streets of the town. Every one rose up and paid due respect to their old king's son. When passing through the street where the minister's mansion was, Raṇavîrasiṅg perceived that Kharavadana paid no respect to the royal march. This seemed a most unbearable insult to Raṇavîrasiṅg. He bit his lips, gnashed his teeth, and wrung his hands. The prince observed all the mental pains of his faithful guardian, and laughed to himself at his simplicity. About mid-day the party returned to the palace. The friends dispersed, and Sundara after the ceremonies of the new-moon day had a slight dinner, and retired to rest.

The morning ride was deep in the mind of the prince. Though he laughed to himself at the simplicity of Raṇavîrasiṅg when the latter gnashed his teeth in the morning, the insult had left a stronger and deeper impression in his heart. The day was almost spent. Sundara took a very light supper, and shut himself up in his bed-room before the first watch was quite over. Raṇavîrasiṅg, as usual, watched outside. The prince found his wife sound asleep in her bed, and without disturbing her he went up and down the room. A thread-like substance attracted his attention in a corner of the bed-chamber. On examination he found it to be a thread ladder. He had not even time to think how it came into the bed-chamber. Just then Raṇavîrasiṅg had retired for a few minutes to take his supper. "The old fool is off now to eat; and Paramêśvar has thrown this ladder in my way. Let me now escape." Thus thinking, Sundara came out unobserved by his old guardian, and ascended to the top of the seventh mansion. From that place he cast his ladder towards a big tree in the East Main street. On pulling it he found it tight. "Let me get down, and Paramêśvar will assist me." So praying, before the first watch was over, the prince got down from his palace, and was in a few minutes in the East street. The severe watch kept over him by Raṇîvîrasiṅg made it very difficult for him to go out when he liked, and now by the grace of God, as he thought, he escaped that dark new-moon night.

"Life is dear to every one. What can I do if any of the minister's men find me out now and murder me? *Na daivam Śaṅkarât param.* No god but Śaṅkara, and he will now help me."

Thus thinking he walked to the nearest pyal, and lingered there till the bustle of the town subsided. Nor was it in vain that he stopped there. He overheard while there the following conversation take place between the master and mistress of the house at which he lingered :—"Console yourself, my wife. What shall we do? Fate has so willed it on our heads. May Brahmâ become without a temple for the evil that he has sent us. When the old king was living he appreciated my merits, and at every Saṅkrânti gave me due *dakshiṇâ* for my knowledge of the *Vêdas.* Now there reigns a tyrant over our kingdom. I was lingering here with the hope that the son of Śivâchâr would one day come to the throne and relieve our sufferings. Now that such hope is altogether gone, I have made up my mind to leave this nasty city, and go to some good place where there reigns a king to appreciate our *yôgyatâ* (merit)." Of these words Sundara overheard every syllable, and these supplied the *ghî* to the fire of shame and anger that was already burning in his mind. "Let me try to win back my kingdom. If I succeed, I save lives. If I die, I die singly. May Paramêśvar help me." So saying he walked out of the town, and passed the east gate. The night was as dark as could be, for it was a new-moon night. Clouds were gathering in the sky, and there were some symptoms of rain.

There was a Gaṇêśa temple on the way. As it was already drizzling, the prince went inside till the rain should cease. No sooner had he entered it than he saw two men, who by their conversation appeared to be shepherds, coming towards that same temple. They seemed to have been watching their flocks near an adjacent field, and had come to shelter themselves from the rain in the temple. Sundara when he saw them, trembled for his life, and crept in. The shepherds sat down on the verandah, and taking out their bags began to chew betelnut. An idle lizard began to chirp in a corner. To break the silence, one said to the other, "Well, Râmakôn, I have heard that you are a great soothsayer and interpreter of bird sounds and lizard speeches. Let me know what these chits of the lizard that we heard just now mean. Tell me." Râmakôn replied, "This is news which I would never have revealed at any other time. But as no fourth person is likely to be here at this time on a rainy night, let me tell you that the prince of the town is now lingering here in this temple. So the lizard says. Hence I said, 'no fourth person.' I am glad that no evil hand has yet been tempted, though such a high price has been set upon his head. The very fact that he has lived up to this time unhurt in a tiger's domain augurs well for his future prosperity." Râmakôn had scarcely finished his speech when the idle lizard again made its chit, chit, and Râmakôn now asked his friend, Lakshmaṇakôn, for that was the other's name, to interpret those sounds. "This has rather a sad meaning for the prince. The Mantrî and Pradhânî are coming here in a few minutes (*nimishas*), to consult on a secret topic. So says the lizard," said Lakshmaṇakôn to Râmakôn, and at once a light was discovered at a distance. "It is the minister's carriage. Let us be off. God only must save the prince." So saying, they both ran away.

The feelings of the prince inside were like that of a man who was being led to the gallows. The bitterest enemy of his life, the minister himself, was coming to that very place where he was hiding. "I foolishly accused my old guardian, Raṇavîrasiṅg, and now I see his good intentions. How I am to be spared from this calamity Śaṅkara only knows." Thus thinking, he hurriedly fled to the inmost part of the temple behind the very image, and sat down there, still like a stump, without even breathing freely, lest his breath might reveal him. He had ample time there to admire the sound knowledge of the shepherds in interpreting the lizard chirps, their simplicity, their honesty and truthfulness; for had they been otherwise, they might at once have caught hold of the prince and made him over to the tiger minister. True to the interpretation of the second shepherd, a carriage stopped in front of the Gaṇêśa temple, and there came out of it the Mantrî and the Pradhânî. Excepting themselves and, of course, the carriage driver and, as we know, the prince behind the Gaṇêśa, there were no others there. Kharavadana and his subordinate chose that solitary place at the dead of night to hold secret consultations. The Mantrî spoke first, and one could easily perceive from his words that he was in a fit of anger. "Why should the prince be

thus allowed to ride free through my streets? Of the innumerable servants who eat our salt was there not one to cut down that impertinent head?" roared the minister. The Pradhânî replied, "My king, my lord, excuse me first for the humble words that I am going to speak before your honour. We have taken up a kingdom to which we have no right. If the prince had demanded the throne two years ago, we ought rightfully to have returned it to him. He never asked, and we did not restore it. He never troubles us with demands, but lives like a poor subject of the crown in his own quarters. Such being the case, why should we kill him? Why should we murder the only son of our old and much-respected king Śivâchâr? What I beg to suggest to your honour is, that we should no more trouble ourselves about his poor head." The Pradhânî, as he discovered that these words were not to the taste of Kharavadana, stopped at once without proceeding further, though he had much to say upon that subject. "Vile wretch! Dare you preach morals to your superiors. You shall see the result of this, before the morning dawns," bawled out the minister. The Pradhânî saw that all his excellent advice was like blowing a conch in a deaf man's ears. He feared for his own life, and so at once begged a thousand pardons, and promised to bring the head of the prince within a week. And as Kharavadana wanted only that, he spared the Pradhânî. They then talked on different subjects, and prepared to start.

The prince inside, behind the Gaṇêśavigraha, was now almost stifled to death. The short breaths that he inhaled and exhaled were themselves enough to kill him. Add to that the horrible words that fell on his ears. For all that he continued to hide himself. Kharavadana and the Pradhânî finished their conversation and got into the carriage. Sundara called courage to his assistance, "Śaṅkara has saved me till now; he may so save me throughout." So thinking with himself, he boldly came out of the temple without making the least noise and sat behind the carriage, and, as it rolled on, thought again with himself: "I will follow these, come what may, and find out what more plans they devise against my life."

The carriage drove on to the opposite end of the town. It passed the west gate and entered a big park outside the town. The undaunted prince followed. In the middle of the park a fine tank was discovered. The banks looked like day, being lighted up profusely. In the midst of the tank a small island with a gaudy mansion was seen. Pillars of gold, sofas of silver and doors of diamonds made it the very *Indralôka* itself. A broad road with avenues of sweet smelling flowering trees connected the island with the bank. It was at that road that the carriage stopped. The prince, before that was reached, had got down and hid himself under the shade of a tree, to see unobserved all that passed in the mansion which he had every reason to believe was the destination of the minister. Kharavadana descended from the *bâṇḍi* and sent the Pradhânî home. What most astonished the prince was the absence of male servants in that garden. At the entrance of the road twenty young females of the most exquisite beauty waited and conducted Kharavadana through the sweet bower to the mansion. When it was reached, the minister sat down on a most richly furnished gold couch, and ordered the females there to bring the queen. Ten females arranged themselves on each side of an ivory palanquin, and started, apparently, to bring the queen in it. "These females themselves resemble Rambhâ Urvaśî, &c. A woman who has the beauty to be borne on the heads of these females must, of course, be of the most unimaginable beauty in this world. Let me see her." Thus thinking, the prince, Sundara, anxiously waited the return of the palanquin. In a few minutes it came. A female of the most charming beauty jumped briskly out of it. The minister came running to give his helping hand to her. Horror of horrors, what sees the prince! It was his own wife, the very girl that the minister had married to him a few years before, that got down from the palanquin. "Are my eyes deceived? Do they perform their functions aright? Let me look once more." So again and again wiping his eyes to clear them a little, the prince saw distinctly. It was his very wife herself. "Oh, I most foolishly accused that grey-headed guardian for a wicked fool, because he would not allow me liberty with my wife. I now see what he saw a long time ago. Perhaps if I had slept by her side I should have thus been brought in here by some secret way that these

devils seem now to have to the inmost parts of the palace. If I had taken anything from her hands I should have died that very day. My poor old man, my Raṇavîrasiṅg it is, who has saved me from all these calamities." These thoughts and a thousand more were passing through Sundara's mind when he saw his wife sitting down on the same couch with the minister. She accused him of the delay in murdering her husband, of his letting all opportunities escape during the morning ride. "Horrible! Did you, Kharavadana, marry me to such a faithful wife! Thank God and Raṇavîrasiṅg that I have not fallen into her snares," thought Sundara to himself. The minister offered a thousand excuses, related to her all that had taken place between himself and the Pradhânî, and of what the latter had promised. Then they both retired to bed. At that moment the treacherous owl began to hoot, and one of the maid servants, who happened to be a clever interpreter of owl-hootings revealed, to secure the favour of the minister, that the prince was lurking behind a tree in that very garden. Knowing the price set on Sundara's head even female hands flew to cut it off. All ran with torches to search the garden.

These words, of course, fell upon the ears of the prince like thunder. Before the people there began their search he began his race, jumped over a high wall, and flew like a kite. Before the lady-racers and the minister had left their sweet road to the tank-bank, Sundara found himself in the north street of the town. The news that the prince was out that night spread like a flame from the pleasure-park outside throughout the whole town, and before long avaricious persons were searching in the streets for his valuable head, Sundara thought it dangerous to pass through the streets, and wished to hide himself in a safe place. Fortune conducted him to one. It was a ruined old choultry, where food, during the days of his father, was distributed in charity to the beggars of the town, and which was now only resorted to by them to sleep, and not to receive rice. The prince entered it, and laid himself down in the midst of them, fortunately unobserved. He could hear from where he was the noise of the persons searching outside. In the garden the minister searched in vain, and accusing the female for her wrong interpretation as he thought, retired to bed.

Outside the north gate, at a distance of three *ghaṭikas'* walk, lived a robber. He used to start out on a plundering expedition once in seven years. In the houses and mansions he used to rob he took only jewels of various kinds, *Gômeda*, *pushparâga*, (topaz) *vajra*, *vaiḍûrya*, &c.; gold and silver he rejected as being too mean for his dignity. As he was a gentleman-robber, he used to take a coolie with him on the way to carry his booty. Of course that coolie never returned from the cave. He was put to death after his services were over, lest he should disclose the secret of the robber.

Unfortunately that new-moon night happened to be the night of that cruel robber's plundering expedition. He came out, and when he saw people in search of the prince, thinking that he was not in his palace, he wanted to plunder it. Wishing a coolie he entered the ruined choultry to pick out one among the beggars there. Passing over the others he came to the prince. He found him stout and strong. "This beggar will do me good service to-day. I shall break my custom, and amply reward this man for his services." So thinking to himself, the gentleman-robber tapped Sundara with his cane on the back. The prince had just closed his eyes. In the short sleep that ensued he dreamt that the minister's servants were pursuing him, and that one had caught him. At that very moment the gentleman-robber's stroke fell upon his back, giving a sort of reality to his dream. He awoke with horror. "Tell me who you are," asked the unknown person. "A beggar," was the reply. "How does the night appear to you?" asked the robber. "As dark as dark can be," replied the prince. The robber applied a sort of *kajjala* to the prince's eyes, and asked, "How does the night appear now?" "As luminous as if a *karôṛ* of suns were in the sky," answered Sundara. The robber applied a *tilaka* to the intended coolie's forehead and addressed him thus: "I am a robber, now going to plunder the palace, from which the prince is absent. Follow me. I shall reward you richly. The *kajjala* has made the night a day to you. The *tilaka* takes you unobserved wherever you wish to go." So saying, and dragging the coolie or supposed

coolie by the hand the robber went off to the palace. Wherever he found a door locked he applied a leaf that he carried in his hand to the fastening, and behold the lock flew back, and the door opened of its own accord. The prince was astonished. In a few minutes the robber opened one and all of the gates and boxes, and extracted all the precious stones. He tied them up in a bundle, and set it on the prince's head, and asked him to follow. Sundara followed. He assisted in the plunder of his own palace, and carried the booty behind the robber, who, praised be his stupidity, never for one moment suspected he was a prince, but admired his coolie for the beauty of his person, thought of saving his life, and also of making him his son-in-law. For the robber had a beautiful daughter, for whom he had long been searching for a suitable husband. So with this thought he reached the cave, stopped before it, and taking the bundle from the prince's head ordered him to go into a large cell, the mouth of which he covered with a big stone which he lifted up by pronouncing an incantation over it. The robber went with the bundle to his wife, and described to her the beauty of the coolie, and what a fair match he would be for their daughter. The wife did not like it, and asked her husband to do with the coolie as was usual, *i. e.*, murder him; and the robber, who, never in anything acted against the will of his wife, went in to fetch his weapon.

Meanwhile the robber's daughter, an excellent girl, of the most charming beauty, overhearing all that took place between her parents, came running to the cave where the coolie was confined. She pronounced a single word over the stone lid of the cave, and it opened, and the prince, who had lost all hopes of recovery, now beheld a beautiful girl coming towards him. "Whoever you may be, my dear coolie, fly for your life for the present. You are my husband. My father has so named you, but as my mother does not like it, he has gone to fetch his weapon to murder you. Excepting we three, none, not even Brahmâ, can open the once-shut gates. After hearing you once called my husband, I must ever regard you so. Now fly, and escape my father's sharp sword. If you are a man, marry me in kind remembrance of the assistance rendered. If you fail to do so you are a beast, and I shall die a virgin." So saying she conducted out in haste the supposed coolie, who had only time to take a hasty embrace, whispering in her ear that he was the prince, and that he would marry her without fail. He now ran for his life. Fearing the robber would come after him he left the way by which he reached the cave, and passing through unknown fields reached the south gate of the town. By that time the search for him had almost abated, and the prince, praising God for his delivery, reached the south street. The night was almost spent. Before returning to the palace he wished to take rest for a few minutes, till he had recovered his breath, and so he sat down on the pyal of an old and almost ruined house.

That happened to be the house of a poor Brâhmaṇ, who had not even sufficient clothes to wear. As the prince sat down in a corner of the pyal the door of the house opened, and the old Brâhmaṇ came out. The old woman, the Brâhmaṇî, was standing at the door with a vessel containing water for her husband. Śubhaśâstrî, for that was the Brâhmaṇ's name, looked up to the sky for a couple of minutes, after which he heaved a deep sigh, and said, "Alas, the prince, the only son of our former protector, Śivâchâr, is not to remain for more than two *ghaṭikas*, A *kâlasarpa* (black serpent) will sting him. What shall we do? we are poor. If we could begin *Sarpahôma* now we could tie the mouth of the snake, sacrifice it in the fire, and thus save the prince." So saying the poor Brâhmaṇ cried. Sundara, who overheard everything, jumped down in confusion, and fell at the feet of the Brâhmaṇ, who asked him who he was. "I am a herdsman of the palace. Preserve my master's life," was the reply. Śubhaśâstrî was extremely poor. He had no means to procure a small quantity of *ghî* even to begin the *hôma*. He did not know what to do. He begged from his neighbours, who all laughed at his stupidity, and ridiculed his astrology. The prince in a hopeless state of anguish wrung his hands, and in wringing them he felt his ring. Drawing it off his finger he gave it to Śubhaśâstrî, and requested him to pawn it. The latter resorted to the nearest bazâr, and awakening the bazâr-keeper procured from him a little *ghî*, by pawning the ring. Running home and bathing in cold

water the Brâhmaṇ sat down for the *hôma*. The prince, fearing the serpent, wished to sit inside the house, but at a distance from the place of the ceremony. Just at the appointed hour a large black serpent broke through the sky, fell on the head of the prince, whom he was not able to bite, and gave up its life in the fire. "This is no neatherd, but the very prince himself," said the Brâhmaṇî. Sundara rose up, and running circumambulated them thrice, spoke to them thus: "You alone are my parents and protectors. This night has been a most adventurous one with me. There was every possibility of my escaping every other calamity, and so I did. But no other power except yours could have averted this snake-bite. So my rescue is due to you alone. I have no time to lose now. Before daylight I must fly unobserved to the palace, and you shall before long see my reward for this." So saying, Sundara ran to his palace, and entered.

Raṇavîrasiṅg was almost dead. The rumour that the prince was out reached him. He was astonished at the way in which Sundara had got out. He searched the whole palace. To his astonishment all the rooms had previously been opened and plundered. "Has the prince been stolen away by some vile tricks from the palace," thought Raṇavîrasiṅg, and without knowing what to do he was buried in the ocean of sorrow, from which he gave up all hopes of recovering. What was his joy, then, when he saw the prince enter the palace just at dawn. "*Mai Bâb Chakravarti*, where have you been the whole night, throwing away the advice of your poor slave? How many enemies you have in this world, you have yet to know," said Raṇavîrasiṅg. "I know them all now, only listen to what I say, and do as I bid. I have won the crown without a blow. Thank the day that gave me you as my protector, for it was only yesterday that I had ample reason to verify your statements. My adventures would make your hair stand on end. Thank God, I have escaped from all of them unhurt. If you have a few men ready now, we have won the kingdom." So saying, the prince explained to him every point of his adventure. "If we catch hold of the minister now, we have done all." "I could never for one moment think that you in a single night could have seen and done so much. Now that heaven has shown you the way, I shall obey you," said Raṇavîrasiṅg, and Sundara accordingly issued the orders. He described the house with the pyal on which he had lingered for a while the previous night, and asked a servant to bring the owner of that house to the Râjasthânik office. Raṇavîrasiṅg brought in the Pradhânî, who was extremely delighted at the good intention of the prince. He was offered the Mantrî's place. Two were sent to the shepherds. Twenty were sent to the pleasure-park to have the minister and his sweet paramour brought to the court in chains. The female servants were also ordered to be brought. The robber and his cruel wife were not forgotten. The prince minutely described the cave, and asked his servants to catch and imprison the robber by surprising him suddenly, without giving him time to have recourse to his vile tricks—lock-breaking leaf, *kajjala*, &c. The palace palanquin was sent for the robber's daughter, whom the prince had firmly made up his mind to marry. The palace elephants were decked and sent to fetch with all pomp Śubhâśâstrî and his wife to the court. Thus, without a single stroke, Sundara won the kingdom. Raṇavîrasiṅg was thunder-struck by the excellent and bold way in which the prince in one night went through the series of calamities, and successfully overcame them all. The Pradhânî's delight knew no bounds. He himself broke open the court and every one connected with the previous night's adventure was ushered in. The prince bathed, offered up his prayers, and attended the council. When Śubhâśâstrî came in with his wife the prince put them on the *siṁhâsana*, and himself standing before them, explained to all his previous night's adventures, rewarded the poor Brâhmaṇ and the shepherds, punished by banishment the maid-servant who, knowing that the prince's head was coveted, revealed his concealment, and ordered his wife, the minister, the robber, and the robber's wife to be beheaded. He rewarded without limit his protector, Śubhâśâstrî, and married the robber's daughter, being won over by her sincerity. The Pradhânî, as we have said already, he made his minister, and with his old guardian, the faithful Raṇavîrasiṅg, the prince reigned for several years in the kingdom of Vañjaimânagar.

CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

To the Editor of the Indian Antiquary.

SIR,—With the story of Zerka, the lynx-eyed watchman of Nur, given by Mr. Howorth in your number for July 1884 (p. 206) compare the following from Captain Playfair's "History of Arabia Felix."

"He informed Hassan Tobba (reigned in Yemen 237-250 A.D.) that he had a sister named Zerka-el-Yemama, married to one of the Jadisites, who was possessed of such a wonderful power of vision that she could distinguish objects at a distance of several days' journey; and recommended that each soldier should carry before him branches of trees to conceal the approach of the force. This advice was followed; but in spite of the precaution Zerka-el-Yemama descried the advancing army at a great distance; and informed the tribe that she saw a forest advancing, beyond which were the Himyarites. No heed was given to this warning, and when, a short time afterwards, she declared that she saw a soldier step out of the ranks to repair his sandal, she was laughed to scorn; and no preparations for defence being taken until it was too late, the Himyarites attacked and exterminated the Jadisites; only one escaped. Zerka-el-Yemama was taken, and deprived of sight. When her eyes were extracted, it was found that the eyeball was traversed with black fibres; and she avowed that she owed her wonderful eyesight to a salve of powdered antimony. It has been said that she was the first Arab female who employed *kohl* or collyrium. The province of Jân, the seat of the Jadisites, was subsequently called after her Yemama."

So far Captain Playfair, quoting Caussin de Percival, and I have seen the story somewhere else, with the remark that Zerka or Serca means "Blue-eyes" (?) Mr. Howorth's authority is apparently Petit de la Croix; but the original Arab story must have been carried up and localized at Nur by some professional story-teller; and afterwords laid hold of by De la Croix' authority.

Birnam Wood has certainly marched a good deal about the world in its day.

W. F. SINCLAIR.

THE PROVERBS OF ALI BIN TALEBI.

Translated by K. T. Best, M.A., M.R.A.S., Principal, Guzerat College.

Continued from p. 212.

153. Don't trust one who has no religion, nor be friendly with him who has no fidelity, nor associate with him who has no understanding, nor tell a secret to one who is not true.

154. Ask not from him whose refusal you fear.

155. Don't strive with one whom you cannot vanquish.

156. Promise nothing which you cannot give.

157. Have no dealings with him from whom you cannot expect justice.

158. Don't say all that you know, for there is enough of folly in it.

159. Don't repudiate a friend, though he may be ungrateful, nor believe an enemy though he thank you.

160. Don't disclose your secret to your wife or servant, for they will reduce you to slavery; do not exceed moderation in your desires and anger for they will disarm you.

161. Don't think little of an enemy though he may be weak.

162. Do nothing which may dishonour your reputation and good name.

163. Let not your desires reduce you to slavery, for God created you free.

164. Do not grieve for pardon granted to others, nor rejoice at punishment inflicted on them.

165. Do not associate too much with kings, for if you frequent their company for a long time they may get tired of you, and if you advise them they may treat you badly.

166. Don't associate with worldly people, for if you are poor they will despise you, but if rich they will envy you.

167. Don't rejoice over riches nor grieve over poverty and trials, for gold is tried in the fire and the pious man in afflictions.

168. Don't put the anxieties of a whole year into one day, let that which is appointed suffice for each day; for if you should live the whole year God will give on each to-morrow that which is destined, but if you should not live, what is the use of being anxious about what is not yours.

169. A wise man should address a fool as a doctor does a sick man.

170. There are four signs of failing fortune, viz. bad management, base profusion, little attention, and much sloth.

171. As there is no reward for your soul except Paradise, so don't sell it except for that Paradise.

172. Many men are tempted by ingenious words.

173. He who is contented with his own lot has enough.

174. He who sees and disapproves of the view of men and afterwards is himself pleased with them is very foolish indeed.

175 The glory of poverty is abstinence, the glory of riches is gratitude.

176. He who prolongs expectation spoils the work.

177. The value of a man is in proportion to his magnanimity.

178. His good actions determine the value of a man.

179. No one will go to Heaven whose inmost thoughts are not good and intentions sincere.

180. A wise man should be on his guard against the intoxication of riches and power and knowledge and praise, and the fervour of youth, for in all these there is an impure odour which takes away the understanding and lessens seriousness.

181. Do not sigh for the gifts of the world, for they are worthless.

182. A harsh reply arises from a harsh address.

183. Restrain your mind from doubtful things and from places of pernicious scandal.

184. He walks uprightly in whose heart and soul are faith and the fear of God.

185. How well acquiescence in the will of God drives away anxieties of the mind!

186. To give advice to men of rank exposes one to blows.

187. The sight of the eye does not profit when there is mental blindness.

BOOK NOTICE.

A CONCISE ENGLISH-PERSIAN DICTIONARY, by the late E. H. Palmer, M.A., and G. le Strange. Trübner & Co., London, 1883.

This is a posthumous work by the late Professor E. H. Palmer. The MS. left imperfect at his death has been completed and edited by Mr. G. le Strange. At the head of the work stands Prof. Palmer's Simplified Grammar of Persian published in 1882, to which the editor has added a useful list of the irregular verbs and a set of rules and tables for calculating the year of the Hijrah.

The Persian-English Dictionary, by Prof. Palmer, which was published in 1876, has been taken as the basis of the present. Those who have had occasion to use that volume must have remarked the freshness and individuality that stamped each page, and must at once have acknowledged that the work, in the choice and rendering of words and phrases, was the direct outcome of much study and much experience in teaching.

The expectations we had thus been led to entertain respecting the English-Persian part have been fully realised. In some cases we should perhaps have wished to see some other Persian equivalent, and in some few instances the addition of one or more synonyms; but in a work of such small compass much thought must have been given to deciding what equivalents to insert or omit. In the course of a careful examination we have been struck with the fine judgment and scholarly instinct evinced throughout. We have noted many words and phrases for which we should have to look in vain in other Dictionaries, and many of these are of extreme importance for colloquial purposes; while we have been particularly pleased with the manner in which the various shades of English verbs according to the preposition used have been reproduced in their Persian renderings.

We confidently commend this work to Students and Travellers. They will find it invaluable as containing the words and idioms essential alike for writing and conversation, and every one may fully trust to the material that has been supplied him by so accomplished an author.

In a postscript to the preface, the following curious instance of plagiarism is exposed:—In 1880 Sorabshaw Bayramji Doctor, published a small Persian-English Dictionary at Surat, which, while professing to be his own composition, is "no more than an incorrect reprint of Professor Palmer's Persian-English Dictionary." "Here and there some pages are so altered as to imply that they were borrowed elsewhere, but there is no mention of the work of Professor Palmer, from which has been copied at least nine-tenths, word for word, and in one passage an orthographical error has been ignorantly copied *verbatim et literatim* as is the manner displayed in the remainder of the work."

THE ZEND-AVESTA and the Religion of the Pârsîs, by J. MURRAY MITCHELL, M.A., LL.D. (London: Religious Tract Society, 1884).

Into this small tract of 62 pages 12mo. Dr. Murray Mitchell has contrived to condense a remarkably full and lucid account of the *Zend-Avesta* and of the principal religious tenets and practices of the Pârsîs. It is rare indeed to find in so short a space so much information set forth so clearly and with such elegance of style and accuracy of fact. The author, to much personal knowledge of the system he describes, has also brought to his task an acquaintance with the writings of the most recent continental students of the subject treated of, such as Haug, West, Spiegel, Roth, Hovelacque, de Harlez and Darmesteter. For its fulness and accuracy this tract may be heartily commended to all who desire a short, readable, and correct popular account of Pârsîism.

SANSKRIT AND OLD-CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo.C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

(Continued from p. 250.)

No. CL.

At pp. 119 to 124 above, I have published two grants, and noticed a third, of the Gâṅga *Mahârâja* Indravarmâ, dated respectively in the years 128, 146, and 91, of some unspecified era. In the course of my remarks on those grants, at page 120, I mentioned some rather later grants connected with these three. I now deal with these later grants.

The present grant[1] is another of those that were found together with the grant of Nandaprabhañjanavarmâ, No. CXXXVIII. pp. 48 ff. above, at 'Chicacole' in the 'Ganjam' District of the Madras Presidency, and were presented by Mr. Grahame to the Madras Museum. It was obtained by me, for the purpose of editing it, through the kindness of Mr. Sewell, C.S.

The grant consists of three plates, each about 7$\frac{5}{16}$" long by 2$\frac{3}{8}$" broad. The edges of the plates are here and there fashioned slightly thicker; but not so uniformly or in so marked a way as to show whether this was done intentionally, to serve as a raised rim to protect the writing. The inscription is in perfect preservation throughout. The ring, on which the plates are strung, is about $\frac{1}{4}$" thick and 3$\frac{3}{8}$" in diameter; it had not been cut when the grant came into my hands. The seal on the ring is oval, about 1$\frac{1}{16}$" by 1$\frac{3}{8}$"; and it has, in relief on the surface of the seal itself,—not, as is usually the case, on a countersunk surface,—the figure of a bull, *couchant* to the proper right, with the moon above it.[2] The weight of the three plates is 54$\frac{5}{8}$ tolas, and of the ring and seal, 19$\frac{7}{8}$ tolas,—total, 74$\frac{1}{2}$ tolas. The language is Sanskrit throughout; and the style agrees closely throughout with the style of the three grants of Indravarmâ mentioned above.

The order recorded in this inscription is issued, as in the three grants of Indravarmâ, from the victorious camp or residence situated at the city of Kaliṅganagara (line 2), by the glorious Dêvêndravarmadêva (l. 11),—who has had the stains of the Kali age removed by performing obeisance to the god Śiva under the name of Gôkarṇasvâmi (l. 4),[3] established on the pure summit of the mountain Mahêndra (l. 2);[4]—who is a most devout worshipper of the god Mahêśvara (ll. 9-10);—and who is the son of the *Mahârâja* Anantavarmadêva, the glory of the family of the Gaṅgas (ll. 10-11). It is addressed to the *Kuṭumbî*[5] residing at the village of Tâmarachheru in the Varâhavartanî *vishaya* (ll. 11-12),—evidently the same village with the Tâmaracheruva that is the subject of the grant of Indravarmâ of the year 128. The passage that follows is incorrect as it stands. But with the emendations that I have proposed in the text, it records that, on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun (l. 15), and after performing libations of water before Gôkarṇabhaṭṭâraka on the summit of the mountain Mahêndra (ll. 14-15), the said village of Tâmarachheru was given by Dêvêndravarmâ to three hundred Brâhmaṇs of the Vâjasanêya *charaṇa* (l. 13). The boundaries of the village are defined in lines 15 to 19; but this passage contains nothing of importance. Lines 19 to 22 contain two of the usual benedictive and imprecatory verses. In lines 22 and 23 there is given, in words, the date of the fifty-first year of the augmenting victorious reign of the Gâṅgêya lineage. And lines 23 and 24 record that the inscription was written or composed by the *Sâmanta* Nâgarâja, and was engraved by the *akshaśâli* Sarvadêva.

I have two other inscriptions, closely connected with the present one.—The first of them,[6] from the 'Vizagapatam' District, is issued from the city of Kaliṅganagara by the glorious Dêvêndravarmâ,—the supreme lord of the whole of Kaliṅga; the most devout worshipper of the god Mahêśvara; the ornament of the spotless family of the Gâṅgas; and the son of the glorious *Mahârâja* Anantavarmâ. It records the grant of some villages in the Dâvadâmadavaṁ *vishaya* by Dharmakhêdi, the

[1] No. 158 in Mr. Sewell's published List of Copper-plate grants. Noticed by me, *ante* Vol. X. p. 243, No. 4.

[2] Usually the sun and moon are both represented. We have another instance, in which the moon alone appears, in the seal of No. CXLIV. p. 137 above.

[3] See page 121 above, note 41.

[4] See page 121 above, note 42.

[5] See page 50 above, note 19.

[6] No. 93 in Mr. Sewell's published List of Copper-plate grants. Noticed by me, *ante* Vol. X. p. 243, No. 6.

maternal uncle of Dêvêndravarmâ. And it is dated, in words and figures, in the year 254 of some unspecified era, and on the first day of the first fortnight of the month Phâlguna. This inscription is in characters of the same type with those of the inscription now published in full, but at the same time considerably more archaic in form, and approaching in that respect far more closely to the characters of the grants of Indravarmâ.—The second of them[7] from 'Chicacole,' is issued from the city of Kaliṅganagara by the glorious Satyavarmadêva,—the supreme lord of the whole of Kaliṅga; the most devout worshipper of the god Mahêśvara; and the son of the glorious *Mahârâja* Dêvêndravarmâ, the ornament of the spotless family of the Gaṅgas. It records the grant, on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun, of the village of Târugrâma in the Galela *vishaya*. And, like the present grant now published in full, it is dated, in words, in the fifty-first year of the centuries of the Gâṅgêya lineage. This inscription is in characters of the South-Indian Nâgarî type, differing altogether from the characters of the grants of Indravarmâ and Dêvêndravarmâ.

These three grants of Dêvêndravarmâ and Satyavarmâ are shown, by the characters in which they are engraved, to be of later date than the three grants of Indravarmâ. Consequently, the fifty-first year, which is quoted in one of the grants of Dêvêndravarmâ and in the grant of his son Satyavarmâ, cannot be referred to the same epoch with the dates of 91, 128, and 146, of Indravarmâ. And, partly because of this, and partly because in each instance the year is mentioned without any specification of the month and the lunar day, I am inclined to look upon it as some conventional expression, which cannot be just now explained, and to consider that only the year 254, in connection with which we have the specification of both the month and the lunar day, is a correct date for Dêvêndravarmâ, and that it may be referred to the same era with the dates of Indravarmâ, whatever that era may be.

Dr. Burnell[8] has mentioned some inscriptions of the tenth century at Jayapura in the 'Ganjam' District, belonging to a dynasty which seems to have been established by fugitives of the Veṅgi family in the seventh century, and to have risen to power again for a time, with Kaliṅganagara as the capital, during the anarchy that existed from A.D. 977 to 1004. From these inscriptions he gives three names,—Jayavarmâ;—his son, Anantavarmâ, in A.D. 985;—and his son, Râjêndravarmâ. In my three inscriptions, Jayavarmâ is not mentioned; and we have the three names of Anantavarmâ;—his son, Dêvêndravarmâ;—and his son, Satyavarmâ. When I first noticed these inscriptions, I was inclined to identify the Anantavarmâ of the two sets, allotting to him two sons, Dêvêndravarmâ and Râjêndravarmâ. But, if Dr. Burnell's date of A.D. 985 for Anantavarmâ is correct,—which, however, I have no means of testing,—I do not now think that this can be done; for the date of Dêvêndravarmâ would thus be A.D. 1010; and then, referring the recorded date of the year 254 for Dêvêndravarmâ to the same era with the dates of 91, 128, and 146, for Indravarmâ, the result would be to bring the grants of Indravarmâ to a later period than is indicated by the palæographical standard of them. I have already suggested[9] that, on historical as well as palæographical grounds, Indravarmâ may be referred to about Śaka 579 to 582 (A.D. 657-58 to 660-61). Taking 136 as the mean between the two certain dates of Indravarmâ, and taking this as equivalent to Śaka 580,—this would bring Dêvêndravarmâ to about Śaka 696 (A.D. 774-75). And this is about the latest period to which, on palæographical grounds, his grant of the year 254 can be referred.

As regards the dynastic name used in these inscriptions,—in the three grants of Indravarmâ, it is written 'Gâṅga,' with the vowel of the first syllable long,—No. CXLII. l. 4, *ante* p. 121; No. CXLIII. l. 8, *ante* p. 123; and, as I have now satisfied myself by personal inspection of the original plates, in l. 5 of the 'Parla-Kimeḍi' grant.—In l. 8 of the grant of Dêvêndravarmâ of the year 254, the same form occurs, 'Gâṅga.'—In l. 13 of the grant of Satyavarmâ of the fifty-first year of the centuries of the Gâṅgêya lineage, the form that is used is 'Gaṅga,' with the vowel of the

[7] No. 159 in Mr. Sewell's published List of Copper-plate grants. Noticed by me, *ante* Vol. X. p. 243, No. 5.

[8] *South-Indian Palæography*, p. 53.

[9] *ante*, p. 120.

I.

IIa.

II b.

III

J. Burgess.

W. Griggs Photo-lith.

first syllable short, as in the present inscription. And the same form, 'Gaṅga,' is used in ll. 11-12 of the 'Vizagapatam' grant of Anantavarmâ, otherwise called Chôḍa-Gaṅgadêva, of Śaka 1003,[10] and in l. 57 of the 'Vizagapatam' grant of the same person of Śaka 1040,[11] and in ll. 7-8 of the 'Vizagapatam' grant of the same person of Śaka 1057.[12]—The origin of the name, as well as that of of 'Gâṅgêya-*vaṁśa*' or 'the Gâṅgêya lineage" which is used in the dates of the grants of Dêvêndravarmâ and Satyavarmâ, is professedly explained in ll. 16-19 of the grant of Śaka 1040 mentioned above. This passage occurs in the mythological genealogy, anterior to Vîrasiṁha, the alleged historical founder of the family. After mentioning Turvasu, the son of Yayâti, it proceeds,—

Aputratvaṁ prâptas=suchiram=atikhinnô
  nṛipa-vṛishas=
sa Gaṁgâm=ârâdhyâṁ niyata-gatiḥ=
  ârâdhya vara-dâṁ |
ajêyaṁ Gâṁgêyaṁ sutam=alabhat=
  ârabhya cha tadâ
kramas=tad-vaṁśyânâṁ bhuvi jayati
  Gaṁg-ânvaya iti ||

"Having attained the condition of being without sons, (*and*) being excessively distressed for a long time (*on that account*),—he, [Turvasu], the best of kings, practising self-restraint, propitiated (*the river*) Gaṅgâ, the bestower of boons, that is to be propitiated, and obtained a son, the unconquerable G â ṅ g ê y a ; and, commencing from that time, the succession of his descendants has been victorious in the world under the name of the lineage of the G a ṅ g â."

Transcription.[13]

First plate.

[1] Ôm Svasti Amara-pur-ânukâriṇa[ḥ*] sarv-a[r*]tu-sukha-ramaṇîyâd=vijaya-
[2] vata[ḥ*] Kaliṅgâ(ṅga)-nagar-âdhivâsakâ[t*] Mahêndr-âchal-âmala-śikhara-pratishṭhita-
[3] sya sacharâchara-gurô[ḥ*] sakala-bhuvana-nirmâṇ-aika-sûtradhârasya śaśâ-
[4] ṅka-chûḍâmaṇi(ṇê)r=bhagavatô Gôkarṇṇa-svâminaś=charaṇa-kamala-yuga-
[5] la-praṇâmâ[t*] vigata-Kali-kalaṅkô=nêk-âhava-saṁkshôbha-janita-ja-
[6] ya-śavda(bda)-pratâp-â[14]vanata-samasta-sâ[15]manta-chakra-chûḍâmaṇi-prabhâ-

Second plate ; first side.

[7] maṇja(ñja)rî-puṇja(ñja)-raṇji(ñji)ta-nija-nistriṅśa-dhâr- ôpârjita-vara-charaṇa-sita-kumuda-
  ku-
[8] nd-êndu-vadâta[16]-yaś[ô*]-dhvast-ârâti-kulâchalô naya-vinaya-dayâ-dâna-dâkshi-
[9] nya(ṇya)-śô(śau)ry-ô(au)dârya-satya-tyâg-âdi-guṇa-sampad-âdhâra-bhûtô(taḥ) parama-mâhê-
[10] śvarô mâtâpitru(tṛi)-pâd-ânudhyâtô Gaṅg-âmala-kula-tilaka-mahârâja-
[11] śrîmâ(mad-A)nantavarmadêva-sûnu[ḥ*] Śrî-Dêvêndravarmadêva[ḥ*] kuśali(lî) Varâ-
  havarta-
[12] nyâṁ(nî)-nâ[17]ma-vishayê Tâmarachheru-nâma-grâma-nivâsinaṁ kuṭumbinaṁ samâ-

Second plate ; second side.

[13] jṇâ(jñâ)payati Viditam=astu dbha(bha)vatâṁ grâmô=yaṁ Vâjasanêya-charaṇa-nâ-
[14] nâ-gôtra-vrâ(brâ)hmaṇa-śata-tray[âya*] Mahi(hê)ndra-śikharê Gôkarṇṇa-bhaṭṭârakê-
  (ka)m=u-
[15] daka-pûrvakaṁ kri(kṛi)tvâ sû[r*]ya-grah-ôparâge dataṁ[18] [||*] Atra si(sî)mâ-liṅgâ-
[16] ni bhavanti pûrvasyâṁ diśi pa(va)na-râjikâ vara-vadhu(dhû)-pâshâṇa[ḥ*] pû(pu)-
[17] na[ḥ*] vana-râjikâ dakshiṇasyâṁ diśi vana-râjikâ Tentalî puna[ḥ*] vana-râjikâ
[18] paśchimasyâṁ diśiṁ[19] vana-râjikâ vâ(va)lmîka[ṁ*] ut[t*]arasyâ[ṁ*] diśiṁ[20] vana-
  râj[i*]kâ

[10] No. 212 in Mr. Sewell's published List of Copper-plate grants.
[11] *id.* No. 219.
[12] *id.* No. 213.
[13] From the original plates.
[14] First *prâ* was engraved, and then it was corrected into *pâ* by partial erasure of the subscript *r*.
[15] First *ma* was engraved, and then it was partially erased and *sâ* was engraved over it.
[16] Correct into *kund-êndv-avadâta*.
[17] Here, and in some instances further on, we have a form of *n* which is entirely different from that which is used in the earlier part of the inscription.
[18] Correct into *dattaḥ*.
[19] This *anusvâra* is a mistake.
[20] This *anusvâra*, again, is a mistake.

Third plate.

[19] pâshâṇa[ḥ*] [||*] A[21]tra Vyâsa-gîtâni kathyaṁtê [|*] Va(ba)hubhir=vasudhâ dagâ(ttâ) râjanai(bhi)[ḥ*] Saga-

[20] r-âdibhi[ḥ*] yasya yasya yadâ bhûmi[ḥ*] tasya tasya tadâ phalaṁ [||*] Sva-da-

[21] t[t*]âṁ para-dat[t*]âm=vâ yô harêti(ta) vasuṁdhârâṁ sva(śva)-vishṭhâyâṁ krimir=bhûtvâ pi-

[22] tu(tri)bhi[ḥ*] saha pachyati(tê) [||*] Gâṅgêya-vaṁśa-pravardhamâna-vijaya-

[23] râjya-saṁvatsaram=êka-panchâ(ñchâ)śa[t*] êvaṁ [||*] Likhitaṁ Nâgarâja-

[24] Śrî-sâmantêna [|*] utkîrṇṇaṁ ch=âkshaśâlinâ Sarvadêvên=êti ||

PAPERS ON ŚATRUÑJAYA AND THE JAINAS.

BY J. BURGESS, LL.D., EDITOR.

(*Continued from p. 196.*)

VII.—GACHCHHAS, ŚRÎPUJYAS, YATIS, NUNS, &c.

1. *The Jaina Gachchhas or Castes.*

The Jaina *Gachchas* are 84 in number, but only 8 of them now exist in Gujarât:—Viśâ Usva, Daśâ Usva, Viśâ Srîmâli, Daśâ Srîmâli, Viśâ Pûrva, Daśâ Pûrva, Viśâ Mâru, and Daśâ Mâru. In Kâthiâwâḍ the Viśâ Gachchhas intermarry with the Daśâ Gachchhas; but in Aḥmadâbâd Viśâs marry only with Viśâs, and Daśâs only with Daśâs. Each caste has its own Dêvî or goddess. There are also two goddesses for each family—a *Jñâtidêvî* or caste goddess, always worshipped in the houses, and a *Kuladêvî* or family goddess, worshipped in separate temples; sometimes these latter goddesses are also placed in the temples of the Tîrthaṁkaras.

The *Kuladêvî* or family goddess of the Viśâ Uśvas is U s h â d ê v î, seen on the right-hand side of the entrance of Haṭṭising's temple at Aḥmadâbâd.

Every Tîrthaṁkara has two female attendant spirits, one a *Dêvî*, and the other a *Yakshî* or *Yakshaṇî*. To each also a sacred tree (*vṛiksha*) is assigned, and a *Yaksha*. The following is a list of the *vṛikshas*, *yakshas* and *yakshaṇîs* belonging to the several Tîrthaṁkaras[1] :—

Tîrthaṁkara.	*Vṛiksha.*	*Yaksha.*	*Yakshaṇî.*
1. Ṛishabhanâtha.	Vaṭa.	Gômukha.	Chakrêśvarî.
2. Ajitanâtha.	Śâla.	Mahâyaksha.	Ajitabalâ
3. Sambhavanâtha.	Prayâla.	Trimukha.	Duritârî.
4. Abhinandanâtha.	Priyaṅgu.	Nâyaka.	Kâlikâ.
5. Sumatinâtha.	Sâla.	Tumburu.	Mahâkâlî.
6. Padmaprabhanâtha.	Chhatra.	Kusuma.	Śyâmâ.
7. Śupârśvanâtha.	Śirîsha.	Mataṅga.	Śântâ.
8. Chandraprabhanâtha.	Nâga.	Vijaya.	Bhṛikuti.
9. Subuddhi or Pushpa dantânatha.	Sâlî	Ajita.	Sutârakâ.
10. Sîtalanâtha.	Priyaṅgu.	Brahmayaksha.	Aśôkâ.
11. Śreyâṁśanâtha.	Nanduka.	Yakshêta.	Mânavî.
12. Vâsapûjyanâtha.	Paṭala.	Kumâra.	Chaṇḍâ.
13. Vimalanâtha.	Jâmbu.	Shaṇmukha.	Viditâ.
14. Anantanâtha.	Aśôka.	Pâtâla.	Aṅkuśâ.
15. Dharmanâtha.	Dadhîparṇa.	Kiṁnara.	Kandarpâ.
16. Śântinâtha.	Nandi.	Garuḍa.	Nirvâṇî.
17. Kunthunâtha.	Bhilaka.	Gandharva.	Balâ.
18. Ara or Arhanâtha.	Ambâ.	Yakshêṭa.	Dhâriṇî.
19. Mallinâtha.	Aśôka.	Kubêra.	Dharanapriyâ.
20. Munisuvratanâtha.	Champaka.	Varuṇa.	Naradattâ.
21. Naminâtha or Niminâtha.	Vakula.	Bhṛikuti.	Gândhârî.
22. Nêminâtha.	Vêṭasa.	Gômêdha.	Ambîkâ.
23. Pârśvanâtha.	Dhâtakî.	Pârśvayaksha.	Padmâvatî.
24. Mahâvîra or Vardhamâna.	Śâla.	Mâtaṅga.	Siddhâyikâ.

[21] Here we have a form of *a* which is entirely different from that which is used in lines 1 and 15.

[1] For these and other details, See *Ratnasâra*, bhâg. 2pp. 706ff.

Sarasvatî is called the *Śâsanadêvî* of all the Tîrthaṁkaras.

2. *Śrîpûjyas.*

Every *Gachchha* has a *Śrîpûjya* or head priest. For those Gachchhas which exist only in name there are no Srîpûjyas; but all existing Gachchhas have head priests. These are appointed by the previous Śrîpûjya during his life-time, or in case this is not done, he is appointed by the Śrâvakas. Formerly only Saṁvêgis were chosen as Śrîpûjyas. But the office now-a-days carries much pomp with it, the head priest having a regular establishment of horses, attendants, &c. For this the Saṁvêgis despise the office, and now only Jatis are chosen to the position. The duties of a Śrîpûjya are to buy Brâhmaṇ boys, and instruct them in the Jaina religion, rearing them as Jatis, and to send them to preach the Jaina religion to the public. These Śrîpûjyas themselves go in circuit, discourse with the Śrâvakas, and convert people.

3. *Saṁvêgis and Yatis.*

The *Yatis* or *Jatis* are ascetics or devotees, analogous to the Brâhmaṇa Sannyâsis. There are two classes of these among the Jainas—*Saṁvêgis* and *Jatis*.

Saṁvêgis are Śrâvakas or born Jainas, who, in old age, or at any time they like, renounce the world and become Saṁvêgis. They do not receive ordination, as the Jatis do, from their Śrîpûjya or head priest. They themselves become so at their pleasure. The Saṁvêgi is initiated thus:—He is conducted out of the town by crowds of Śrâvakas with music and joy; he is placed beneath a tree having milky juice, generally the Baniyan, Vaḍ or *Ficus Indica*, and there, surrounded by a circle composed exclusively of Saṁvêgis, who pull out the hairs of his locks in five pulls;[2] applying camphor, musk, sandal, saffron, and sugar to the place. He is next stripped naked and placed before another Saṁvêgi who pronounces this *mantra* in his ear:—

करोमि भंतेसाभाइयं, सावज्जं जोगं पच्चखामि जाव (जीवेण तिविहेण तिविहेण) मणेणं वायाए, काएणं न करोमि, न कारवेमि तस्स भंते पडिकमामि, निदामि गरिहामि, अप्पाणं वासिरामि, इति ॥[3]

These Saṁvêgis avoid all pomp, live on alms, put on dyed clothes, have no fixed dwelling places, but wander about the country, preaching to the public about the Jaina religion and making converts.

After becoming Saṁvêgis, they pull out hair from their heads in five locks also once a year, on the day of *Chhavachchari*; and they may do so at any other time they choose. These Saṁvêgis are the only Jaina Sannyâsis in the true sense of the word.

The second class—*Jatis*, are more numerous than the former. The Jatis are sometimes the children of Wâṇiyas or Kuṇbis, who often devote them from their infancy; now-a-days the children of poor Brâhmaṇs are bought largely for this purpose; and occasionally they are dedicated in consequence of vows made by Wâṇiyas without children, who promise their first-born to their Śrîpûjya or high priest, in hopes of obtaining further posterity. Whilst young the Jati is placed under a Guru, for whom he performs many domestic services. At a proper age he is initiated in the same way as the Saṁvêgi, only his hair is not pulled out in five locks. His Guru takes only five hairs for form's sake, and his head is afterwards clean shaved. Instead of a Saṁvêgi, his Guru pronounces the initiation *mantra* in his ear. He then receives the cloth of a Jati—a pure white cloth (Guj. *chaloṭa*, Sans., *chîvarâ*)—of a yard and a half for his loins, one of two and a half yards for his head, a *kambali* (Sans. *kambala*) or country blanket for his body, a *tripuṇi* or waterpot, a plate or *pâtra* for his victuals, a cloth to tie them up in, a black rod (*daṇḍa*) to guard himself from hurt but not to injure others, and a *rajuharaṇa* or besom (Guj. *ôgha*), to sweep the ground with. He does not return to his Guru's residence till the next day. He lives on charity, and procures his food ready dressed from the houses of Śrâvakas, Brâhmaṇas or others. He may purchase dressed food, but may not dress it for himself; he must not eat or drink while the sun is below the horizon; he must abstain from all roots, as yams, onions, &c., and from butter and honey (*mâvighu*, *madhu*, *makha*, and *mad*). The Jatis wear loose clothing, with their heads bare, and their hair and beards clipped; and

[2] In the *Parśvanâtha Charita*, Pârśvanâtha is described as tearing five handfuls of hair from his head on becoming a devotee. Conf. Delamaine, *Trans. Roy. Asiat. Soc.* vol. I, p. 433.

[3] This same *mantra*, except the part enclosed in brackets, is repeated daily by every Śrávaka before beginning his prayers. For the bracketed portion he substitutes—निअमं, पज्जुवसामि, दुविहंतिविहेण ॥

they ought never to bathe; but now-a-days they do so. Sometimes they live together in *pôsalas* (*pôsâdaśâlas*), and ever after a Jati has left one of these, he yields a sort of allegiance to the Guruji or head of the Pôsala.

The Jatis are not Sannyâsis in the real sense of the word. They are fond of pomps, silver and bronze vessels, and cloths with ornamental borders. Many of the Jatis are traders, and always carry money with them. They neglect *pûja;* though it is their duty to read and expound the Jaina *Śâstras* to the Śrâvakas at the temples, they never perform any of the religious ceremonies. Some Jatis have concubines, whom they seclude in villages, but do not bring into the larger towns. Morally they are not a good lot.

4. *The Girṇîs.*

Girṇîs or *Sâdhvîs* are the nuns of the Jainas. A girl, according to their *Smṛitis*, must at least have attained the age of nine to become a Girṇî; but practically the age at which they become nuns is between 15 and 17. They become Girṇîs with the permission of their guardians; if married the woman must obtain the permission of her husband, in which case the latter can marry again; but these rules are not always observed. Thus a girl, a married woman, as well as a widow, may become a Sâdhvî. If once she becomes a nun, she must continue so throughout life.

The place where the nuns live is called an *Upâsara.* According to the *Śâstras* not less than three nuns must occupy an Upâsara; but when there are only two nuns, the rule is not considered broken. There is a head nun in every Upâsara, called the *Pravartinî.* She is appointed by the Âchârya. One of the Girṇîs is chosen to that post on the ground either of long residence in the Upâsara, or of learning, or of austerity. The Girṇî appointed *Pravartinî* on account of her learning is called *Sutathavirâ*, (Sans. *Śrutasthavirâ*); if on account of age, *Vayathavirâ*; if on account of austerity, *Tapathavirâ.* The Girṇîs wear four cloths, an outer one called *kapaḍa*, a nether cloth called *sâḍa*, a *laṅgya* or *laṅgôṭhi*, and a *chauli* or bodice. *Kambalas*, or woollen blankets, and *âsanas* they carry for covering themselves and sitting upon. They also carry a stick called *daṇḍa* or *daṇḍo.*

When they go out they wear a *mohopti* (Sans. *mukhagupti*), or mouth-band. They perform *Pratikramaṇa*, or the repetition of prayers twice a day; go and listen to the Âchâryas discourses; examine their clothes twice a day, and carefully remove any vermin. This is called *Padilihaṇa.* When one of them perceives an insect she must not blow it out, lest it die, but remove it carefully, so as not to endanger its life. This they do before cowries called *Âchârya-sthâpanas* (or acting Âchâryas). They beg their meals, and may not cook,—for touching fire is strictly prohibited. The five elements are supposed to have life, and fire being an element has also life. Hence the objection to touch it.

When going to beg they carry three or five vessels placed in a wallet hung round the wrist. A cloth, folded more or less, according to the season, is thrown over the wallet. This cloth is called *Palla*; in summer it is folded into two, in the dewy season into four, and in the rainy season into five. They beg every day, except on fast days. In Aḥmadâbâd they beg only from Śrâvakas' houses. In Northern India at any house. They receive hot water cooled from Śrâvakas for their drink. If anything is left after their meals, they mix it in sand, in order that it may not rot and breed insects.

Their bed is called *Santara.* It is made either of straw or a *kambala.* In the rainy season they sleep on planks. Their night is divided into three parts, *yâmas* or watches. In the first watch they talk with the Śrâvikâs. In the second *yâma* they sleep; and in the third *yâma* self-contemplation or *Sajyâdhâna* (Sans. *Savâdhyayana dhyâna*) is performed. This however is very rarely done, except by the most learned; but in place of it they devote themselves to the recollection of what was taught them the previous day by the Âchârya.

5. *The Eternal Tîrthaṁkaras.*

Like the *Chiraṁjîvis*, or eternal existing sages of the Brâhmaṇa religion, the Jainas also believe in *Śâsvata* or eternal Tîrthaṁkaras. But while the Hindus have seven the Jainas have only four. Their names are :—

1. रिखभानन्द Rikhabhânanda.
2. चन्द्रानन्द Chandrânanda.
3. वारिखेण Vârikhêṇa.

and 4. वर्धमान Vardhamâna.

6. *Pârśvanâtha and Kamaṭha.*

K a m a ṭ h a, a sage, was practising austerities between the *Pañchâgni* or five fires, on the banks of the Ganges at Bânâras, when P â r s v a n â t h a went to visit him. Pârśvanâtha by his *Avadhijñâna*,* perceived a serpent half-burnt in the flames. He took out the log in which it was, and pronounced one *naukâra* over it. The serpent died at once, and became D h a r a ṇ î n d r a of P â t â l a Kamaṭha by his austerities became M ê g h a m â l â (cloud-garland). The rescue of the serpent by Pârśvanâtha displeased Kamaṭha, and when Pârśvanâtha was engaged in the *kausagya* meditation, Kamaṭha in the form of Mêghamâlâ, raised a fierce wind, with rain and hail. The flood reached to his nostrils. Dharaṇîndra, in remembrance of Pârśvanâtha's previous favour, came and over-canopied his patron's head with his sevenfold hood. The goddess P a d m â v a t i took the form of a lotus, and raised Pârśvanâtha up to the surface of the water. Dharaṇîndra assumed also a different shape and drove Mêghamâlâ away. The difficulty was thus removed, and Pârśvanâtha reached *Kêvalajñâna*, when Kamaṭha came to him, and confessed his sin. He was pardoned, and afterwards became a Jaina.

This legend resembles that of the temptation of Buddha by Mâra. It is often represented in the Jaina Caves of Elura.[5]

7. *Ômkâra and Hrîṁkâra.*

The *Ôṁkâra* or the syllable *Ôṁ* among the Jainas, they regard as made up of five separate letters, *a*+*â*+*s*+*u*+*ṁ*,—these being the initial letters of the five sacred orders among them ;—*A* is *Arhat*; *Â*, *Âchârya*; *S*, *Siddha* ; *U*, *Upâdhyâya*; and *M*, *Muni*. The sandhi by which they get *ôṁ* is *a*+*â* = *â*, *â*+*s* = *âḥ*; *âḥ*+*u* = *ô*, *o*+*ṁ* = *ôṁ*. Thus *ôṁ* is obtained without reference to the fact that *aḥ*+*u* can never become *ô*. Some substitute another *a* in place of *s*, and explain it as the initial letter of *Aśarîra*, a synonym of *Siddha*.

Hrîṁkâra is a symbol, belonging to Pârśvanâtha. *Hrî* is composed of the three letters *ha*, *ra*, and *i*, *ha* meaning Pârśvanâtha, *ra*—Dharaṇîndra,[6] and *î*—Padmâvatî.

These syllables or symbols are often represented in coloured marbles inserted in the walls of the maṇḍapas of their temples. On the lines of the symbol are carved small figures in rock crystal and yellow and black stone of their saints. The symbols are thus written—

ॐ and ह्रीं

On the dot of the *Ôṁ*, which is of black marble is a figure of an Arihant ; on the crescent, of yellow stone, is the Âchârya ; on the upper bar, of dark red stone, is the Siddha ; on the second bar, of yellow stone, is the Upâdhya ; and on the lower turn of the symbol, of black marble, is the Muni.

On the *Hrîṁkâra* symbol, the whole twenty-four Tîrthaṁkaras are represented in their appropriate colours. Thus on the *anusvâra* are two small squatted figures in black ; on the yellow lunule are two in white ; on the upper horizontal stroke are two in red ; on the next two bars are six each and one at the curve on the left, all yellow ; on the short horizontal stroke of the *r* is one, another at its junction with the downstroke, and a third in line with these two on the downstroke of the *h* ; and lastly there is one on the vertical stroke of the *i*, opposite the upper bar, and another opposite the lower horizontal stroke of the *h* ;—in all twenty-four.

Among the Hindûs, the syllable *Ôṁ* is the *bîjâkshara*, or mystical symbol for Brahma ; *Hrâṁ* and *Hrâṁ* for Śaktî ; and *Glâṁ* for Gaṇapati.

I have just received from Dr. S. W. Bushell, of Pekin, a sketch of a Chinese copper medal, a little over 3 inches in diameter, with a foursided figure, filling the centre, the sides slightly curved inwards, and on each side of this a Sanskrit symbol ; that above is *Ôṁ* ; and below is *Hrîṁ*, to the right is *Hrîḥ* ; and to the left *Grâḥ*. The accompanying representation shows the position and forms of the symbols on the medal :—



* There are three kinds of *Jñâna*, or knowledge, according to the Jains—*Matijñâna*, or common knowledge ; *Srutijñâna*, or book knowledge ; and *Avadhijñâna*, or foreknowledge. The latter is said to be the special possession of Tîrthaṁkaras.

[5] See *Cave Temples*, p. 496, and pl. lxxxvi.

[6] For these names see preceding note on Pârsvanâtha.

The same syllables appear on both sides of the medal, and Dr. Bushell thinks it is probably Buddhist; and this can hardly be doubted. It is well known that the Buddhists, like the Hindûs and Jainas, attach importance to these mystic syllables. A full explanation of them would be most interesting.

Paṇḍit Bhagwânlâl Indraji, Ph.D., suggests that it is a *yantra* of the Tantric Bauddha system, the four characters *Ôm, hrâṁ, hrîṁ, hruṁ* representing the four Jñâna Buddhas usually figured on the four sides of a *stûpa*, the fifth (Viarôchana) being supposed to occupy the centre, and as he is unrepresented on the stûpas, so the symbol *hraḥ* is omitted on the medal. He reads the syllables on it *grâṁ, hrîṁ, hruṁ, hriḥ*, and supposes the first to be a mistake for *hrâm*, which is the usual syllable.

The medal may belong to about the eleventh century A.D.

8. *Jalajâtra.*

Jalajâtra or the water festival, is performed on one of the three following occasions:—(1), at the consecration of a new Tîrthaṁkara; (2), at the putting up of a new *dhvajasthamba*; and (3), on the prevalence of a plague. The main ceremony of the festival is to bring water to bathe the Tîrthaṁkara.

On the day previous to the *Jâtra* 108 pits are made in the sandy bed of a sacred river or near a tank; the water of the river or tank is made to flow into these holes. On the *Jâtra* day a procession starts from the place where the Tîrthaṁkara is to be bathed, to the river or tank. Men and women in their gayest dresses, the former wearing red *pagaḍis*, with children seated on richly caparisoned horses to adorn the procession, go to the river with a large pot. Into this pot water from each of the 108 pits is poured. With music and in procession the pot is brought to the place from which the procession started. Then 108 married females with 108 small *kalaśas* come and receive, each in her *kalaśa*, a part of the water from the large pot. These 108 small *kalaśas* are used in performing the *Abhishêka* of the Tîrthaṁkara that is to be consecrated, or to the already consecrated Tîrthaṁkara if the *Jâtra* is performed in honour of the putting up of a new *dhvajásthamba*, or to avert a plague. Ceremonies are also performed by the priests, accompanied with *mantras* in the Maṇḍapa of the temple.

VIII.—JAINA MARRIAGE.

Among Jainas, as among Brâhmaṇs, it is strictly prescribed that girls should be betrothed before puberty. The average age at which they are thus given away is about ten years.

On the day previous to that fixed for the marriage, the parents or other near relatives of the bride and bridegroom invite their friends, and on the morning of the marriage-day a band of married women, mostly the relatives of the bride, start from her house. One woman heads the procession, carrying in her hand a brass tray containing one cocoanut (*śrîphala*), seven betelnuts, seven dried dates (*karjûra*), and a wooden cup containing *kuṅkuma*. She takes this tray on her left shoulder supporting it on her hand; over the right shoulder she lays a new *sâḍi*, called *ghâṭaḍi*. The party thus headed and with music playing before, go to a potter's, where the leading woman makes a *tilaka* mark on his forehead, and takes from him the earthen vessels required for the marriage ceremonies. The vessels commonly taken are seven *varaguḍis* or small painted pots, seven *râmapâtras* or cups, one *maṭli* or big pot for the *Ganêśabesôdava* or setting up of Gaṇapati. The party then returns to the house of the bride, and is received by a lady of the house. The latter meets them with *kuṅkuma* and *akshatâḥ* in her hand, marks the forehead of the head-woman, and receives them all into the house. This reception is called *vadhâvu*.

Next comes a Brâhmaṇ priest to perform the ceremony called *Gaṇapatipûjâ*. A square spot is already chosen for it in the house where the *maṭli* or big pot brought from the potter is placed by the Brâhmaṇ. A square cloth is tied up as a canopy over the place. Two small earthenware cups perforated in the bottoms which are placed against one another, are suspended by a string under the middle of this square cloth, and four cords attach it to the corners of the cloth. This is called the tying of the *ṭaṇi*. At the corners are also fastened two dried seeds, one of *miṇḍhal* and the other of *maiḍâśaṅg*.[1] Into the *maṭli* or big

[1] *Mindhal* (in Sans. *Madana*; Marâṭhî *Gelaphala*), is the fruit of the *Randia dumetorum* (Lam), and is also used in medicine as an emetic. *Maiḍâsang* (Sans. *Avartani*; Marâṭhî, *Muruḍaśeṅga*), is the twisted pod of the *Helicteres Isora* (Linn), which is also used medicinally. See Dymock's *Materia Medica of Western India*, pp. 338, & 91.

pot placed below, the Brâhmaṇ puts *akshatâḥ* of *yava* (rice), betel nut, money, *karjûra* (dried dates), *kamalakâkaḍi* (dried lotus seed), and a red cotton string. The meaning of this is not known. The Brâhmaṇ priest repeats some *mantras* or *ślôkas* at his pleasure. At the end he repeats the Sanskṛit *mantra*:—

सुमुहूर्त्ते, सुलग्नं, शिवं कल्याणं, आरोग्यं, निर्व्वि-घ्नेन शुभं भवतु

meaning, "May the marriage end happily without any obstruction in an auspicious *muhûrta*, *lagna*, conferring happiness and health on the pair."

This *mantra* is repeated after every rite connected with the marriage, and is, in fact, the only *mantra* known to the Jainas proper. The other *mantras* the Brâhmaṇ priest repeats at his pleasure. He then receives a *dakshiṇâ* or fee. Here ends the *Gaṇapatipûjâ*. The visit to the Kumbhâra and the *Gaṇêśapûjâ* are also performed by the bridegroom's party at his house.

After this *pûjâ* the setting up of the *Mâṇikya-stambha*, which answers to the *Muhûrtta-stambha* of the Brâhmaṇs takes place. In the latter case the *Muhûrttastambha* is planted several days or even a month before the marriage; but among the Jainas the *Mâṇik thamb* is only placed on the morning of the marriage. To a log of a cubit's length of the *Khadira* tree (*Acacia catechu*), is tied a *miṇḍhal* seed and betel leaf, by a red cotton string, technically called *nâḍu*; this is placed on the right side of the house with the same *mantra*, *Sumuhûrttam* &c., as before. The priest then leaves, having received his *dakshiṇâ*.

Two *Pâṇḍiṇîs*—wives of Pâṇḍis, a class of inferior Brâhmaṇs among the Jainas, similar to the Bhôjaks—are then sent from the bride's house with two large pots, one containing butter and the other milk, with silk cloths tied over their mouths. The quantity of milk and butter sent depends on the wealth of the bride's father. The *Pâṇḍiṇîs* go with their pots to the bridegroom's house, and place them before him. All these ceremonies take place in the morning.

Before the noon meals begin a woman, often a relative of the bridegroom, leaves his house, taking a pair of silver anklets of the Mârvâḍi form, puts them on the bride, and takes her to the house of the bridegroom. But when they are not related this latter visit is not paid.

After putting on the anklets a lady goes from the bride's house with a large bambu basket containing odd numbers of all the sweetmeats, cakes, &c., prepared for the guests. She also carries with her a vessel containing milk and sugar (Guj. *Kalvâpirasro*), one bronze tray containing scented powder, one *vâkḍi* or vessel full of *ghî*, and a *kâmsiyô* or brass spoon for dipping out the *ghî*. A brass stool is placed for the bridegroom, who is made to sit on it. Before him the lady places all that she brings with a certain amount of money, which, again varies according to the circumstances of the bride's father. The lady, after doing this, returns to the bride's house. The meaning of this they do not seem to know; perhaps, as among the Brâhmaṇs, it is merely an invitation to meals given to the bridegroom.

Then the mid-day meal is eaten. Later in the afternoon the bridegroom's procession takes place. He is dressed in a *jama* or rich gold-cloth, covering his whole person, an *uttarâsana* or upper garment made of gold-cloth, a *śêlu* or cloth worn in the form of a *Yajñôpavîta*, a *chiśô* or head-dress of the Surati fashion, and a veil of gold-thread called *âchchhâb*. His shoes are also of gold-cloth. Thus dressed he mounts a horse richly caparisioned, and rides slowly through the bazâr to the bride's house. His relatives and friends and the guests invited, male and female, go in advance of him, with music playing before. The females sing as they proceed. With these rejoicings they reach the bride's house, where they are received and seated. Then *śrîphalas* or cocoanuts are distributed to all invited. To married men and the rich two *śrîphalas* are given to each. To bachelors only one. In case of a scarcity of cocoanuts, three *paisa* are given in place of each cocoanut; but if possible cocoanuts alone are given to males. At this point the guests if they chose may leave, but the relatives on both sides remain.

In the court-yard of the house a spot has been already chosen where the Jôshi Brâhmaṇ or priest prepares the *chauki* or square for the pair to sit in. Three bambu posts are planted at each corner of it, and it is canopied by a cloth; between the three posts in the corner

are placed seven *mâṭlis* or large pots. They are put one over the other, and tied with cotton thread to the poles. Thus there are in all twenty-eight vessels at the four corners. Rich men use copper and sometimes even silver vessels; but the poorer earthenware ones.

The bridegroom is now received in the porch of the bride's house by a lady relation of the latter having a pestle, yoke, churning stick, and spindle (*dhûsar, mûsar, ravaîyô* and *trâk*). Each is covered in a part of the *ghâṭaḍi* cloth, and waved before the bridegroom. She puts a *kuṁkuma tilaka* and *vrîhi* or unhusked rice on his forehead. Four small balls of cooked rice and ashes are tied in four bits of cloth waved before the bridegroom thrice, and thrown on the ground, two before and two behind, to avert the evil eye. Two cups placed mouth to mouth (*sampuṭ*) and tied with a red cotton thread are placed in the middle of the threshold. The bridegroom must place his foot on the cups, and break them before entering. He then goes into the house.

Next the pair come and sit in the *chauki*, the bridegroom on a brass stool set for him, and on his left upon another sits the bride; on his right is the Jôshi Brâhmaṇ. First the ceremony of *hastamêla* or joining of hands is performed—the right palm of the bridegroom being placed over the left hand of the bride, with the *mantra—Sumuhûrttam, sulagnam*, &c. A *maṅgalasûtra* technically called *varamâlâ*, is next tied by the Brâhmaṇ round the necks of the bridegroom and the bride. This ends the *hastamêla* ceremony.

The *Kuladêvatâpûjâ* or worship of the family goddess follows. It is also called *Mâyîpûjâ*. A *mâṭli* or large pot is placed, in which the Brâhmaṇ places *akshatâḥ*, betel leaves, *phala*, or fruit. A lighted lamp is also placed in the pot, and the bridegroom is asked tc put in some rupees, which he does according to his means. *Naivêdya* or food is offered before the goddess. The food prepared for the guests is always used for this *naivêdya*. And the quantity here varies according to the supposed taste of the goddess.

The bride and the bridegroom next come to the square (*chauka*) in the court, and sit facing the east. The priest orders the father of the bride to bring a pestle and mortar, a bambu basket, and a lighted lamp suspended on a chain. He bids the pair walk four times round the fire, which has been lighted in front of them. They then hold their hands in the *hastamêla* position. The brother or some relation of the bride fills the cavity between the hands with *akshatâḥ*, which the pair throw on the east side of the fire. During this act certain *ślokas*, especially from the *maṅgalâshṭaka*, are repeated.

Then a lady, often a relative of the bride's, now brings a large brass stool called *bhâjat*, and places it before the pair. A *thâli* or vessel with water is set on it. She puts *kausâr* or sweetmeat made of wheat-flour also upon it. The woman who carried the *ghâṭadi* on the bride's part in the morning comes and serves some of the sweetmeat in a dish. The pair pretend to eat, after which the woman washes the hands of the bridegroom and retires. As she does so the bridegroom catches hold of her cloth and demands money which is given by the relatives of the woman, according to their means. Then the *Kuladêvî* is again worshipped as before inside the house. At this time the *sûtra*, or red marriage thread, is tied round the wrist of the bridegroom, and over the bracelet of the bride. A *ghâṭ* (*sâḍi*) is placed on the head of the bride by the woman that carried the *ghâṭadi* of the bridegroom in the morning. The bridegroom now goes out, leaving the bride, who pays respect to all her relatives and receives their blessings. She goes into the inner apartments and changes her clothes, and the bridegroom then returns, and demands his wife, and leading her out enters a palanquin, when the procession marches to the bridegroom's house. There they are received with salt and water waved before them by a lady of the house. Here the *maṅgalasûtra* tied on the neck of the bridegroom is taken off by the Brâhmaṇ priest, that tied on the bride's neck being left.

MÂTṚIGAYÂ AT SIDDHAPURÎ.

BY PAṆḌIT S. M. NÂṬEŚA ŚÂSTRÎ.

The sacred town of Siddhapur or Siddhapurî is in the North of Gujarât. It is within the Barôdâ territory, and is connected with that city by the B. B. and C. I. Railway.

Numerous Hindu pilgrims frequent it to perform their *Mâtṛigayâ Śrâddha*. This ceremony is attended to by every Hindu to satisfy the departed spirit of his mother. Of course only those who have lost their mothers perform the *gayâ*; those who have lost their fathers have to perform a corresponding ceremony at Prayâga, or Allahâbâd. In the latter case a pilgrimage to Bânâras or Vârâṇasî is compulsory. One should go there, bathe in the Ganges, and then proceed to Prayâga to perform the *Pitṛigayâ*; but for the *Mâtṛigayâ* ceremony a pilgrimage to Vârâṇasî is not necessary. He should go direct to Siddhapurî, and there perform his mother's *gayâ*.

The following is a brief description of the ceremony:—When a pilgrim wishing to perform the *gayâ* arrives at the station, several *purôhits*, who call themselves *Tîrthâdhikâris* or *persons* having the (*sole*) authority over the place, receive him. Each priest brings an old moth-eaten note-book in which are written the names and designations, the village and district of all former visitors. That priest in whose note-book any trace of visitors related to the person in question is found has the sole right to officiate as head priest or *guru* to the pilgrim, who is then called his *śishya*. The mere fact that the present *śishya* belongs to the same village or district from which a former *śishya* came is caught at and given as an authority for taking up the duty of officiating priest to him. When this is once settled, the other priests finding that they have lost their game slowly return home with faces in which one may perceive an expression of dissatisfaction. The *guru* then lets loose all his formal phrases of hospitality. "This house is yours. What do you want? What do you want?

"ह घर तुंसा—काय पाहिजे—काय पाहिजे."

The *śishya* is lodged in part of the *guru's* house, or in a separate house, as he likes. The priest himself supplies all the requisite vessels, provisions, &c., of course, expecting payment for everything in the end. The only article for which the *guru* hesitates to take the price, and even refuses, is *takra*, or butter-milk, or *chách*, as it is commonly known in Hindustâni.

When the pilgrim is not an official, or otherwise has no objection to spend more days than are required for the ceremony, the first day is allowed for rest. If the latter, the first day is devoted to the *Tîrthaśrâddha*, or ceremony in honour of the sacred river Sarasvatî, and the second day for the *Mâtṛigayâ*. Soon after the *śishya* is lodged the *guru* comes and gives him an item of expenditure for the *Tîrthaśrâddha* and the *gayâ*. The smallest sum he is expected to spend is Rs. 25. Rich persons are compelled to devote some hundreds and thousands even for these ceremonies.

The *Tîrthâdhikâris*, or authorised priests of the place, keep a strict guard over the rites. They never give out a word of it to the curious *śishya* if he wants to write them out. When the latter takes his own priest to perform the *Śrâddha* according to the custom of his place, the *Tîrthâdhikâris* never allow that priest to do anything. In fact, the pilgrim and the priest that accompanies him find themselves in such a position that they have no other resort but to obey the *guru*.

The *Tîrthaśrâddha* is a very simple affair. With a couple of cocoanuts and money in hand the *śishya* goes to the river Sarasvatî, accompanied of course, by the *guru*. After a short prayer and a *saṅkalpa* he bathes in the river with cocoanut in hand, distributes money to the poor Brâhmaṇs on the shore, and sits down to be shaved. If he has lost his father also, his moustaches are shaved clean off. If not, these are spared. But Dravidian pilgrims alone shave clean their moustaches also although their fathers are alive, as is the custom of their country. After the *kshaura*, or shaving ceremony, the *śishya* is made to bathe and to present his clothes to the *guru* and some fee to the barber. This bath is called *sachêlasnâna*, or bath with cloth. After this he puts on dry clothes and performs *pûjâ* on a high scale to the river Sarasvatî, throwing into the water flowers, milk, curd, *ghî*, *kuṅkuma*, or red powder, and several other things, each with its *mantra*. Here ends the *Śrâddha* ceremony, and if the *śishya* has lost his father he performs a *Hiraṇyaśrâddha* also.

The second day is devoted to the mother's *gayâ*. This is performed in the *Kapilâśrama*, or hermitage of Kapila, two miles west of the town. Everything, even fuel, has to be carried on a *mazûri's* head from the town to the hermitage. The pilgrim with all the necessaries of the ceremony goes early in the morning, accompa-

nied by the officiating priest to the hermitage of Kapila. There are three sacred waters there, the one a well, called Jñânavâpikâ, and the other two small tanks, Alpasarôvara and Bindusarôvara. It was by bathing in the last Bindusarôvara and using its water for *Sraddha* purposes that Paraśurâma is said to have been purified from the sin of his having murdered his mother; and from that day it was fixed that every Hindû, to satisfy his mother's spirit, shall perform this ceremony here. On reaching the hermitage in the morning, the *śishya* bathes with cocoanut in hand in the three sacred waters, with certain *mantras*. Each time he gives some *dakshiṇâ*, or money, to the Brâhmaṇs waiting on the shore. His wet clothes at the three bathing places he presents to the *guru*.

By the time that the *śishya* returns from his bath, food, currystuffs, *mashûpûpa*, black or gram-cakes, &c., are cooked and ready for feasting the Srâddha Brâhmaṇs, who are invited early in the morning or the previous evening. These are always Marâṭhî Brâhmaṇs of the place. The priests or *Tîrthâdhikâris* are Gujarâtî Brâhmaṇs, and are considered inferior, so far as eating with them is concerned.

A regular *Srâddha* ceremony is performed thus:—After feasting the Brâhmaṇs, sixteen *piṇḍas* or balls of rice are offered to satisfy the spirit of the mother. This offering of sixteen *piṇḍas* is the only difference between the mother's *gayâ* and the mother's annual ceremony. When each *piṇḍa* is offered, a *ślôka* in *Anushṭubh* metre is repeated, describing the pains, the anxieties, &c., of the mother in bearing the son in her womb. I give these *slôkas* here with my translations :—

गर्भस्य गमने दुःखं विषमे भूमिवर्त्मनि ॥
तस्य निष्क्रमणार्थाय मातुःपिण्डं ददाम्यहम् ॥ १ ॥
यावत्पुत्रो न भवति तावन्मातुश्च शोचनम् ॥
तस्य निष्क्रमणार्थाय०.................. ॥ २ ॥
मासे मासे कृतं कष्टं वेदना प्रसवेसु च ॥
तस्य० .... ॥ ३ ॥
मासे मासे निषेकाद्यैः शिशुः सन्तप्तदुःखितः ॥
तस्य०................................ ॥ ४ ॥
पद्भ्यां तु जायते पुत्रो जनन्याः परिवेदनम् ॥
तस्य०................................ ॥ ५ ॥
पिबेच्च कटु वस्तूनि क्काथानि विविधानि च ॥
तस्य०................................ ॥ ६ ॥
गात्रभंगो भवेन्मातुः मृत्युरेव न संशयः ॥
तस्य०................................ ॥ ७ ॥
रात्रौ मूत्रपुरीषाभ्यां भिद्यते मातृकुक्षिगः ॥
तस्य०................................ ॥ ८ ॥
दिवारात्रौ च या माता ऽऽनंदयाति सभर्तृका ॥
तस्य० .... ॥ ९ ।
अल्पाहारकृता माता यावत्पुत्रोऽस्ति बालकः ॥
तस्य०................................ ॥ १० ॥
संपूर्णे दशमे मासे अत्यन्तं मातृपीडनम् ॥
तस्य०................................ ॥ ११ ॥
अग्निनाशे च या देहं त्रिरात्रौ पोषणेन च ॥
तस्य०................................ ॥ १५ ॥
माता शिक्षाप्रदा नित्यं पुण्यपुत्रास्यभाजिनी ॥
तस्य०................................ ॥ १३ ॥
क्षुधया विह्वले पुत्रे तृप्तिं माता प्रयच्छति ॥
तस्य०................................ ॥ १४ ॥
यमद्वारे महाघोरे पतिमात्रोश्च शोचनम् ॥
तस्य०................................ ॥ १५ ॥
अस्मिन्काले मृता ये च गतिरेषां न विद्यते ॥
तस्य०................................ ॥ १६ ॥

(1). "In the ways of the world[1] which are beset with difficulties the suffering of pregnancy is most painful; for the alleviation of it I give (*offer*) this *piṇḍa* to my mother.

(2). While a son is not born the mother is very sorry; for the alleviation of it I offer this *piṇḍa* to my mother.

(3). Month by month pain, and labour-pangs while bringing forth were caused by the son; for their alleviation I offer this *piṇḍa* to my mother.

(4). Month by month, by sexual union, &c. the child underwent much pain;[2] for the alleviation of it I offer this *piṇḍa* to my mother.

(5). If the son happens to be brought forth by the leg the pain of the mother is great; for the alleviation of it I offer this *piṇḍa* to my mother.

[1] In contradiction to *Rishigarbha* the impregnation by Rishis, in which the embryo is said to develop in one day. So it is all the pain of one day in this case.

[2] Which, of course, was a source of very great trouble to the mother, is to be understood.

(6). She drank bitter drugs and repulsive decoctions; for their alleviation I offer this *pinda* to my mother.

(7). If the body of the mother becomes exhausted (*while bringing forth*) there is no doubt that death will ensue; for the alleviation of it I offer this *pinda* to my mother.

(8). Every night the son was crushed in the womb of the mother by urine and ordure;[3] for the alleviation of it I offer this *pinda* to my mother.

(9). Day and night the mother with her husband enjoyed (were delighted at) the pregnancy; for the alleviation of it I offer this *pinda* to my mother.

(10). At the completion of the tenth month the pains of the mother become excessive; for their alleviation I offer this *pinda* to my mother.

(11). While the son was in his infancy the mother took light meals; for the alleviation of it I offer this *pinda* to my mother.

(12). At the loss of fire[4] (*digestion*) after bringing forth she somehow protects herself for three nights; for the alleviation of it I offer this *pinda* to my mother.

(13). The mother trains her son daily, ever looking at his face; for the alleviation of it I offer this *pinda* to my mother.

(14). When the son is weak from hunger the mother gives satisfaction to him; for the alleviation of it I offer this *pinda* to my mother.

(15). The sorrow of the father and mother is great at the door of death which is very fearful; for the alleviation of it I offer this *pinda* to my mother.

(16). For those that have died now, and for those that have no liberation; for the alleviation (*of their punishments*) I offer this *pinda* to my mother.

Over these *pindas*, or rice balls, water from the Bindusarôvara with sesamum seed is poured, and other necessary rites are then completed.

By the evening the *Śrâddha* ends, and the pilgrim returns from the hermitage. The present to the Upâdhyâya, or priest, for all his trouble is then given, and the pilgrim accompanied by the priest, is conducted out of the town to the railway station or to his cart (*gâḍi*.) Before separating, the priest takes down in his note-book the names of the pilgrim, his living relatives, &c., giving at the same time his full address to the so-called *śishya*.

FOLKLORE IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

BY S. M. NAṬÊŚA ŚÂSTRÎ PANDIT.

V.—"CHARITY ALONE CONQUERS."

Dharmamê jayam.

In the town of Têvai[1] there lived a king called Suguṇa. He had an excellent minister named Dharmaśîla. They ruled for a long time in prosperity over the kingdom. Both of them had sons. The prince's name was Subuddhi. He was a noble prince, and quite in keeping with his name, was always bent upon good to the world. The minister's son was named Durbuddhi, a most wicked boy, whose only delight was teasing beasts and birds from his infancy, and which ripened into all sorts of wickedness as he grew to boyhood. Notwithstanding the difference between their tempers, the prince and the minister's son were the best of friends. The motto of the prince was *Dharmamê jayam*—Charity alone conquers. That of the minister's son was *Adharmamê jayam*—Absence of Charity alone conquers. When rising from their beds, when beginning their prayers, when sitting down for meals or study, and, in fact, before beginning to do anything, each repeated his motto. The people had great hopes in Subuddhi, whom they fully expected to see a good and benevolent king; but the minister's son all thoroughly hated. Even the minister himself, his father, hated his son for his vile turn of mind, which he found impossible to change. His only friend, as we have already said, was the prince, who, notwithstanding all his faults loved him sincerely. Both of them had grown up together from their very cradle, had played in the same dust,

[3] See note on *ślôka* 4.

[4] *Agni*, or fire, is the imaginary *Jâṭharâgni*, or fire of digestion. In Hindu households the mother fasts three days after giving birth to a child. Her stomach is supposed to be unable to digest food for these three days; and she is given her diet only on the fourth morning. That is alluded to here.

[1] Têvai is the classical name of the modern town of Râmnâd in the district of Madurâ.

had read their lessons side by side in the same school under the same teachers. Fortune so ordained that the prince's mind should take such a bent, while the mind of the minister's son turned in a crooked way.

Nor was Durbuddhi insensible to the disgust and dislike which every one manifested towards him. He was well aware of all that was going on around. Still he would not change. "I have no friend in this world excepting yourself, my dear Subuddhi," exclaimed Durbuddhi one day to his royal friend while they were riding together. "Fear nothing. I shall ever stand by you as your true friend," replied Subuddhi. "My very father hates me. Who else would like me then? On the contrary, every one likes you. You may soon get yourself married to some beautiful lady, while I must remain a bachelor; for no girl would marry me. You may soon rise to the place of a king; but I cannot become your minister, as the people do not like me. What can I do?" So said the minister's son, and hung down his head, as if conscious for a time of the utter hatred with which the people regarded him. Subuddhi replied, "Heed it not, I will make you my minister, give you everything you want, and see you well provided for." "If so, will you give me your wife one day, at least, if you happen to get married before me, and if I remain a bachelor after you," were the words which the wretched Durbuddhi shamelessly uttered to the face of his only friend. These words were enough in themselves to enrage the prince's mind. But he was of so good a nature that instead of becoming angry, he smiled at the stupidity of his companion, and agreed that he would thus give him his wife one day in case he got married first. Thus took place an agreement between Subuddhi and Durbuddhi when they were quite young.

Several years passed after this agreement, when one day the prince went to hunt in a neighbouring forest. His inseparable companion, the minister's son, and several hunters followed him to the wood. The prince and the minister's son both gave chase to a deer. They rode so much in advance of the hunters that they lost themselves in a thick jungle, where the latter could neither see nor follow them. The hunters returned after dark, and informed the king and the minister about the disappearance of their sons. They thought that as their sons were grown-up men they need not fear for their safety.

The two friends chased the deer and found themselves in the midst of a thick forest in the evening. Except a slight breakfast in the early morning they had tasted no other food. Hunger was pinching them severely. The hot chase had awakened a severe thirst, to quench which they were not able to find a drop of water. In utter hopelessness of life they resigned themselves to the course of their steeds. The beasts seemed very well to understand the wants of their royal riders. They went on trotting, and at last, about midnight, stopped on the banks of a large tank.

The riders, who were almost dead with thirst, opened their closed eyes when the horses stopped. All on a sudden and to their great joy they found themselves on the banks of a large tank. Their joy knew no bounds. "Surely God takes care of His children. Had it not been for His kind care how could we have come to this tank, when we had resigned ourselves to the course of our horses?" thought Subuddhi to himself, and got down from his horse. The minister's son, who had become more exhausted by that time than his companion, also alighted. Subuddhi, true to the nobility of his mind, took both the steeds first to water, and after satisfying their thirst and loosening them to graze by the side of a grassy meadow he went into the water to quench his thirst. The minister's son also followed. After a short prayer Subuddhi took some handfuls of water, and returned to the bank. Durbuddhi also returned. They chose a clean spot, and sat down to rest during the remaining part of the night. The prince when taking his seat pronounced his usual motto, "Charity alone conquers." And the minister's son also repeated his—"Absence of Charity alone conquers."

These words fell like venom into the ears of the prince at that time. He could not control his anger then, notwithstanding his mild disposition. The hardships of the day, their fortunate arrival on a tank in the dead of night to have their thirst quenched, were fresh in Subuddhi's mind, and the prayers that he was offering to God were not yet over. That the minister's son should never think of these, and go on with his own stupid motto even at

that time became most unbearable to Subuddhi. "Vile wretch! Detested atheist! Have you no shame to utter your wicked motto even after such calamities? It is not too late even now. Mend your character. Think of the God that saved you just now. Believe in Him. Change your motto from this day." Thus spoke the angry prince to the minister's son.

Durbuddhi, who was naturally of a wicked and quarrelsome temperament, flew into a rage at once at the excellent advice of the prince. "Stop your mouth. I know as well as you do; you cannot wag your tail here. I can oppose you single-handed in this forest." Thus saying, the minister's son sprang like an enraged lion at Subuddhi who, as he never dreamt of any such thing, was completely overpowered by the wicked Durbuddhi. The prince was thrown down in the twinkling of an eye, and the minister's son was upon him. He severely thrashed his royal master, and taking hold of a twig that was lying close by, tore out the prince's two eyes, filled up the sockets with sand, and ran away with his horse, thinking that he had completely killed him.

Subuddhi was almost dead. His body was bruised all over. His eyes were no more. His physical pain was unbearable. "Is there a God over us all?" thought Subuddhi. The night was almost over. The cool and sweet breeze of the morning gave him some strength. He rose up, and crawling on the ground, found himself by touch at the entrance of a temple. He crept in, shut the gates and fastened the bolt.

It happened to be a temple of the fierce *Kâlî*. She used to go out every morning to gather roots and fruits, and to return by evening. That day when she returned she found her gates shut against her. She threatened with destruction the usurper of her temple. A voice, and we know that it was Subuddhi's, replied from within, "I am already dying of the loss of my eyes. So if in anger you kill me it is so much the better; for what use is there in my living blind? If, on the contrary, you pity me, and by your divine power give me my eyes, I shall open the gates." Kâlî was in a very difficult position. She was very hungry, and saw no other way of going inside than by giving Subuddhi his eyes. "Open the gates; your request is granted," said Kâlî. No sooner were these words uttered than the prince recovered his eyes. His delight may be better imagined than described. He opened the gates and vowed before Kâlî that he would from that day continue in that temple as her servant and worshipper.

The wretched Durbuddhi after his horrible act, rode on composedly, following the footsteps of his horse, and reached the forest where he was hunting the day before in company with the prince. He thence returned home all alone. When his father saw him coming back he suspected something wrong to the prince and asked his son what had become of him. "We chased a deer, and he rode so much in advance of me that he was out of sight, and finding all search vain, I returned alone," was Durbuddhi's reply. "This I would have believed from any one but yourself. Never plant your feet in these dominions till you bring back tho prince again. Run for your life," was the order of the minister, and Durbuddhi accordingly ran, fearing the anger of his father.

Thus the prince Subuddhi was serving in the Kâlî temple; and Durbuddhi, fully confident that he had killed his friend, roamed about from place to place, as he saw no possibility of returning to his own country without the prince.

Thus passed several months. The goddess Kâlî was extremely delighted at the sincere devotion of Subuddhi, and, calling him one day to her side, said;—"My son! I am delighted with your great devotion to me. Enough of your menial services here. Better return now to your kingdom. Your parents are likely to be much vexed at your loss. Go and console their minds." Thus ended Kâlî, and Subuddhi replied: "Excuse me, my goddess, my mother. I no more regard them as my parents. This wood is not a large place if they wished to search for me. As they were so careless of me I shall also from this day disregard them. You are my father and mother. Therefore permit me to end my days here in your service." So saying, Subuddhi begged Kâlî to allow him to stay, and the goddess agreed accordingly for some time at least.

After a few more months, Kâlî called the prince again to her and addressed him thus;—"My boy! I have devised another plan. Better not, then, go to your parents, as you do not wish to go now. At a short distance from this place,

in the Kâvêrî country, reigns a staunch devotee of mine. His daughter had small-pox, and as he forgot to do proper respect to me, I have blinded both her eyes. The king has issued a proclamation that he will give the whole kingdom and his daughter in marriage to him who would cure her of her defect. He has hung up a bell (*ghaṇṭá*) at which every physician who wishes to try the case strikes. The king comes running as soon as he hears the sound, takes home the doctor and shows him the case. Several persons have tried in vain; for who could repair a defect incurred by the displeasure of the gods? Now I mean to send you there. That king is a staunch worshipper of my feet. Though I had punished him first, still I pity the sad calamity that has come upon his daughter. You had better go there and strike the bell. He will take you and show you the case. For three consecutive days apply my holy ashes to her eyes. Though fools may deride these ashes, still by them a true devotee can work wonders. On the fourth day her eyes will be perfectly restored. Then you will secure her hand, and what is more the country of Kâvêrî. Reign there, for you are born to reign, being a prince, and not to spend your time here in this wood. If you do not do so you will commit a sin, and what is more incur my displeasure." Thus ended Kâlî, and the prince could not refuse; for he feared the anger of the goddess. Agreeing to her words, and with her manifold blessings, he started and reached the kingdom of Kâvêrî.

He struck the bell. The king came running to welcome the new doctor. All the previous physicians had tried by medicines external and internal. The new doctor—prince Subuddhi—proposed to treat the case by *mantras*—incantations. The old king, who was very religious, fully believed that the new doctor might effect the cure; and just as he expected, on the fourth day his daughter's sight was completely restored. The king's joy knew no bounds. He enquired the parentage of the doctor; and when he came to know that he had princely blood in his veins, that he was as honourably descended as himself, his joy was greatly increased. He sent up a thousand prayers to the god for giving him a royal son-in-law. As promised in his notice, he would have to give his daughter to anyone, whatever he might be, who effected the cure. The lowest beggar, the lowest casteman, if he had only succeeded in curing her would have had as much claim to her hand as the prince-physician. So when the person that effected the cure proved to be a prince the king was extremely delighted, and at once made all arrangements for the marriage of his daughter and gave her to Subuddhi; and himself being very old he gave the kingdom also to the prince at the same time.

Thus by the favour of Kâlî, Subuddhi had a princess for his wife and a kingdom to govern. Subuddhi, as we know, was an excellent man. Though he became king now, he consulted his father-in-law in all matters, and, in fact, acted only as the manager for the old man. Every evening he used to consult him for an hour or two before disposing of intricate cases. The duty of signing, too, he reserved for the old man. Thus even on those days when there were no cases he used to go to his father-in-law to get papers signed. Thus passed on a couple of years or so.

One evening, while sitting in company with his wife in the loftiest room of his palace after the duties of the day, he cast his eyes to the east main street and contemplated the bustle of that part of the town. Carts creaking under the load of merchandise, the flourish with which the goods and wares were exposed for sale, fashionable gentlemen in their fanciful evening costumes walking to and fro, the troublesome hawkers that stand by the roadside questioning every one as to what he would buy, and several other things interested him, and for a time made him somewhat proud even that he ruled over such a rich country. But sweetness is not always unaccompanied with bitterness. He saw in that same street a man whose face was very familiar to him, but whom he could not at once make out. A black man was sitting on a projecting *pyal* of a corner of a shop, and was mending some torn gunny bags. Subuddhi looked at him carefully. "Is it the minister's son, Durbuddhi? No; he is not so black; rather was not when I saw him last," thought Subuddhi with himself, and examining his face, he at last exclaimed, "It is he! It is he! It is my friend and companion." "Who is it?" exclaimed the princess, and rushed at once to his side. She had most carefully watched her husband's

face for the past few minutes while he was in deep contemplation. "It is my friend, the minister's son, by name Durbuddhi. We were companions from our birth, we played in the same dust, read in the same school, and were ever inseparable companions. I do not know what has brought him to the condition in which I see him now," said Subuddhi, and sent some one to bring him. Of the wicked and base act of the vile Durbuddhi he did not care to inform his gentle wife, who now retired to her inner apartments, as decorum did not allow her to be in company with her husband when he was receiving others.

The persons sent brought in Durbuddhi. Whatever might have been the cruelty that he had received from the hands of the minister's son, the prince began to shed tears when he saw his old companion ushered in, not in that blooming cheerful red complexion in which he had seen him last, but in a weather-beaten dark skin and dejected colour of a cooly in which he saw him a few minutes ago.

"I excuse you all your faults, my dear Durbuddhi. Tell me quickly what has brought you to this wretched plight," asked Subuddhi, and while asking he began to cry aloud. The minister's son also shed tears copiously, and cried or pretended to cry; for be it known that he was a perfect scoundrel, born to no good in the world. "My own mischief has brought me to this plight. When I returned to our country after putting out your eyes and thinking that I had killed you, my father banished me from our dominions, and ordered me never to plant my feet within their limits without bringing you back. As I thought I had put an end to your life I never came back to that tank in search of you. I engaged myself as a cooly in the streets of this town after trying with no success several other places, and I now stand before you." Thus ended Durbuddhi, and the prince quite forgot his cruelty to him. He ordered his servants to get the minister's son bathed, and attired in as rich robes as he himself wore. Then he related to him his own story, without omitting a single point, and at once made him his minister.

The whole story of Durbuddhi, excepting the single point of his having put out his eyes, the prince related to his wife, father, and mother-in-law.

Thus was Durbuddhi again restored to his high position, through the liberal kindness of Subuddhi. Subuddhi did not stop even with this. He began to send him with papers and other things to the old king for signature. This went on for some months. All the while Durbuddhi was as obedient as might be, and by his vile tricks had completely won over the heart of the old king.

One evening, after the signatures were over, Durbuddhi stopped for a while as if desirous to speak. "What do you want," said the old king. "Nothing but your favour," was the only reply, after which he retired. Thus he went on practising for some days and weeks. Every day he stopped for a few minutes after the state business was over, and when the old king asked the reason for it went on giving evasive answers. At last one evening the old king was extremely provoked. The cunning Durbuddhi had purposely intended this. "What a big fool are you to stop every day as if wishing to speak and never to utter a word," broke out the old king. "I beg pardon of your honour; I was thinking all the while whether I should let out my secret or not. At last, I have come to the conclusion that I will keep it to myself," replied the diabolical Durbuddhi. "No, you shall let it out," roared the old king, whose curiosity was more roused than abated by the words, purposely obscure, of the minister's son. Durbuddhi, after pretending much uneasiness at the disclosure of the supposed secret, loudly began his harangue, "My lord, ever since I came here I made enquiries about the nobility of your family, about the sacrifices that you and your ancestors have performed, about the purifications that you and your elders have undergone, and about a thousand other particulars, each of which is enough to secure you and your descendants the place of Achyuta (*Achyutapada*) himself. These delighted me for a time, I say for a time, for listen, please, to what follows. When I compared with the pure fame of your famous family, that of your son-in-law's, my heart began to pain me. Indeed the pain which began at that moment has not yet ceased. Know, then, that your son-in-law is not a prince. No doubt he has royal blood in his veins, which makes him look like a king. How came he to be so skilful in medicine. Just enquire the cause. To be no

more in the dark, the king of my country—over which my father is the minister—set out one day on *savâr*. While passing a barber's street he saw a beautiful damsel of that caste. Bewitched by her beauty the king wanted to have her as his concubine, notwithstanding her low position in society. The fruit of that concubinage is your son-in-law. He being the son of a barber-mother acquired so very easily the art of medicine. That a king was his father makes him look like a prince. If he had been of pure birth why should he leave his kingdom, and come here to effect the cure of your daughter. Except this prince, or supposed prince, all those that came here were mere doctors by caste." Thus ended the vile Durbuddhi, and taking in his hand the papers, vanished out of the room quickly, like a serpent that had stung.

The sweet words in which the minister's son clothed his arguments, the rising passion at the thought that he had been falsely imposed upon by a barber's son, the shame or rather supposed shame that he thought had come over his family, and a thousand other feelings clouded for a time the clear reason of the old king. He saw no other way of putting an end to the shame than by the murder of his dear daughter and son-in-law first, and of his own self and queen afterwards. At once he ordered the executioner, who came in. He gave him his signet-ring, and commanded him to break open the bed-room of his son-in-law that midnight, and murder him with his wife while asleep. The *hukums* or orders given with signet rings ought never to be disobeyed. The executioner humbled himself to the ground as a sign of his accepting the order, and retired to sharpen his knife for his terrible duty.

Neither Subuddhi nor his affectionate wife had any reason to suspect this terrible order. The old queen and the treacherous Durbuddhi had equally no reason to know anything about it. The old man, after issuing the *hukum* shut himself in his closet, and began to weep and wail as if he had lost his daughter from that moment. Durbuddhi, after kindling the fire, as says the Tamil proverb, by means of his treachery, came back with the papers to the prince. A thought occurred in his mind that Subuddhi's fate was drawing near. He wanted to have fulfilled the engagement that took place between himself and the prince about the loan for a day of the latter's wife for his beastly enjoyment. The excellent Subuddhi who always observed oaths most strictly was confused for a time. He did not know what to do. To stick to the oath and surrender his wife to another; or to break it and preserve the chastity of his own wife. At last, repeating in his own mind, "Charity alone conquers," and also thinking that heaven would somehow devise to preserve his wife's purity he went to her, explained to her how the matter stood, and ordered her to sleep with the minister's son that night in his own bed-chamber. She hesitatingly consented; for as a good wife she could not disobey her husband's commands. Subuddhi then told Durbuddhi that he might sleep in his bed-room that night, and have his wife as his companion.

The princess went to her mother crying that her husband had turned out mad. "Or else who would promise to give his wife to another for a night. He has ordered me to sleep this night with the minister's son. What does he mean by that?" "My daughter! Fear nothing, perhaps in his boyhood, without knowing what the delicate duties of a wife are, he agreed to present you as a toy to the use of another for a night. The promise once made now pains him. Unable to break it, and leaving it to yourself to preserve your chastity, he has so ordered you. And he would, nay, must excuse you, if you by some means or other save yourself, and apparently make good your husband's promise also. A thought just comes to me how to do that. There is your foster sister exactly resembling you. I shall send her in your place, ordering her to behave like yourself in your bed-room." So consoling her daughter, the old queen at once made all the requisite arrangements. And, of course, Subuddhi had no reason then to know anything about them.

The night came on and the minister's son went to the prince's bed-room and slept with the supposed wife of his friend, with his lovely motto, "*Adharmamê jayam*," but he was soon to learn that *Adharmam* never conquers. For at midnight, just a few minutes after he had thought that his *Adharmam* had fully conquered, the door is forced open, and a ruffian with a drawn sword blazing like lightning rushes in, and murders the pair. Thus in that very

night in which Durbuddhi had reached the topmost point of his vice he was cut down by the supreme hand of God. For, it is said, that when crime increases, God himself cannot bear.

The morning dawned, Subuddhi rose from his couch, and after his morning prayers was sitting in the council hall. The princess and her mother rose from their beds, and were after their business. A servant just at that time came running to the old queen, and said, "Our king is weeping in his room that his daughter is now no more. I think that there is something wrong with his majesty's brains to-day. Come and console him." The queen, who knew nothing of what had happened, ran to her husband's room quite astonished at the change. The husband reported everything to her, the sage-looking minister's son, the barber son-in-law, and everything, and then concluded that their daughter and son-in-law were no more. "What! compose yourself. Our son-in-law is sitting in his durbar. Our daughter is just adorning herself in her dressing-room. Were you dreaming? Are you in your right senses?" said the queen. The king ordered the executioner to bring the heads, which, on examination, proved to be those of the minister's son and of the foster-sister. The queen told everything of the one-day-wife-giving engagement, and her own arrangements about it. The old king could not understand what all this meant. He drew out his sword and ran to the durbar like a maddened lion, and stood armed before his son-in-law, "Relate to me your true origin, and everything respecting yourself. Speak the truth. How came you to learn medicine? If you are a prince why should you leave your own dominions and come down here? What about the beastly agreement of giving your wife to another? Who is this minister's son?" Subuddhi, without omitting a single point, related everything that had taken place, even to the putting out of his eyes. The old man threw down his sword, took his son-in-law in his arms almost, for so great was his joy at the excellent way which fate had prepared for his escape, and said, "My son, my life, my eye. True it is, true it is. *Dharma* alone conquers, and you that hold that *motto* have conquered everything. The vile wretch whom notwithstanding the series of rogueries that he practised upon you, you protected, has at last found out that his *Adharmam* never conquers. But he never found it out. It was his *Adharmam* that cut him off on the very night of his supposed complete conquest by it."

Letters were sent at once to Têvai, inviting Suguṇa and Dharmaśîla to the happy rejoicings for the prince and princess's delivery, and a re-marriage was celebrated with all pomp in honour of their lucky escape. Dharmaśîla, as he disliked his son, never shed a single tear for his loss. Subuddhi lived for a long time, giving much consolation to his own and his wife's parents. Through the blessings of Kâlî they had several intelligent sons.

CHINGHIZ KHÂN AND HIS ANCESTORS.

BY HENRY H. HOWORTH, F.S.A.

(*Continued from p.* 226.)

XXVIII.

When Muḥammad Khuârezm Shâh retired from the kernel of his dominions towards the West, we are told by Minhaj-i-Saraj he entrusted his fortresses to various trusted commanders. Thus he appointed the Amir Zangi-i-Abi Hafs, with the troops of Seistan, to take charge of Termed, the standard-bearer Sam and the pahluvan Arsiah he sent to the fortress of Walkh of Tokharistan, which, our author tells us, was four farsankhs square. Bamian he made over to the Amir Umr, the Bawardi, and sent orders to the Malik Iktyar-u'd-din, Muḥammad, son of Ali-i-Kharpost,[1] to secure Ghazni and its neighbourhood. The fortresses of Ghur he confided to the Malik Husam-u'd-din, Husain-i-'Abd-u'l-Malik, Sar-i-Zarrad, who was in the fort of Sangah of Ghur, and Malik Kutb-u'd-din Husain, son of Ali-i-Abi-Ali. The Malik-ul-Kuttab,[2] the Ikhtiyar-ul-Mulk, Daulat Yar-i-Tughrai he sent to the fort of Kaliun, and ordered that the two famous pahluvans of Khorasan, the sons of Somangar, should also go there. Malik Shems-u'd dîn Muḥammad, the Jurjani,[3] was planted at Herat, and the fortress of Fiwar was made over to the pahluvan Asil-u'd-dîn, the Nishapuri, son-in-law of the pahluvan Mubarak, the Kurd.

[1] The ass-skinned.

[2] Chief secretary.

[3] Raverty prefers the reading Jurjani.

The fort of Nasir Koh of Talikan was made over to the confidential retainers of Malik Shems-u'd-dîn Utsuz, the Hajib, and the fortress of Rang of Guzarwan to the vassals of Ulugh Khân-i-Abi Muḥammad. The strongholds of Gharjistan were assigned to Sheran, the head of the tribe Abu Sahlan, and those of Ghur to the Maliks of Ghur, Firuz Koh was entrusted to Malik Mubariz-u'd-dîn, the Sebzevari and Tulak was given in charge to the Amir Habashi-i-Nezahwar.[4]

Chinghiz Khân having conquered Samarkand, apparently appointed Yeliu Chutsai as its governor, or rather as the representative of Mongol authority there. When the Taouist sage, Ch'ang Ch'un, went to visit Chinghiz Khân in the West, and arrived at Samarkand, the narrative of his journey tells us he was met at the suburbs by the T a i-s h i-y i-l a k u o k u n g, by the heads of the Mongol army, the chief of the Huiho,[5] etc. In regard to the first of these personages, Bretschneider says, quoting Palladius, that Taishi is the highest charge in the empire, the first councillor of the emperor. Yi-la is a family name of the Khitan and Kuokun is an honorific title, and he suggests that Yeliu Chutsai is really meant.[6] In another place the same narrative says that most of the fields and gardens at Samarkand belonged to the Muḥammadans, but they were not allowed to dispose of them. They were obliged to manage their properties in conjunction with Khitans, Chinese, and men from Ho-si.[7] Chinese workmen were living everywhere. "Formerly," he goes on to say, "the Taishi lived here, but as this part of the city has become insecure, owing to numerous robberies, he has withdrawn to the northern side of the river." The master[8] and his disciples occupied the palace, saying the Taouists had no fear. The Taishi furnished everything for the master's subsistence, and from day to day his veneration for him increased.[9] Gaubil has an interesting notice at this point. He says that the Chinese astronomy and the history of Yeliu Chutsai speak of an eclipse of the moon observed during the siege of Sunsekan[10] by Yeliu Chutsai, and that the astronomer having compared the observation of this eclipse with the calculation made for the longitude of Peking, concluded that Samarkand was two hours' further west.[11] It would seem that while Yeliu Chutsai was appointed Mongol Shahnah, or civil governor of Samarkand, that two Musalmâns undertook the duty of collecting the ransom, namely, Tseket-ul-Mulk and Amir Umid Buzurg, or as Abulfaraj calls them, apparently following Juveni, Thekat-ol-Molkai, and Al-Amir-Amid.[12]

After the fall of Samarkand Chinghiz took some of the young people whom he had captured there with him as light troops, and he marched with his son, Tului, in the spring of 1220 towards the wooded district of Nakhsheb, whose inhabitants submitted, and where he spent the summer to recruit his troops. The place is called Niesgab in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi.*[13] In the *Yuan-shi* it is corrupted into Ye-shi-di-shi, written He-she-le-te-sze by Douglas.[14] Later in the year, according to the *Yuan-shi*, Chinghiz encamped at the T'ie-men-kuan, or the iron gate pass,[15] *i.e.*, the famous Derbend Kohluga Pass in the Karatagh mountains, south-west of Samarkand. Here he gave audience, according to the *Yuan-shi-lei-pen*, to an envoy from the Sung emperor, and to another from the Kin emperor, who was named Wu-ku-sun Chung-tuan. The latter is alone mentioned by the other authorities, who tell us he held the office of vice-president of the board of rites at the Kin court, and that An-T'ing chen, a secretary in the academy, was appointed his assistant.

A short account of his journey was taken down from his dictation, and is known as the *Pei-shi-ki*, or Notes on an Embassy to the North. It is very jejune, and of small value. In it the Muḥammadans are described as having thick beards, the hair of which was entangled like sheep's wool, and of different colours, black or yellow, in different shades. Their faces were almost entirely covered with hair, only the noses and eyes could be seen.[16] Our traveller noticed some of the idiosyncrasies of the Muḥammadans of Central Asia. They are described as blood-thirsty and greedy, and as tearing flesh with

[4] Expert with the lance, *Op. cit.* pp. 1002-1004.
[5] *i.e.* Muḥammadans.
[6] *Notes on Chinese Travellers*, etc., p. 38, and note 94.
[7] West of the Yellow River, the present Kansu.
[8] *i.e.* Ch'ang Ch'un.
[9] *Id.*, p. 39.
[10] *i.e.* Samarkand.
[11] Gaubil, p. 36, note 1.
[12] *Op. cit.*, *Chron. Arab.*, p. 292.
[13] See Bretschneider, *Notices*, etc., p. 64.
[14] *Id.* p. 60, Douglas, *op. cit.*, p 89.
[15] Bretschneider, *Notices*, etc., p. 61.
[16] Bretschneider, *Notes on Chinese Med. Travellers*, etc. 103.

their fingers when eating it. Indian Muḥammadans, we are told, were black, and of good character. The ruler of the Muḥammadans chose his servants from amongst the blackest and vilest class of the people of Hindustan, and marked their faces by burning. The people all lived in cities; there were no villages. The roofs of their houses were covered with clay, and all the wood-work in the houses was carved. They used white glass for their windows and for vessels. The country was very rich in silver, pearls, cotton, hemp, &c. Their arrows, bows, carts, cloths, armour, spears, and vessels were all of strange appearance. They used large bricks for building bridges.[17] Their boats resembled shuttles. They had five kinds of corn and mulberry trees, as there were in China. Their salt was found in the mountains. They made wine from grapes. They had water-melons weighing sixty pounds. The apples were prettily coloured. The onions and melons were also very fine and fragrant. They had camels, but only with one hump. The cattle also had humps on their necks. Their sheep had large tails. They also had lions, elephants, peacocks, buffaloes,[18] wild asses, and snakes with four legs (*i.e.* lizards). Also a dangerous insect, like a spider (*solpuga araneoides*) which, when it bit a man he cried out and died. The people dressed simply, and all wore girdles. Their clothes, cushions, and coverlets were all made of wool, which grew in the ground.[19] Their food consisted of cakes and meal-meat, fish, and flesh. The women were dressed in white cloth and covered their faces, except the eyes, they did nothing but sing, dance, etc. Sewing and embroidery were executed by men. They also had performers and jugglers. For pens they used reeds. They did not burn the dead, nor did they use coffins or sarcophagi, and the corpses were always buried with their heads towards the west. Their priests did not shave their heads. Such was the information taken back by Wuku-sun.

It is curious that the result of his interview with Chinghiz Khân is not reported in the *Pei-shi-ki*. This, we learn from the *Yuan-shi*, in which we read under the year 1221, the Kin emperor sent Wu-ku-sun to Chinghiz Khân with a letter to beg for peace. He offered to be Chinghiz Khân's younger brother,[20] but stipulated to retain the title of emperor. When presented, Chinghiz said to him, "I formerly asked of your sovereign to cede the land north of the Yellow River, and offered to resign to him the country south of it with the title of Wang. Now Mukhuli has conquered all these countries, and you are compelled to sue for peace. Waku-sun then implored Chinghiz to have pity, and the latter replied:—"It is only because of the great distance you have come that I can be considerate. The land north of the Yellow River is in my possession, but there are still some cities in Kuan-si,[21] which have not surrendered. Tell your sovereign to surrender these and he may reign south of the Yellow River with the title of Wang."[22]

Having spent his summer in the good pastures of Nakhsheb, Chinghiz Khân advanced upon Termed, a town situated on the north bank of the Oxus, which had been recently ruled over by Bahram Shâh, who had been conquered by the Khuârezm Shâh and put to death by his mother. The citizens of Termed relied on their prowess, and partially trusted to their walls, which on one side were protected by the Oxus, and to expected aid from the Khuârezm Shâh's son, Jelal-u'd-dîn. Having rejected the Mongol summons to open its gates and demolish its ramparts and citadel, Chinghiz Khân proceeded to attack it, and pressed the attack for ten days. When it was taken, the citizens were ordered to leave the place, and were distributed among the Mongol soldiery to be put to death." Minhaj-i-Saraj says:—"After some days, during which the Musalmâns of Termed had fought many battles, and had sent great numbers of the Mughals to hell, and many Musalmâns had been martyred and made captive, the people of Termed were reduced to helplessness by the stones discharged from the catapults of those accursed ones, and they abandoned the place; and that fortress fell into the hands of the Mughals, who martyred the whole of the inhabitants."[23] A grim incident of the massacre has been recorded by Juveni. When an old woman was being put to death she begged

[17] The Chinese bridges were made of large square stones.
[18] Literally water oxen.
[19] *i.e.*, cotton.
[20] *i.e.*, vassal.
[21] *i.e.* west of the gate, by which west of the important defile of Tungkuan is doubtless meant.
[22] Bretschneider, *Notes on Chinese Med. Travellers to the West*, pp. 100-107; Douglas, *op. cit.*, pp. 91 and 95.
[23] *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, p. 1005.

that they would not kill her, and she would give them a beautiful pearl. On their asking her where it was, she replied, in her stomach. Thereupon "they treated her like a pearl oyster-shell; they opened her bowels and found it; and after that it was usual with them to treat their prisoners in this way, in the hope of finding jewels."[24]

While at Termed, and during the winter, Chinghiz ordered a grand hunt, on the usual Mongol scale, to be organized, and as his eldest son, Juchi, who was the general superintendent of the hunts was absent, he instructed his noyans to make due preparations. These great hunts were an important feature in the Mongol polity. Mirkhond, in describing the Yasa of Chinghiz Khân, tells us he enjoined his people to pay great attention to hunting, since hunting was an excellent school for war. He tells us they generally began their preparations for the great hunt in the autumn, and sent out huntsmen in advance to inquire whether the game was plentiful or not. When the country had been duly prospected, the Mongols were summoned from their huts and divided as in a campaign into a centre, right and left wings, an advance-guard and a rear-guard. This large body of men sometimes embraced a circuit of a month's journey in extent, enclosing forests, deserts, &c. &c. The Khân attended in person with his wives and ample provisions. If any animal escaped, the man who negligently allowed it was bastinadoed, or even killed, and so if some of the soldiers forming the great ring or nerkeh broke its contour by advancing too slowly or too fast, as the circuit converged the soldiers held each other's hands and eventually shoulder to shoulder and knee to knee.[25] We elsewhere read that as the hunters advanced they clanged their cymbals and played their musical instruments to frighten the animals. The soldiers were not to wound or injure any of the beasts. The centre to which they converged was a plain previously marked out by the hunters. The whole proceeding was conducted like a serious campaign. During halts at night sentinels were duly planted and relieved, and those who slept or were negligent were punished. If a river intervened, which could not be forded, a halt was made, the wild beasts were driven over, and the hunters passed it seated on inflated leathern bags, which were tied to the tails of the horses, which were guided over by swimmers. As the circle contracted the wild animals began to feel themselves pressed, and fled, some to the mountains, others to the thickets. They were dug out of retreats which they had sought, and the weak ones were worried by the strong, but presently they were cowed by fright and became quieter, and lions and tigers, bears and boars, became gentle and timid. The quarry having been thus driven into the central open space called jerkeh by the Mongols, the Grand Khân entered amidst the sound of trumpets, with a sword in one hand and a bow in the other, while a quiver hung from his shoulders. He was followed by his sons and his generals, and began the slaughter. Presently, when tired, he withdrew to an eminence, and while seated on a throne watched the skill and prowess of his principal followers. Presently the other troops were allowed to enter and join in the general battue. At length Chinghiz Khân's grandsons, accompanied by several grandees,[26] went to him and asked his clemency for the remaining animals, so that there might be some stock to breed from in the ensuing season. The slaughter thereupon ceased, and the game was counted, or if this was found impracticable, says Mirkhond, the lions and wild asses were alone numbered. The object of these hunts, says that writer, was not solely the chase, but rather to practise horsemen and foot soldiers in archery, and in horsemanship, and to teach the various bodies of troops to act in concert and to prevent mistakes or weakness. "The practice has always existed," he says, "from the beginning of the Mongol dynasty, and remains in vigour still."[27]

After the capture of Termed Chinghiz ravaged the districts of Lengert and Semnan[28] and sent an army to overrun Badakshan.[29] He himself proceeded to cross the Oxus and to approach Balkh, the mother of cities, the cradle of the earliest Aryan civiliza-

[24] Abulghazi, pp. 120 and 121; *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, p. 1005, Notes; Erdmann, Temudschin, p. 402; D'Ohsson, vol. I, p. 271.
[25] *Journ. Asiat.* 3rd Series, Vol. XIII, pp. 101 and 102.
[26] Generally speaking it was a number of greybeards.
[27] De la Croix, pp. 260-266. Erdmann, pp. 402-404. *Journ. Asiat.* 3rd Ser. vol. XIII, pp. 102 and 103.
[28] Called Languerte and Samande by De la Croix.
[29] Erdmann, p. 404; D'Ohsson, vol. I, p. 272-3.

tion, and then very populous and prosperous, containing more than 1,200 great mosques, and 1,200 public baths.

Ibn-al-Athir says that Chinghiz crossed the Jihun and marched straight upon Balkh, and its people having begged for quarter the Mongols gave an indemnity to the city, and did not take it, nor did they plunder it, but merely put a Shahnah or governor there. He dates this in the year 617 hij. He then goes on to say they made for Es Zûzân and Meimand and Andakhui and Karyat, and they conquered them all, and put garrisons in them; nor did they molest the inhabitants, except by taking such as could bear arms along with them, till they came to El Talikan.

This circumstantial account of a contemporary is somewhat confirmed by the fact that Minhaj-i-Saraj does not mention any plundering of Balkh. It is, however, at issue with other reports, where we read that Chinghiz, far from sparing Balkh, reviled its people for having been so faithless to their late ruler, Amed-u'd-dîn, and for having been so submissive to the Khuârezm Shâh Muḥammad. Having been admitted into the town the Mongols ordered the citizens to evacuate it as usual, under pretence of taking a census, and having selected the young people, who were alone useful to them, they killed the rest. The walls were broken down, the citadel and the walls razed, and having secured their fill of plunder they marched towards Talikan. This is the story as told in the *Jihan Kushai*, and by Rashidu'd-dîn and Abulghazi.[30]

This is not the only difficulty at this point. Minhaj-i-Saraj has a detailed account of the capture of a town he calls Walkh, four parasangs square, situated on a height, and otherwise described as to make it inconsistent with its being Balkh. I cannot identify the place at all, but possibly it was one of the hill fortresses of Ghur. I shall return to it in a later chapter.

Let us meanwhile follow the steps of Tului, Chinghiz Khân's youngest son, whom he sent into Khorasan to intercept the retreat of and to crush Jelal-u'd-dîn, the Khuârezm Shâh. We have seen how the latter escaped from Khuârezm and retired by way of Nissa to Nishapur. Thence he issued summonses to the governors of the various towns, &c., to gather round him with their troops, and to those who had rendered themselves independent in the recent troubles to do the same: and he stayed there a month, but on hearing that Tului was marching against him, he marched with such men as he had collected to Kahira, where he heard of Talikan having been besieged. Nissavi says he wished to shut himself up in Kahira, and there await the enemy's approach, but the governor represented to him that a prince of his reputation and merit should not shut himself up in forts and citadels, though they were built on the heads of the twin stars, or horns of Taurus, or the Pleiades. He thereupon distributed what money he had among his men, and went to Bost in Seistan, where he met one of his officers who had escaped from Balkh, and who informed him of the Mongol forces and of their recent doings.[31] He then went on to Ghazni. The Mongols were not long before they were on his traces.

After the march of Subutai and Chepe, who had left shahnahs in the various towns they passed through, the inhabitants had become more reassured, and they were further misled by unfounded rumours of various successes which Jelal-u'd-dîn was supposed to have won in Irak. Encouraged by this, a leader of irregular troops at Tus, named Seraj-u'd-dîn, killed the Mongol shahnah there, and sent his head to Nishapur. Thereupon Sayid Buterab, governor of Tus repaired to a Mongol commander, named Timur, who was posted at Ustua, called Astur by Erdmann, with 300 men to guard the communications of the two divisions under Subutai and Chepe, marched upon Tus, attacked the 2000 troops there, under Seraj-u'd-dîn in the Royal palace, put the greater number of them to the sword, and proceeded to demolish the walls.[32]

In another direction we read that Inanj Khân, one of the Khuârezm Shâh's officers, had got together some troops and molested the Mongols. Subutai brought on a fight with him, but was beaten, and, as Inanj was pursuing his men, he

[30] See Abulfaraj, *Chron. Arab.*, pp. 292 and 3; Abulghazi, p. 121; D'Ohsson, vol. I, pp. 272 and 3; Erdmann, pp. 404, 405.

[31] De la Croix, pp. 290, 291.

[32] D'Ohsson, vol. I, p. 274; Erdmann, p. 418.

overtook a body of Mongols near Nakchivran and drove them into a ditch, where they were drowned. This exploit got him some renown, and having been joined by a body of the Sultân's troops who were disbanded and living in the woods, he went to Nissa, whose governor had gone on a pilgrimage to Mekka. There he secured the money which had been collected in taxes in 1221, with which he furnished his army. As the Mongols were now approaching Nissa in force he retired to the mountains.[33] When he retired westwards, Muhammad Khuârezm sent a messenger to Nissa to tell its governor that the Mongols did not make war like other people, and that it would be the best thing on their approach to retire into the mountains with his people, as they would probably withdraw when they had ravaged the country.

Its citadel had been razed by order of Sultân Takish, and its site had been ploughed. The citizens now proceeded to rebuild it.[34] It was situated on the confines of the desert, and had long served as a frontier fortress to the Persians and Turks. It gave his name to the famous prince historian, Muhammad of Nissa. Shihab-u'd-dîn the Sultân's Vizier, had retired thither with his treasures, his son and some other Khuârezmians.[35] The Mongols now approached it. According to De la Croix, who apparently follows Nissavi, they were commanded by Jafar the Chapar of the Chinese and Irka Noyan, who were accompanied by an experienced general, named Bâlkush,[36] but it would seem that the titular chief of the army was Tului's brother-in-law, Tugachar. They offered the citizens reasonable terms, but while the negotiations were proceeding some one shot an arrow from the ramparts and killed Balkush. The siege was now pressed, and twenty catapults were built, which were served and the battering rams dragged into place by captives and others pressed into the service. These engines, called harakas, were covered with wet hides to prevent them being fired. After an assault of fifteen days, a breach was made in the walls, which the Mongols duly occupied. The following day they entered the town, and as usual ordered the people to march out. When collected on the plain outside showers of missiles were poured among them after they had had their hands tied behind them. "These unfortunate people," says Nissavi, "did as they were told; if they had fled to the neighbouring mountains the greater part of them would have escaped. When they were pinioned the Mongols slew them, men, women, and children together, with showers of arrows. The number of the dead, including both people of Nissa and others from the country round was 70,000." Shihab-u'd-dîn and his son were led in chains before the Noyans, who ordered their treasure chests to be opened before their eyes, and then had them decapitated. Shihab-u'd-dîn's tomb, says De la Croix, may still be seen in a place called Hafna.[37]

Three days after the capture of Nissa the invaders proceeded to attack the fortress of Kharendar,[38] situated on a scarped rock between Nissa and Nishapur, and considered to be the strongest fortress of Khorasan. Nissavi says it had, according to tradition, belonged to his ancestors since the introduction of Islam in these districts. As it was in the centre of the province it formed an asylum for escaped prisoners and other fugitives.[39] Nejm-u'd-dîn, one of the greatest grandees of the Khuârezmian empire, had only a few days before visited the place with his riches. On entering it he was so impressed with its strength that he said to Nissavi, "We will await the Tartars here. But when he saw that they attacked it on its weakest side, he grew afraid and asked the governor to let him down into the plain by ropes at a place where he would not be seen. This Nissavi did, and he escaped.[40] The place was attacked with vigour, but presently the Mongol commander, having satisfied himself that he would require a larger force to take it, and having determined to raise the siege, sent a messenger to ask for 10,000 cotton ropes and other articles, "although," says Nissavi, "they were gorged with booty from Nissa. I consented, but when it became necessary to take these objects to them, no one would volunteer,

[33] Nissavi, quoted by De la Croix, pp. 267 and 268.
[34] D'Ohsson, vol. I, pp. 275 and 6.
[35] De la Croix, p. 269. [36] Id., p. 268.
[37] De la Croix, pp. 269 and 270; D'Ohsson, vol. I, pp. 276 and 277.
[38] Called Caendar by De la Croix.
[39] D'Ohsson, vol. I, p. 277.
[40] De la Croix, pp. 270 and 271.

as it was known they killed everybody. Eventually two old men devoted themselves to the task, and having brought their children to me, recommended them to my care if they should be killed. They did, in fact, kill them."[41] They then spread themselves over Khorasan. "When they entered a district," says Nissavi, "they assembled the peasants, and took them with them to the town they meant to attack, using them in working the siege machinery. Terror and desolation spread everywhere, so that he who was made prisoner was more at ease than he who awaited events at home. The gentry with their servants and weapons were also obliged to help in these siege operations. Those who refused were attacked in their houses, and slaughtered with their households."[42]

Tugachar now marched upon Nishapur, where vigorous preparations had been made to receive him. Besides catapults and balistas, there were 3,000 machines for discharging iron projectiles filled with inflammable composition, in shape like rockets, naphtha in flasks, and 300 ghirarahs (some unknown projectiles), etc. etc. The place was attacked in December 1220. Three days later Tugachar was struck at the time of mid-day prayer by some projectile, and was killed. Thereupon the next in command, whose name Major Raverty reads as the Noyan Nurka, deeming it impossible to capture the place with the force he had with him, divided his army into two sections; with one of these he assailed Sebzevar, which he captured in three days and put the inhabitants to the sword to the number of 70,000, and then apparently went to join Subutai and Chepe, who had sent for reinforcements. The other division he sent to assist Timur, who had gone to Tus, as we have mentioned. He speedily captured the strong fortresses in that district which still held out, including Kar and Nokan. Major Raverty says the fortress of Jand, near Tus.[43]

Let us now turn to Tului and his doings. He marched apparently straight upon Merv, otherwise known as Merv Shâh-i-Jihan, *i.e.* king of the world, situated five leagues to the north of Merv-ar-Rud. The Seljûk Sultân Malik Shâh made it his capital, and was buried there. It produced several learned men, and Yakut tells us how he had seen its three public libraries, one of which contained 12,000 MSS. It was twelve days distant from Nishapur, Herat, Balkh, and Bukhara respectively, and the three rivers that watered it made it very fertile.[44] When Muḥammad Khuârezm Shâh retired he advised such of the people of Merv who could do so to remove to the neighbouring fortress, and those who could not were to submit.[45] Its former governor, Mujir-ul-Mulk, had been displaced for some fault by Nejm-u'd-dîn, styled Bahai-ul-Mulk, who, on the approach of Subutai and Chepe retired to a neighbouring fortress, whose name is a good instance of the difficulties created by Eastern orthography. D'Ohsson calls it Méraga, Erdmann Szeraghah, Abulghazi Yaraz, and Raverty Tak.[46] It was perhaps Maruchak. Presently, not deeming himself safe there, he went on to Alatagh, a very powerful fortress of Taberistan.[47] Several other chiefs presently returned to Merv, while the rest dispersed. Nejm-u'd-dîn's deputy at Merv, as well as the *mufti*, were in favour of submitting to the Mongols; the Kadhi and chief of the Sayids, on the contrary, wished to resist them. The former apparently prevailed, and when Chepe and Subutai arrived at Maruchak, a deputation from Merv went to offer submission. But about this time a Turcoman officer, named Buka, who had formed part of the escort of Muḥammad, having collected a body of his people threw himself into the town, and was joined by all those who were in favour of resistance, and who had suffered severely at the hands of the Mongols. His domination did not last long. The former governor of Merv, Mujir-ul-Mulk, after Muḥammad's death, had travelled partly on foot and partly on a lame ass he had with him to the fortress of Salug (Major Raverty places it in Ghilan), where he was received with much consideration by the governor, and afterwards went on to Merv, and took up his quarters in the garden, named Mahi-abad, near the Sermad-shihan Gate. Major Raverty says the Dar-i-Sarrajan, or Gate of the Saddlers. He was joined by many

[41] D'Ohsson, vol. I, p. 277.
[42] D'Ohsson, vol. I, p. 278.
[43] *Jihan Kushai*, in D'Ohsson, vol. I, pp. 278 and 279; Erdmann, pp. 418 and 419; *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 1027 and 1028 note.
[44] De la Croix, pp. 294 and 295.
[45] Erdmann, pp. 389 and 390.
[46] D'Ohsson, vol. I, p. 279; Erdmann, p. 390; Abulghazi, p. 131; *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, p. 1028 note.
[47] D'Ohsson, vol. I, p. 280 note.

of the citizens. The troops also went over to him, so that he found himself at the head of 7,000 or 8,000 men, and at length Buka himself was constrained to submit. Mujir-ul-Mulk now aspired to a higher position than that of vizier. He pretended to be of the royal stock, his mother having belonged to Muḥammad's harem, and having been *enceinte* when she was given in marriage to the person who passed for his father.[48] He also had a large property and a palace at Merv. The Sheikh-ul-Islâm of Merv, Shems-u'd-dîn Harisi, who was a partizan of the Mongols, sent a message secretly to his relative, the Kadhi of Sarakhs, whose inhabitants had submitted to them, and sought to embroil him with Mujir-ul-Mulk. The latter suspected his treason, but did not move until he, in fact, confessed it by pronouncing as he preached in the mosque the phrase, "May all the enemies of the Mongols perish." The people who heard the words were enraged. He then tried to evade them by saying the words had passed his lips contrary to his will. Shortly after, one of his letters to the Kadhi of Sarakhs was intercepted. When charged he denied the treason, but was convicted by the production of the letter. He was put to death, and his body was dragged through the city at a horse's tail, and left to the dogs.[49]

Meanwhile the Sultân's deputy, Bahai-ul-Mulk, went from Alatagh to Mazanderan, and there made terms with the Mongols, offering to hand over the city to them, and to pay them a tribute in cotton cloth if they would give him the command of it. They accordingly let him go, with a Mongol escort of 7,000 men. When he arrived at Shahristan he heard of the revolution which had taken place at Merv, and wrote to Mujir-ul-Mulk, who was at the head of 80,000 men, that it was no use resisting the Mongols, whose power was overwhelming, that 7,000 of them with 10,000 light troops were marching on Merv, and that he wished to warn him before it was too late. This news caused terror in the town, the two messengers who took the letter were questioned about it, and confessed its truth. They were killed, and detachments sent out to scour the roads. The Mongols, on their part, finding that Bahai-u'l-Mulk had deceived them put him to death, and then withdrew. Mujir-ul-Mulk now sent troops to Sarakhs, where the Kadhi Shems-u'd-dîn was seized, and accused of taking presents to Chepe, and of having accepted the government of the town from the Mongols. He was handed over to the son of pahluvan Abubakr Diwaneh, whose father he had killed, and was put to death. Meanwhile, as no news of the Mongols arrived, Mujir-ul-Mulk allowed himself to be lulled into a false security, until Ikhtiyar-u'd-dîn, the governor of Amuyah, who was a Turkoman, arrived with the news that they had crossed the Oxus at Amuyah, and were investing Kala-i-Nau. A party of 800 of them, accordingly were attacked in rear by 2,000 Khuârezmians under Shekh Khân and Aghul the Hajib, and all killed, except 30, who were captured, paraded about the town, and then put to death, after which the Turcomans were so elated that having chosen Ikhtiyar-u'd-dîn as their leader, they refused to obey Mujir-ul-Mulk, and failing to surprise the town plundered its environs.[50]

Erdmann tells a different story. He says that the Khuârezmians numbered 10,000 men, and were commanded by Shekh Khân and Aghul Saḥib, that they were the beaten party and were nearly exterminated, and that their two chiefs were forced to seek shelter at Destejerd.[51]

This was only the Mongol advance guard. However, Tului, whose people were now masters of Sarakhs, Nissa, Abiverd, and other places in the neighbourhood, with a force of 70,000 men, was close behind. We are told, how 400 (? 4,000) of his men, who went out to reconnoitre, attacked and dispersed 12,000 ! ! ! Turkomans, who were encamped at a place called Kiul " like wolves dispersing a herd of sheep.' They committed a great slaughter, women and children sharing the fate of men—and they captured 60,000 head of cattle, without counting sheep.[52] The following day, that is to say, on the 1st of February 1221, they appeared before the Firuz gate of the city, having been guided by a shepherd named Rani, and Tului made a circuit about it at the head of 500 horsemen. A week later the main army took up its quarters there. I will continue the story

[48] D'Ohsson, vol. I, pp. 279 and 281; Erdmann, pp. 398 and 399; De la Croix, p. 293 *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, p. 1029 note.

[49] D'Ohsson, vol. I, p. 282; Erdmann, p. 399; *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, p. 1029 note.

[50] D'Ohsson, vol. I, p. 284; *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, p. 1030 note.

[51] *Op. cit.*, p. 401.

[52] Erdmann, p. 413; *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, p. 1031 note.

in the graphic words of Ibn-al-Athir, as sent to me by my excellent friend, Dr. Rieu.

"They advanced upon Merv and besieged it, and they laboured at the siege and were urgent in fighting, and the people of the city were weakened by their former defeat at the camp, and the greatness of the slaughter and the taking of prisoners from among them. And when, the fifth day after the defeat, the Tartars sent to the Amîr, who was in Merv, commanding over those who were in it, saying to him, "Do not destroy thyself and the people of the town, come forth to us, and we will make thee Amîr of this town, and will withdraw from thee." He sent to ask amnesty for himself and the people of the city. So they gave them quarter, and he came forth to them, and the son of Chinghiz Khân invested him with a robe of honour, and paid him respect, and said to him: "I desire that thou shouldst review thy companions, to see whoso is fit for our service, that we may take him into our service and give him lands and attendance upon us (*i.e.* the honour of being near our presence). And when they presented themselves, having them thus in his power, he seized them and their Amîr, and beat their necks; and when he had done with them he said to them, "Summon hither the merchants of the city and the owners of wealth in superfluity, and those who know trades and handicrafts, representatives (of each), and let them show (their skill) before us, and do what is commanded them. And when the specimens were finished, he ordered that the people of the town should depart from it with their families. So they all departed, and not one perished in it. Then he seated himself on a throne of gold, and ordered that those of the soldiers that he had seized should present themselves. So they brought them to the presence, and their necks were beaten severely, the people helping them and weeping. And as to the populace, the men, women, and children were separated, and it was a day of much vehement crying out, and weeping and wailing. And they took the owners of wealth, and beat them, and tortured them with a variety of tortures, demanding riches: and sometimes one of them died from the severity of the beating and there remained not to him wherewithal to ransom his life. Then they burned the city, and burned the tomb of Sulṭân Sanjar (the Seljûk), and they dug up the grave in search of treasure, and continued thus three days, and on the fourth day he ordered the slaughter of the people of the city, every one of them, for he said 'they resisted us.' So they killed them all, and he ordered the slain to be numbered. There were about 700,000 killed, and verily to God we belong and to Him we shall return."

Major Raverty has collected some other facts about the surrender of the city, which are interesting. He tells us how, on the twenty-third day of the siege, Mujir-ul-Mulk sent the Imâm Jamal-u'd-dîn, who presented himself before Tului with the chief ecclesiastics of the place, and having offered the customary presents, offered if he would spare the lives of the inhabitants and not destroy the city to pay a ransom of 200,000 dinars, 30,000 kharwars of grain, 100,000 ambling horses, and 100 Hindu and Turki slaves, to accept a Shahnah or Mongol governor, and to pay taxes. These terms were accepted, a dress of honour was given to the Imâm, and he was sent back. Next day Mujir-ul-Mulk with ten of the principal men came out with presents, and presented himself before Tului. He was stopped at the entrance by the Amirs, who exacted from him 300 ass loads of dinars for Tului and 100,000 dinars for themselves, for which an order was to be given them on the wealthier citizens. They promised that they would obtain in return Tului's written guarantee for the lives of the inhabitants. Wishing to save the people, he gave the order on 100 rich merchants in the city, and sent a party of Mongols with it to receive the money. They seized and tortured these unfortunate men and a great crowd beside. They then cut off the nose, ears, and lips of Mujir-ul-Mulk, and put him to death.[53] D'Ohsson, apparently following the *Jihan Kushai*, tells us that a list of the richest men in Merv was made out at Tului's demand. This consisted of 200 merchants and proprietors, who were sent to the Mongol camp with 400 skilled artizans, whose names had also been inscribed on the list. The people took four days to defile out of the city, and while Tului sat on a golden throne the military captives were brought before him and

[53] *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, p. 1033.

decapitated in the view of their fellow-citizens, and men, women, and children were separated, and then divided among their inexorable captors for slaughter, and in this butchers' work the soldiery from Sarakhs, to revenge the death of their Imâm, rivalled the Mongols themselves. The artizans and a few young people destined to be slaves were alone spared. The richer citizens were tortured to make them disclose their wealth.[54] The author of the *Jihan Kushai* says further that the Syed Iz-u'd-dîn and several others were engaged for thirteen days in counting the corpses, which were found to number 1,300,000.[55] This, no doubt, includes, in addition to the actual inhabitants of Merv, many who had sought shelter there from the neighbouring towns. Orders were given to raze the walls and to burn the Maksura of the Hainfah Mosque. Tului nominated one of the magnates of the place, who had doubtless been treacherous to his people, and who was named Zia-u'd-dîn Ali, as governor of its ruins, with Barmias as shahnah, or daruga, and then withdrew.

Soon after its capture news arrived at Merv that the son of the pahluvan Abûbakr Divânah had revolted at Sarakhs. Zia-u'd-dîn set out with the troops at Merv to put down this revolt, while Barmias taking with him the artizans and others in his charge, set out with them for Bukhara, intending to settle there. When the latter had left the place, fancying that it was because he must have heard some news of the approach of the Sulṭân Jelal-u'd-dîn, the indomitable, but most imprudent remnant of the inhabitants had the trumpets sounded and broke out into revolt. This was in the beginning of Ramâzan 618 hij. Bamias hearing of this returned, went to the gate and summoned the rebels to submit. As none of them obeyed, he revenged himself by killing some people whom he met with about the gate, and then continued his march to Bukhara with his companions, among whom was the Khoja Muhadseb-u'd-dîn of Astarâbâd, who had expressed a wish that Barmias would appoint him Shahnah of Merv during his absence.

Meanwhile Zia-u'd-dîn returned again from Sarakhs under pretence of restoring order at Merv, to take provisions to its inhabitants, and to divide the plunder he had with him among them, and sent them a letter by his son, Bahai-ul-Mulk. He seems to have obtained possession of the town again, and proceeded to rebuild the walls and fortifications. Presently Kush-tigîn pahluvan, called Nush Tigîn by Raverty, one of the Sulṭân's officers, arrived before the place, and proceeded to invest it. The people inside were largely favourable to him, so Zia-u'd-dîn withdrew from the place, and marched to attack Meragha.[56] Kush-tigîn entered and proceeded once more to collect people, and to introduce cultivation there. Some of the inhabitants, however, were partizans of Zia-u'd-dîn, and sent to ask him to return. He went, and while halting at the gate sent some of his followers to announce his arrival to his supporters. Kush-tigîn having heard of this had him seized and taken before him, and as he knew that his own life would be forfeited if he fell into his opponent's hands he had him put to death, and continued with great confidence his work of restoration. Meanwhile he heard that Kharaja Noyan was marching against Sarakhs. He accordingly collected 1,000 men, and fled towards Seng-pusht. Kharaja pursued and attacked him, and slew the greater part of his men. Three or four days later 200 horsemen approached Merv under Khutkhu Noyan, called Fiku by Raverty, and offered its people peace. As they refused this, and preferred to trust to their fortifications he sent to Nakhsheb with news of what had occurred to the two commanders, Bertai and Khubai. Raverty mentions one only, and calls him Turbai or Turtai. Bertai arrived five days later with 5,000 men under the command of a general named Ak Mâlik. They surrounded the place immediately, and speedily occupied it, and sent its defenders to the shambles in parties of ten and twenty until, we are told, they had slaughtered 100,000 of them, an immense number considering what had already occurred, unless many of them were strangers who had sought refuge there. They then proceeded deliberately to ruin the markets, palaces, mosques, and other principal buildings. Bertai or Turtai then left again with the Mongol army for Nakhsheb while Ak Mâlik hunted all those who had

[54] D'Ohsson, vol. I, pp. 285 and 286; Erdmann, pp. 410—414.

[55] D'Ohsson, vol. I, p. 287.

[56] Called Murghah by Major Raverty.

furtively escaped, and in order to gain his purpose had recourse to craft. He ordered a man from Nakhsheb whom he had with him to sound the summons to prayers. Those who obeyed were immediately killed. The pitiless hunting down of the inhabitants continued for forty-one days.[57] Major Raverty says "but twelve persons, some say only four and no more, were left alive in Merv, and these, according to the *Rauzat u's Safa*, were Hindus."

But the situation was much too important and attractive to be deserted so long as there were people within access, and we are told that many who had fled to the deserts and otherwise concealed themselves returned on the withdrawal of the Mongols, over whom a prince Arslan took command. A band of predatory robbers, 10,000 strong, thus gathered round him, with whom he made attacks upon Merv-u'r-Rud, Talikan, etc., and plundered the Mongols of cattle and horses. His authority lasted for six months. From another side the Turkoman Hus Nesa made an attack upon Merv, where Basrah was then administrator. The latter was driven away, and was killed. Kharaja marched to the relief of Merv with 1000 men from Talikan, and having appeared there unexpectedly slew all he could lay his hands upon, and the work was completed by a large army of Afghans and men from Ghaznî, who soon after arrived under Khutkhu.[58] The beautiful and prosperous city was now overwhelmed, and it remained desolate until the year 812 hij., when Shâh Rukh, the son of the great Timur, ordered it to be rebuilt.[59]

Let us now revert to Tului. After the capture of Merv, he set out for Nishapur to revenge himself for the death of his brother-in-law, Tugachar. Nishapur was one of the most famous cities of Asia. Its name means city of Sapor, and during the Sassanian dynasty it was the capital of Khorasan, and was emphatically called Iran. It had been destroyed twice in less than a century. In 1153 by the Oghuz Turks who revolted against Sultân Sanjar, and in 1208 by an earthquake, but it had risen from its ruins and was a very prosperous and populous place, now prepared for a vigorous resistance, being well fortified, while its walls were lined with 3,000 balistas and 500 catapults. The Mongols on their side also made very extensive preparations. They proceeded to lay waste the province of which Nishapur was the capital, and brought up a great siege train. They had with them 3,000 balistas and 300 catapults, 700 machines for throwing naphtha, 4,000 ladders, and 2,500 loads of stones. These they had brought with them for some distance, although the surrounding mountains furnished an ample supply. The preparations cowed the defenders, and they sent the chief judge of the province, Rukn-u'd-dîn Ali ibn Ibrahim Almoghni, with some notables, and bearing rich presents, offering to pay an annual tribute if the place were spared, but Tului refused any terms, and detained the chief judge. The next day he made the tour of the fortifications, encouraging his men to fight bravely. The assault was given simultaneously from all sides on the 7th of April 1221, the struggle lasted all day and the following night when, the ditches being filled and the walls breached in seventy places, the place was stormed, the attack being especially pressed at the so-called Camel-driver's Gate and the Kharakhusian bastion. The Mongols speedily drove the defenders from the walls, and they now proceeded to an indiscriminate slaughter. Every living thing that was found was put to death, even the cats and dogs. Tugachar's widow headed a *tuman* or 10,000 men in the bloody work of slaughter, and among their notable victims was Mujir-ul-Mulk, who reviled them bitterly, and was put to death in an ignominious fashion. The carnage lasted for four days, and as Tului had heard that at Merv some people had escaped by hiding among the dead he ordered the heads of the corpses to be cut off, and separate pyramids to be formed of men's, women's, and children's heads. Four hundred artizans were spared, and sent to the far east where, Raverty says, their descendants were still living in Timur's days. Those who hid in the ground were sought out by troops specially left to complete the work. "The walls, towers, and all the buildings of Nishapur were thrown down, and for seven days and nights the water of the neighbouring river, which had been dammed up for the purpose was made to run over it so as to sap what-

[57] Erdmann, pp. 416 and 418; *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, p. 1034 note.

[58] Erdmann, pp. 417 and 418.

[59] *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*; pp. 1033 note.

ever buildings remained. The greater number of houses were probably built of unburnt bricks, and bullocks and ploughs were brought, and its site was sown with barley, and the Mongol horses fed on it when it sprang up. One Mongol officer and four Tajiks were left to slay any who might have escaped the massacre. Minhaj-i-Saraj says Tului martyred every person in Nishapur, desolated it, razed the walls of the city, and having had a pair of oxen yoked he had them driven over the city, so that not a vestige of its buildings remained.[60] Nissavi says that four or five years after, Jelal-u'd-dîn Khuârezm Shâh having recovered Persia, let out to farm the right of digging for treasure in the desolated district for 30,000 dînars a year. Often this sum was recovered in a single day, and even more—treasure buried with its owners.[61] Twelve days were spent in counting the dead, which Mirkhond tells us numbered 1,747,000,[62] a terrible hecatomb, representing very probably the depopulation not of the city merely, but of the whole district. It has been remarked as strange that these cities of Khorasan did not offer the sturdy resistance to the Mongols that was offered by the smaller fortresses, but the fact is that, like Paris in the recent siege the very number of useless mouths to be fed was a great source of weakness to the garrison, and created a continual clamour for terms.

Ibn-al-Athir says that when the Mongols had made an end of Nishapur they sent a detachment to Tus, which did the like again there, and pillaged it and plundered the tombs of Ali-ibn Musa-ar-Riza (the descendant of the Prophet, so much venerated by the Shias) and Ḥarûn-ar-Rashîd, until they reduced everything to ruins. Tus revived again with great splendour during the dynasty of the Sefei, who changed its site a little, and gave it the new name of Meshed.

Tului also ravished the district of Kuhistan, and then proceeded to attack Herat, the only great town left intact in Khorasan. Having reached Bartu, a place near Herat, called Shabartu by Raverty, he sent an envoy named Zenbur to summon the place, which was governed by Malik Shems-u'd-dîn Jurjânî. We are told by Khuandamir that he was only nominally subject to the Khuârezm Shâh, with whom he was in fact at feud, and had surprised Herat during the absence of Amin Mâlik, the Sulṭân's uncle. The garrison is said to have numbered 100,000.[63] Tului's envoy asked that the prince himself with his generals, judges, and other grandees should come out and make his submission. He replied truculently, that "it was far from him to submit himself to unbelieving Tartars and Mongols," and he ordered the envoy to be put to death. This naturally greatly enraged Tului, and he drew near the city with his forces. It proved, however, to be very strongly fortified, being then as now one of the most important fortresses of Asia, and its garrison resisted and fought desperately. Several thousands of the besiegers were killed, and among them 1,700 of Tului's picked men, his beks, says Abulghazi. The struggle thus went on for seven days, on the eighth a furious battle was fought, during which Shems-u'd-dîn was killed by an arrow. This fact was concealed, but two parties immediately arose inside. The town was only a recent conquest of the Khuârezm Shâh's, and could not be expected to be very loyal to him. One party, including Jelal-u'd-dîn's supporters and the troops, were for resisting to the end. The other, consisting of the Persian citizens with the Kadhi and other magnates, were for asking terms. The fact of its dubious allegiance to Jelal-u'd-dîn, and the great resistance he had received doubtless induced Tului, notwithstanding his envoy's death, to treat it better than was his wont. He rode to the edge of the ditch with 200 men, and offered the people their lives if they would submit and obey his deputies, and he promised to exact from them only half the taxes paid to the Khuârezm Shâh, and fortified his promise with a strong oath. Thereupon the city gates were thrown open. First of all the Muqaddam, or superintendent of the weavers, Erdmann says the guardian of the wardrobe, the Amîr Iz'u'd-dîn, came out with 100 people of his trade, each bearing nine pieces of famous Herat cloth as a present for Tului, who received them well, as he did the magnates of the place. He kept his word so far as the civilians were concerned, but he

[60] *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 1031-1034, and notes; Erdmann, p. 419; D'Ohsson, vol. I, pp. 288-290.
[61] D'Ohsson, vol. I, p. 291.
[62] Erdmann, p. 420.
[63] De la Croix, pp. 298 and 299.

ordered the soldiery, 12,000 in number, who were supporters of Jelal-u'd-dîn, to be put to death. He appointed the Malik Abu-bekr Meraghani governor of Herat, and nominated Mangatai or Mangai, called Mengfai by Erdmann, as its shahnah or governor.[64]

Eight days after the capture of Herat Tului received orders to rejoin his father before Talikan.

A curious story was afterwards reported about the siege of Herat by Wahidu'd-dîn Bushauj or Fushauj, the Kadhi of Gharjistân, and is reported by Minhaj-i-Saraj, who claims to have heard it from the hero of the story, whom he met at Kain in the year 622 hij. The story has been repeated by Mirkhond, and from his version Erdmann no doubt took the story as told by him. The Kadhi's story is that during the siege he was in the habit like other people of donning his armour and mounting the ramparts to view the forces. One day when thus dressed in full panoply, and while the struggle was going on outside he missed his footing and rolled like a ball down the rampart amidst a shower of weapons from the Mongols and renegade Musalmâns with them, and rolling into their midst was captured by a party of them. This was opposite where Tului had his tent pitched, and he rolled 20 ells (gaz) down the slope of the rampart and then dropped 40 ells more into the ditch, and this without a wound or any injury. Tului, when he had alighted, sent some people to fetch him, and finding he was unhurt asked if he belonged to the race of Adam, or was a *pari*, a demon, an angel, or did he hold a charm bearing the names of the Ulugh Tengri, i.e. the Great God. The diplomatic Kadhi replied that he belonged to the unfortunate learned class which blesses and prays, and that he had only one thing with him, namely, the fact of having seen him (Tului) was enough to secure his safety. The answer pleased the Mongol chief, who praised his wit, gave him some presents, and promised to present him to his father. Meanwhile he made him over to the care of one of the principal Mongols. When Tului rejoined his father he took the Kadhi with him, and he joined his service. "I was constantly in attendance at his threshold," he says, "and he used continually to inquire of me the traditions of the prophets and concerning the sovereigns of Ajam, and the kings of the past, and would enquire, 'Did Muḥammad (on whom be peace) foretell aught about my rise and sway?' I used to relate to him the traditions of the prophet which they have related respecting the irruption of the Turks, and he used to say, 'My heart bears evidence that thou speakest the truth,' until one day during conversation he said to me, 'A mighty name will remain behind to me in the world through taking vengeance upon Muḥammad the Aghri'—he used to call Sultân Muḥammad Khuârezm Shâh by this term (and in the Mongol language *aghri* means a robber), and this expression he would greatly use and say, 'Khuârezm Shâh was not a monarch; he was a robber. Had he been a monarch he would not have slain my envoys and traders who go and come to Otrar, for kings should not slay ambassadors.' In short, when he enquired of me, 'Will not a mighty name remain behind me,' I bowed my face to the ground and said, 'If the Khân will promise the safety of my life, I will make a remark.' He replied, 'I have promised thee its security.' I said, 'A name continues to endure where there are people, but how will a name endure when the Khân's servants martyr all the people and massacre them, for who will remain to tell the tale?' When I finished this sentence, Chinghiz Khân dashed the bow and arrow which he had in his hand upon the ground, and became exceedingly enraged, and turned his face away from me, and his back towards me. When I beheld the effects of rage upon his impious brow, I washed my hands of life, and gave up all hope of existence. I made sure to myself that the time of my departure was come, and that I should leave the world from the blow of the sword of this accursed one. After a minute had passed away he turned his face towards me again, and said: "I used to consider thee a sagacious and prudent man, but from this speech of thine it has become evident to me that thou dost not possess complete understanding, and that thy comprehension is but small. There are many kings in the world, and wherever the hoofs of the horses

[64] Erdmann, pp. 420 and 421; *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, p. 1037 note; D'Ohsson, vol. I, p. 292.

of Muhammad the Aghri have reached, there I will carry slaughter and cause devastation. The remaining people who are in other parts of the world and the sovereigns of other kingdoms, they will relate my history." The Kadhi found he had lost favour with Chinghiz Khân by his too great frankness, and he accordingly took an early opportunity of making his escape.[65] The story, which has singular probabilities with it, is a good proof of the bitter animosity which the ruthless conduct of Muhammad had inspired, and how impossible the implacable tyrant found it to support the mingled insults and indignities which he had received, and of which the desolation of Khorasan was the price.

We have described Tului's campaign as reported by the Persian writers, and it will be well to complete it by the shorter notice given by the Chinese and native historians. In the *Yuan-shi* this campaign of Tului is given in epitome. We there read that he took the cities of Ma lu ch'a-ye k'o, *i e.* Maruchak, a district subject to Merv, Ma-lu, *i.e.* Meru or Merv, and Si-la-sze, *i.e.* Sarakhs. This is assigned to the year 1221. During the next year it is recorded that he took the cities of Tu-sze (Tus), Ni cha-wur (Nishapur), and when returning devastated the kingdom of the Mu-la-yi, *i.e.* the Mu-la-hids, Ismaelites, or assassins. In none of the western writers are we told that the Mongols at this time had any encounter with the Ismaelites. To continue, Tului crossed the river Ch'o-ch'o-lan, which may be also read Shuo-shuo-lan, and by which perhaps the Hari-rud is meant, captured the city of Ye-li, *i.e.* Herat, and other places, and then rejoined his father.[66] The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* tells us Tului captured the cities of Isiepur, *i.e.* Nishapur, Chukhchelîen, the Ch'o-ch'o-lan of the *Yuan-shi*, Ilu, *i.e.* Herat, and Sisten (Seistân). The *Huang-yuan* says in 1221 he took the cities of Ma-lu-ch'a-ye-k'o (Maruchak) Wulu (probably, says Bretschneider, a misprint for Malu or Merv), Si-la-sze (Sarakhs), Ni-sha-u-r (Nishapur), and Ye-li (Herat). In the spring of 1222 he took T'u sze (Tur), and Ni-sha-u-r(*i.e.* Nishapur, for the second time). At the beginning of the hot season he received orders to make haste and join his father; but before doing so, he made an incursion into the country of the Mu-la-di (*i.e.* the Mulahids), devastated it, crossed the river So-so-lan,[67] and reached Ye-li, *i.e.*, Herat.[68] The *Yuan-shi-lei-pen* tells us that Tului in this campaign was accompanied by the *idikut* of the Uighurs, whom it styles Itugu, king of the Igur, and who it says had command of 10,000 men. They secured Malu (*i.e.* Merv), Chakiko, (?) Malusilassi (Maruchak), Sarakhs and other places, and having secured a great booty in a kingdom called Mulay (*i.e.* of the Mulahids), crossed a river called Shu-shu-lan, and marching by way of Ye-li, *i.e.*, Herat, arrived at Talikan.[69]

FACSIMILES OF THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASÔKA.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo.C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

The want has long been felt of some purely mechanical facsimiles of the Asôka Edicts. As regards the process according to which lithographs are prepared from reduced copies made by eye from a comparison of impressions, photographs, and published texts,—no matter what amount of personal learning, skill, and attention, may be brought to the work, the fact remains that such lithographs are not facsimiles of the inscriptions as they really are, and they fail entirely to give any representation of the surroundings of the original writings. And, as long as such lithographs are the only ones available to the public, so long there cannot cease to be varieties of opinion and doubts and speculation as to what the readings of the original texts might be found to be, if they could be examined *in situ*.

I do not propose myself to enter into any of the questions of disputed readings. My desire is simply to make the necessary facsimiles available to those who have made a special study of the Asôka Edicts. And, with this object, I now issue six plates from Allahâbâd and Delhi. The plates have been prepared by a purely mechanical process throughout; being simply reduced by photo-lithography from the black-and-white ink impressions made by a

[65] *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 1038—1042; Erdmann, pp. 421 and 422.

[66] Bretschneider, *Notices, etc.*, pp. 61 and 62.
[67] Vide *ante*. [68] *Id.*, p. 66. [69] Gaubil, p. 38.

man who is employed by me specially for such work, and who has attained great proficiency in it. My own share of the work has simply been to revise the lithographs, and to see that they corresponded in all details with the impressions from which they were made In the case of inscriptions the letters of which are incised so deeply as those of these Aśôka Edicts are, the depression of the paper into the letters leads, in the photographic process, to a slight shadow being cast in places over what should be the pure white interiors of the letters; of this, plenty of instances may be seen throughout these plates. It could be remedied, of course, by clearing out the letters after the photograph has been transferred to the lithographic stone. But to do this to the extent that would be necessary would interfere with the purely mechanical nature of the lithographs; and, therefore, as the letters are sufficiently clear throughout in spite of these shadows, I have allowed the latter to remain as they are. With this sole exception, the plates now issued give absolutely faithful facsimiles of the original inscriptions and all their surroundings.

ALLAHÂBÂD.

The large column standing in the Fort at Allahâbâd contains three sets of Aśôka inscriptions;—Edicts I. to VI., in one block;—and, on other parts of the pillar, two small inscriptions which General Cunningham has named the Queen's Edict and the Kauśâmbî Edict. I publish, for the present, the first set only.

This block of writing begins on the south side of the pillar, towards the south-west, and ends on the north side, towards the north-east. The inscription covers an area of about 5′ 9″ high by 4′ 3″ broad. The top line is about 17′ 3″, and the bottom line about 11′ 6″, above the place where the pillar starts from its present pedestal. The average size of the letters,—that is to say, of such letters as are written entirely on the lines of writing,—varies from ⅞″ to 1¼″. The inscription was boldly and deeply engraved, and has suffered but little from the weather, except where the surface of the stone itself has peeled off. And the present confused appearance of it is due chiefly to the later inscriptions that have been engraved between the original lines of writing. The most serious damage that has been done to it is due to seven entire lines and the greater part of the eighth, line 16, having been entirely destroyed to make room for a circular inscription of Jahângîr which is there engraved round the column.[1]

DEHLI.

The present plates are from the pillar which is known by the name of Firôz Shâh's Lâṭ or the Siwâlik Pillar, and which stands in a very conspicuous position on the top of a three-storeyed building, about half a mile to the south of the south-east corner of the walls of the city, and on the right bank of the river Jamnâ.

The pillar contains five blocks of Aśôka inscriptions, arranged, with small blank spaces between them, as follows,—on the north side, Edicts I., II., and III., covering a space of about 4′ 9″ high by 2′ 3″ broad; on the west side Edict IV., covering a space of about 4′ 4″ high by 2′ 1″ broad; on the south side, Edict V., covering a space of about 4′ 6″ high by 2′ 5″ broad; and on the east side, Edicts VI. and VII., covering a space of about 4′ 9″ high by 1′ 11″ broad. The top lines of these blocks are on the same level all the way round, and are about 17′ 9″ high above the level of the plinth from which the pillar rises. Immediately below the bottom line on the east side,—almost in the same line vertically with the first letters of each line of Edicts VI. and VII.; and separated from the latter by only the ordinary space between each line,—there commences the fifth block of writing, which, following General Cunningham, I have described on the plate as Edict VIII. or the Circular Edict, but which Dr. Bühler shows below to be only an amplification of Edict VII. The writing here covers a space of about 2′ 6″ high by 9′ 0″ broad, and runs all round the pillar with the exception of a blank space that varies from 3″ at the end of line 1 to 5¾″ at the end of line 10. The curve in the lines that is presented in the lithograph, is due, of course, to the fact that the pillar tapers as it ascends; on the original pillar, the letters of each line are on the same level all the way round. The bottom line of this circular inscription is about 10′ 6″ above

[1] To economise space, this gap in the inscription has, in the lithograph, been reduced in a greater proportion than the rest of the inscription.

the level of the plinth from which the pillar rises. The average size of the letters of these five blocks of writing varies from $\frac{7}{8}''$ to $1\frac{7}{8}''$; and they are boldly and deeply engraved. On the south side, a piece of the stone has peeled off, carrying with it four letters and part of a fifth of line 7, and parts of three letters of line 8. And in the same way, two larger pieces,—the first of them originating in a crack the commencement of which is discernible above the second letter of line 21 on the east side,—have peeled off in the circular amplification of Edict VII. With the exception of these places, and a few smaller ones of the same kind, these inscriptions have suffered but little from the weather or other injury, the only parts that are really illegible through the effects of the weather being towards the centre of lines 1, 2, and 3, of the circular amplification of Edict VII. The only other remark that appears to be called for, is that the whole surface of this pillar is full of small natural holes which might here and there perhaps be mistaken for nasal marks.

TRANSCRIPTS OF THE DEHLI AND ALLAHABAD PILLAR EDICTS OF AŚÔKA.[1]

BY DR. G. BUHLER, C.I.E.

The subjoined of Mr. J. F. Fleet's new facsimiles of the Dehli (Siwalik) and Allahabad pillar-edicts, as far as the materials at my command permit me to judge, appear to be absolutely trustworthy representations of the originals. In fulfiling my task I have closely adhered to the division of the words adopted by Aśôka's masons, who in the Dehli version have formed curious groups separated by considerable intervals, while in the Allahabad version they have placed all *aksharas* at equal distances from each other. Though it is not my intention to give here a new translation of the pillar-edicts, or to discuss their contents, I cannot refrain from adding a remark which seriously affects the interpretation of the Dehli version. The number of the edicts in the latter is not *eight*, as the facsimile states, in accordance with the opinion of Prinsep and other scholars, but *seven*. The piece which is usually called the eighth, or the circular edict, is nothing but an enlargement of the seventh, and gives the full details regarding the institutions by which Aśôka tried to secure 'the growth of the law.' It is a well-known fact, mentioned also specially in the XIVth rock-edict, that Aśôka published his edicts in large, short, and middling versions, frequently repeating the same statements 'on account of the sweetness of the subject.' If the last sentence of the seventh edict is connected with the beginning of the so-called eighth, and *etaṁ jane anupaṭipajīsati abhyuṁnamisati dhaṁmavaḍhiyâ cha vaḍhisati* is taken together, the translation, 'The people, having heard it, will follow it, exalt it, and grow the growth of the law,' gives a perfectly good sense, and the difficulties, with which former translators have struggled, completely disappear.

Transcript.

Edict I.

Dehli, North side.

[१] देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजहेवंआहा सडुवीसति
[२] वस अभिसितेनमे इयंधंमलिपि लिखापिता
[३] हिदतपालते दुसंपटिपादये अंनतअगायाधंमका-
मताया
[४] अगायपलीखाया अगायसुसूसाया अगेनभयेना
[५] अगेनउसाहेना एसचुखोमम अनुसथिया
[६] धंमापेखा धंमकामताचा सुवेसुवेवढिता वढीस-
तिचेवा
[७] पुलिसापिचमे उकसाचा गेवयाचा मझिमाचा
अनुविधीयंति

Allahabad.

[१] देवानंपियेपियदसीलाजाहेवंआहासडुवीसातिवसा-
भिसितेनमेइयंधंमलिपिलिखापिताहिदतपालतेदुसं-
पटिपादये
[२] अंनतअगायधंमकामतायअगायपलीखायअगायसु-
सूसायाअगेनभयेनअनउसाहेनएसचुखोममअनुस-
थिया
[३] धंमापेखाधंमकामताचसुवेसुवेवढितावढिसतिचेवा-
पुलिसापिमेउकसाचगेवयाचमझिमाचअनुविधीयं-
तिसंपटिपादयंतिच

[1] For M. Senart's transcription of these edicts from the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, together with his translations, *see ante*, vol. XII, pp. 71ff. 275ff.

THE DELHI SIWALIK PILLAR.—NORTH SIDE.

Edicts I. II. and III

Edict I.

Edict II.

Edict III.

J. F. FLEET, Bo. C.S.   SCALE ·16   W. GRIGGS, Photo-Lith

THE DELHI SIWALIK PILLAR.—WEST SIDE.

Edict IV

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J. F. FLEET, Bo. C.S. SCALE .17 W. GRIGGS, Photo-Lith.

INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA.

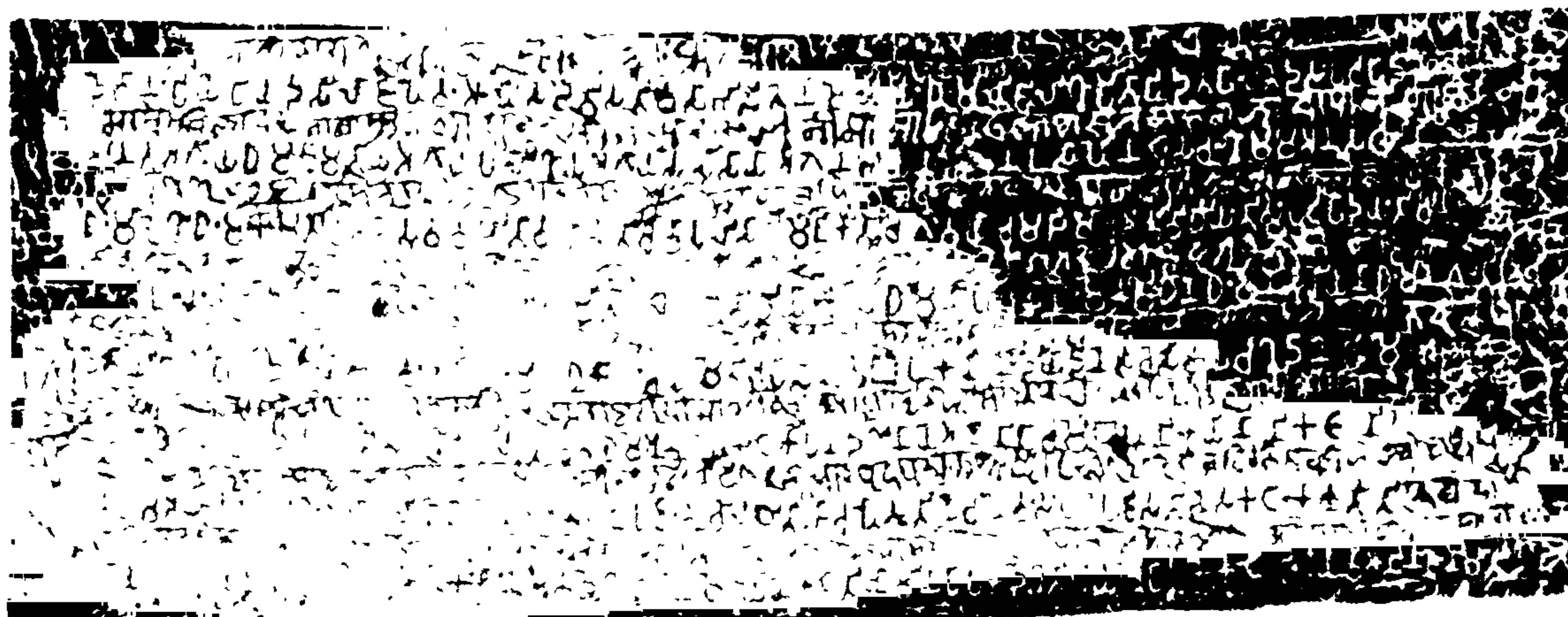
THE ALLAHABAD PILLAR.

Edicts I. II. III. IV. V. and VI.

Edict I.

Edict II.

Edict III.



Edict IV.

(SEVEN LINES DESTROYED BY JAHANGIR'S INSCRIPTION.)

Edict V.

Edict VI.



J. F. FLEET, Bo. C.S. SCALE ·15 W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH

[8] संपटिपादयंतिचा अलंचपलंसमादपयितवे हेमेवा-
अंत
[9] महामातापि एसपिविधि याइयंधंमेनपालना धंमेन-
विधाने
[10] धंमेनसुखियना धंमेनगोतीति

[4] अलंचपलंसमादपयितवेहेमेवअंतमहामातापिए-
साहिविधियाइयंधंमेनपालनाधंमेनाविधानेधंमेनसु-
खीयनाधंमेनगुति

Edict II.

देवानंपिये पियदसिलाजा
[11] हेवंआहा धंमेसाधू कियंचुधंमेति अपासिनवे
बहुकयाने
[12] दयादाने सचेसोचये चखुदानेपिमे बहुविधेदिंने
दुपद
[13] चतुपदेसु पखिवालि वलेसु विविधेमेअनुगहेकटे
आपान
[14] दाखिनाये अंनानिपि चमेबहूनि कयानानिकटानि
एतायेमे
[15] अठाये इयंधंमलिपिलिखापिता हेवंअनुपटिपजंतु
चिलं
[16] थितिकाचहोतूतीति येचहेवंसंपटिपजीसति सेसु-
कटंकछतीति

[5] देवानंपियेपियदसीलाजाहेवंआहाधंमेसाधुकियंचुधं
मेतिअपासिनवेबहुकयानेदयादानेसचेसोचयेचखु-
दानेपिमे
[6] बहुविधेदिंनेदुपदंचतुपदेसुपाखिवालिचलेसुविविधे-
मेअनुगहेकटेआपानदाखिनायेअंनानिपिचमेबहुनिक-
यानानिकटानि
[7] एतायेमेअठायेइयंधंमलिपिलिखापिताहेवंअनुपटि-
पजंतुचिलठितीकाचहोतूतियेचहेवंसंपटिपजिसति-
सेसुकटंकछतीति

Edict III.

[17] देवानंपिये पियदसिलाजहेवंअहा कयानंमेवदेखाति
इयंमे
[18] कयानेकटेति नोमिनपापंदेखाति इयंमेपापेकटेति
इयंवाआसिनवे
[19] नामति दुपटिवेखवुखोएसा हेवंचुखोएसदेखिये
इमानि
[20] आसिनवगामीनिनाम अथचंडिये निठूलिये
कोधे माने इस्या
[21] कालनेनवहकं मापलिभसयिसं एसबाढदेखिये
इयंमे
[22] हिदतिकाये इयंमनमे पालतिकाये

[8] देवानंपियेपियदसीलाजाहेवंआहाकयानमेवदेखाति-
इयंमेकयानेकटेतिनोमिनपापकंदेखातिइयंमेपापकेकटे-
तिइयंवाआसिनवेनामाति
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Edict IV.

Dehli, West side.

[1] देवानंपिये पियदसिलाजहेवंआहा सडुवीसतिवस
[2] अभिसितेनमे इयंधंमलिपिलिखापिता लजूकामे
[3] बहूसुपानसतसहसेसु जनसिआयता तेसंयेअभि-
हालेवा
[4] दंडेवा अतपतियेमेकटे किंतिलजूका अस्वथअभीता
[5] कंमानिपवतयेवू जनसजानपदसा हितसुखंपदहेवू
[6] अनुगहिनेवुचा सुखीयन दुखीयनंजानिसंति धंम-
युतेनच
[7] वियोवदिसंति जनंजानपदं किंतिहिदतंच पालतंच
[8] आलाधयेवूति लजकापिलघंति पटिचलितवेमं
पुलिसानिपिमे

Allahabad.

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[9] छंदंनानिपटिचलिसंति तेपिचकानिवियोवदिसंति येनमंलजूका	- -
[10] चघंतिआलाधयितवे अथाहिपजं वियतायेधातिये निसिजितु	- -
[11] अस्वथेहोति वियतधाति चघतिमेपजं सुखंपलि-हटवे	- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
[12] हेवंममालजूकाकटा जानपदसहितसुखाये येनएते-अभीता	- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
[13] अस्त्रथसंतं अविमनाकंमानिपवतयेवूति एतेनमे-लजूकानं	- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
[14] अभीहालेवदंडेवा अतपातियेकटे इछितवियेहि-एसाकिंति	- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
[15] वियोहालसमताचासिय दंडसमताचा अवइतेपि-चमेआवुति	[17] - - हालसमताचासियादंडसमताचअवइतेपिच-मेआवुतिबंधनबधानंमुनिसानंतीलीतदंडानंपतवधानं-तिंनिदिवसानियोतेर्दिने
[16] बंधनबधानंमुनिसानं तीलीतदंडानं | पतवधानं तिंनिदिवसानिमे	
[17] येतेदिंने नातिकावकानि निझपयिसंति जीवि-तायेतानं	[18] - - - वकानिनिझपयिसंतिजीवितायेतानंनासंतं-वानिझपयितादानंदाहंतिपालतिकंउपवासंकछंति
[18] नासंतंवानिझपयिता दानंदाहंतिपालतिकं उपवा-संवकछंति	
[19] इछाहिमे हेवंनिलुधसिपिकालसि पालतंआला-धयेवूति जनसच	[19] - - - मेनिलुधसिपिकालसिपालतंआलाधयेवु-जनसचवढतिविविधेधंमचलनेसयमेदानेसविभागे
[20] वढतिविविधेधंमचलने संयमे दानसविभागेति	

Ediet V.

Dehli, South side.

[1] देवानंपिये पियदसिलाजहेवंअहा सडुवीसतिवस	[20] - - - पियेपियदसीलाजाहेवंआहासडुवीसति-वसाभिसितेनमेइमानिजातानिअवाधियानिकटानिसे-यथसुकेसालिकाअलुनेचकवाके - -
[2] अभिसितेनमे इमानिजातानि अवाधियानिकटानि सेयथा	
[3] सुके सालिका अलुने चकवाके हंसे नंदीमुखे गेलाटे	
[4] जतूका अंबाकपीलिका दडी अनाठिकमछे वेदवेयके	[21] - - - खेगेलाटेजितूकेअंबाकिपिलिकादुडीअन-थिकमछेवेदवेयकेगंगापु - टकेसंकुजमछेकफट - - केपंनससेसिमलेसं - - -
[5] गंगापुपुटके संकुजमछे कफटिसयके पंनससे सिमले	
[6] संडके ओकपिंडे पलसते सेतकपोते गामकपोते	[22] - - - - - - कपोतेगामकपोतेसवे-चतुपदेयेपटिभोगं -
[7] सवेचतुपदे येपटिभोगंनोएति नचखादियति - - - ि-	
[8] एडकाचा सूकलीचा गभिनीवपायमिनाव अवधिय - तके	[23] -
[9] पिचकानि आसंमासिके वधिकुकुटे नोकटविये तुसेसजीवे	- सजीवे-नोझा - - - - - - - - - - -
[10] नोझापेतविये दावेअनठायेवा विहिसायेवा नोझा-पेटविये	- - - - - - - - - -

THE DELHI SIWALIK PILLAR.—SOUTH SIDE.

Edict V

Edict V.

J. F. FLEET, Bo. C.S. SCALE ·17 W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

THE DELHI SIWALIK PILLAR.—EAST SIDE.

Edicts VI and VII

Edict VI.

Edict VII

J. F. FLEET, Bo. C.S.   W. GRIGGS. PHOTO-LITH

[11] जीवेनजीवे नोपुमितविये तीसुचातुंमासीसु तीसा-
यंपुंनमासियं
[12] तिंनि दिवसानि चावुदसं पंनडसं पटिपदाये
धुवायेचा
[13] अनुपोसथंमछेअवधिये नोपिविकेतविये एतानिये-
वादिवसानि
[14] नागवनासि केवटभोगसि यानिअंनानिपि जीवानि-
कायानि
[15] नोहंतवियानि अठमीपखाये चावुदसाये पंनड-
साये तिसाये
[16] पुनावसुने तीसुचातुंमासीसु सुदिवसाये गोनेनो-
नीलखितविये
[17] अजके एडके सूकले एवापिअंने नीलखियति
नोनीलखितविये
[18] तिसाये पुनावसुने चातुंमासिये चातुंमासिपखाये
अस्वसा गोनसा
[19] लखने नोकटविये यावसडुवीसतिवस अभिसि-
तेनमे एताये
[20] आतालिकाये पंनवीसति बंधनमोखानिकटानि

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- - - चावुदसंपंचदस - - - - -
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[26] सुदिवसाये गो - - - - - - -
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[27] लखनेनोकटविवेयावस - - - - - -
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Edict VI.

Dehli, East side.

[1] देवानंपिये पियदसिलाजाहेवंअहा दुवाडस
[2] वसअभिसितेनमे धंमलिपिलिखापिता लोकसा
[3] हितसुखाये सेतंअपहटा तंतंधंमवढिपापोवा
[4] हेवं लोकसा हितसुखेतिपटिवेखामि अथइयं
[5] नातिसु हेवंपतियासंनेसु हेवंअपकठेसु
[6] किमंकानिसुखं अवहामीति तथचविदहामि हेमेवा
[7] सवनिकायेसु पटिवेखामि सवपासंडापिमेपूजिता
[8] विविधायपूजाया एचुइयंअतना पचूपगमने
[9] सेमेमोख्यमते सडुवीसतिवस अभिसितेनमे
[10] इयंधंमलिपि लिखापिता

[28] - - - पियेपियदसीला - - - - - -
- - - - - - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - - - - - -
[29] हितसुखेतिपटिवेखामि अथ - - - - - -
- ‾ासने - हेवंअपकठेसुकिमं - - - - -
- दहामि हेवंमेवसव - - येसुपटिवेखामि - -
[30] सवपासंडापिमे पूजिताविविधायपुजाया एचुइयं-
अतना पचुपगमनेसेमे मुख्यमतेस - - - - -
- - - - - - - - - - - -
लिपिलिखापितति

Dehli, Edict VII.

[11] देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा येअतिकंतं
[12] अंतलं लाजाने हुसु हेवं इछिसु कथंजने
[13] धंमवढिया वढेया नोचुजने अनुलुपाया धंमवढिया
[14] वढिथा एतं देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवंआहा एसमे
[15] हुथा आतिकंतंच अंतलं हेवं इछिसु लाजाने कथंजने
[16] अनुलुपाया धंमवढिया वढेयाति नोचजने अनुलुपाया
[17] धंमवढिया वढिथा सेकिनसु जने अनुपटिपजेया
[18] किनसु जने अनुलुपाया धंमवढिया वढेयाति किनसुकानि
[19] अभ्युंनामयेहं धंमवढियाति एतंदेवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं
[20] आहा एसमे हुथा धंमसावनानि सावापयामि धंमानुसथिनि
[21] अनुसासामि एतंजने सुतु अनुपटीपजीसति अभ्युंनमिसति

Dehli, end of Edict VII.

[1] धंमवढियाच बाढं वढिसति एतायेमे अठाये धंमसावनानि सावापितानि धंमानुसथिनि विविधानि
आनपितानि - - - - सापि बहुने जनसि आयता एते पलियोवदिसंतिपि पविथलिसंतिपि लजूकापि
बहुकेसु पानसतसहसेसु आयता तेपिमे आनपिता हेवंच हेवंच पलियोवदाथ

[2] जनं धंमयु तं देवानंपिये पियदसि हेवंआहा एतमेवमे अनुवेखमाने धंमथंभानिकटानि धंममहामाता कटा
धंम - - ˜कटे देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजाहेवं आहा मगेसुपिमे निगोहानि लोपापितानि छायोपगानि
होसंति पसुमुनिसानं अंबावडिक्या लोपापिता अढकोसिक्यानिपिमे उदुपानानि

[3] खनापितानि निंसि ढियाचकालापिता आपानानिमे बहुकानि ततततं कालापितानि पटीभोगाये पसुमु-
निसानं ल - - - एस पटीभोगेनामविविधायाहि सुखायनाया पुलिमेहिपि लाजीहि ममयाच
सुखीयते लोके इमंचु धंमानुपटीपती अनुपटीपजंतुति एतदथामे

[4] एसकटे देवानंपिये पियदसि हेवं आहा धंममहामातापिमे तेबहुविधेसु अठेसु अनुगहिकेसु वियापटा से
पवजीतानंचेव गिहिथानंच सव - - डेसुपिच वियापटासे संघठसिपिमे कटे इमे वियापटा होहंतिति
हेमेव बाभनेसु आजीविकेसुपिमे कटे

[5] इमे वियापटा होहंनिति निगंठेसुपिमे कटे इमेवियापटा होहंति नानापासंडेसुपिमे कटे इमेवियापटा
होहंतिति पटिविसठं पटीविसिठं तेसुतेसु तेते महामाता धंममहामाताचुमे एतेसुचेव वियापटा सवे-
सुच अंनेसु पासंडेसु देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजहेवं आहा

[6] एतेच अंनेच बहुका मुखा दानविसगसि वियापटासे ममचेव देविनंच सवसिचमे ओलोधनसि तेबहु-
विधेन आ ˜लेन तानि तानि तुठायतनानि पटी ˜ ˜ ˜ ˜ हिदचेव दिसासुच दालकानंपिचमे कटे
अंनानंच देविकुमालानं इमे दानविसगेसु वियापटा होहंतिति

[7] धंमापदानठाये धंमानुपटिपतिये एसहि धंमापदाने धंमपटीपतिच याइयं दया दाने सचे सोचवे मदवे
साधवेच लोकस हेवं वढिसतिति देवानंपिये ˜ ˜ ˜सि लाजाहेवं आहा यानिहिकानिचि ममिया सा-
धवानि कटानि तंलोके अनूपटीपंने तंच अनुविधियंति तेन वढिताच

[8] वढिसंतिच मातापितिसु सुसुसाया गुलुसु सुसुसाया वयोमहालकानं अनुपटीपतिया बाभनसमनेसु क-
पनवलाकेसु आवदासभटकेसु संपटीपतिया देवानंपिये ˜यदसि लाजा हेवंआहा मुनिसानंचु याइयं
धंमवढि वढिना दुवेहियेव आकालेहि धंमनियमेनच निझतियाच

[9] ततचु लहुसे धंमनियमे निझतियाव भुये धंमनियमेचुखो एस येमे इयंकटे इमानिच इमानि जातानि
अवधियानि अंनानिपिचु बहु - - धंमनियमानि यानिमे कटानि निझतियावचु भुये मुनिसानं धंमवढि
वढिता अविहिंसाये भुतानं

[10] अनालंभाये पानानं सेएताये अथाये इयं कटे पुतापपोतिके चंदमसुलियिके होतुति तथाच अनुपटीप-
जंतुति हेवंहि अनुपटीपजंतं हिदत पालते आलधे होति सतविसतिवसाभिसितेनमे इयं धंमलिबि लि-
खापापितातित एतं देवानंपिये आहा इयं

[11] धंमलिबि अत अथि सिलाथंभानिवा सिलाफलकानिवा तत कटविया एन एस चिलठितिके सिया

Dehli, North side :—L. 1. Possibly लाजा. (The original has *lâja*, without the addition to the centre of the *ja* that is required to denote *â*: J. F. F.)—L 5. There is a scratch under the स of अनुसथिया which gives it the appearance of सु. (This mark is separated by a clear ⅛" from the *sa*, and is fainter and weaker than all the engraved letters; it seems to be a fault in the stone, like, for instance, the long mark close to *hê* in line 8; J. F. F)

Dehli, South side :—L. 4. The ड of दडी ends in a strongly marked point, exactly like the point at the end of *khi* in the line above and throughout. Possibly the correct reading may be दळी, as the Southern alphabet marks the *la* by a *ḍa* to which a little circle, not quite closed, is added.

Dehli, East side :—L. 8. Possibly अतना. (The mark at the end of the *ta* is caused by damage from the weather or otherwise; J. F. F.)—L. 17. The second प of पटिपजेया stands above the line, having been at first omitted.

Allahâbâd :—A great many letters of this version have been half destroyed, or at least obscured by the later inscriptions scratched between the lines. Really doubtful, however, are the following words only;—l. 4, गुति, where the vowel of गु is very indistinct, and two other letters, looking nearly like तिच follow. It seems to me that they belong to later inscriptions of the Gupta type. (They are quite distinct in the original, and are Aśôka characters, belonging to the inscription. The first of them is apparently *ti*, with the vowel *i* placed on the left instead of on the right. The second of them is *chu*, in the alternative form which occurs in the Dehli east inscription, l. 13, and in the Dehli circular inscription, ll. 3, 5, 8, and 9 (three times).—J. F. F.)—L. 6, बहुनि; where the second vowel may have been long. (In the original *bahûni* is distinctly legible.—J. F. F.)—L. 20, से यथ, where the last vowel may be long. (In the original, the end of the stroke denoting *â*, attached to the *tha*, is just visible on the edge of the crack in the stone.—J. F. F.)—L. 21, जितूके which may have been जतूका; दुडी where the vowel of the first letter may be due to an accidental scratch. (The mark just to the right of the bottom of the *da*, and the mark that tends to make the *di* look like *bhi*, as General Cunningham interpreted it, are only due to the stone being damaged.—J. F. F.).—*Ibidem*, कफट which may have been कफटि. (The mark above the *ta* is not the vowel *i*, but only the lower part of the *visarga* of *Mahâdêvaḥ* in the intervening line of later writing just above.—J. F. F.)

INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA

THE DELHI SIWALIK PILLAR.—CIRCULAR EDICT

Edict VIII

MISCELLANEA.

THE LARGE COPPER-PLATE GRANT IN LEIDEN UNIVERSITY.

Of the two copper-plate grants in the Leiden University (see *Ante*, p. 59), Dr. H. Kern has kindly favoured me with a complete impression in white paper of the larger one. This grant consists of twenty-one plates, about the size of those of the Tiruppûvaṇam grant (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. VI, p. 142), and engraved in similar characters of the old Tamiḷ type. They have been transliterated by Mr. S. M. Naṭêśa Śâstrî, with a rough translation. The first five plates are in the Sanskṛit language, and contain the *Vaṁsâvalî* and principal portion of the grant; the remaining sixteen plates are filled with a lengthy description in the Tamiḷ language of the boundaries of the land granted, as traced out by a female elephant let loose.

It records the grant of the village of Ânaimaṅgalam to a Bauddha *vihâra* in Nâgapaṭṭanam. It opens with a double invocation; first, to Vishṇu; and, second, to Śiva and Vishṇu, and after the names of Manu, his son Ikshvâku, Mândhâtâ, Muchukunda, Valabhôjanikshitipati, Śibi and Chôḷa, it gives the following genealogy of the Chôḷa dynasty:—1, Râjakêsari; 2, Parakêsari, his son; 3, Râjakêsari; then 4, Râjêndra, who got the title of Mṛityujit; 5, Vyâghrakêtu; 6, Arikâla; 7, Karikâla, who built the Kâvêrîdam; 8, Kochchamkaṇṇân; 9, Kôkkiḷḷiśrîpati; 10, Vijayâlaya 11, Âditya, his son; 12, Parântaka, surnamed Aṁśumâli; he had three sons, Râjâditya, Gaṇḍarâditya, and Ariñjaya; 13, Râjâditya, conquered Kṛishṇarâja, but was killed in battle; 14, his brother, Gaṇḍarâditya, succeeded, whose son was Mathurântaka; 15, Ariñjaya, the third brother, succeeded; 16, Parântaka, his son; 17, Âditya or Karikâla, his son, contended with Vîra Paṇḍya, 18, Mathurântaka, son of Gaṇḍarâditya; 19, Râjarâja *alias* Râjakêsarivarmâ, Râjâśraya, the brother of Âditya, who conquered Pâṇḍya, Duḷu, and Kêrala, the king of Ceylon, and Satyâśraya.

In the twenty-first year of his reign this grant was made to the Chûḍâmaṇivarmâ *vihara*.

This genealogy is not in agreement with the Purâṇik and legendary lists which have been collected by Mr. Sewell, though there are points of agreement between it and some of his The accuracy of the latter part of this list may, in all probability, be depended on, and will form a basis for further investigations into the real history of the Chôḷa dynasty.

J. BURGESS.

BOOK NOTICE.

ANECDOTA OXONIENSA (Aryan Series, vol. I, pt. 3). The ANCIENT PALM-LEAVES, containing the Prajñâ-pâramitâ-hridaya-sûtra and the Ushṇîsha-vijaya-dhâraṇî, edited by F. Max Müller and Bunyiu Nanjio, with an Appendix by G. Bühler. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1884).

The two ancient palm-leaves here edited and translated were discovered in the monastery of Hôrinzi, in Japan. Professor Max Müller says, "We have good evidence showing that these leaves were brought to Japan in 609 A.D., and that they came from China. It is further probable that in China they belonged to the monk Yashi, who died in 577 A.D., and before him to Bôdhidharma, who emigrated from India to China in 520 A.D." Indian Palæography is thus furnished with a MS., which has evidently been written by an Indian scribe, and which is believed to date from the first half of the sixth century A.D.

Since external evidence proves their age, though undated in themselves, they bring strong indirect evidence for strengthening the opinion of those who hold the authenticity of the early Nêpâlese MSS., and confirm the conclusions of Mr. Bendall. Professor Weber and the late Dr. Burnell expressed doubts concerning their age, but Dr. Buhler satisfactorily defends their genuineness.

The importance for Indian Palæography of this ancient palm-leaf MS. can hardly be too highly estimated; and Professor Bühler in a masterly appendix of over thirty pages illustrated by reproductions of the photographs of the palm-leaves. and of the photographs of a copy of them made in 1694 A.D by Ziogon, a Japanese priest, facsimiles and tables of alphabets, has discussed their bearing on the history of the scripts of India. From examination of the characters separately Dr. Bühler shows how this literary or cursive alphabet has been evolved from the Gupta character. He shows also how the distinctive features of the literary forms have been the outcome of the Indian Lêkhaka's art under the conditions imposed upon him by his materials. Valuable remarks are made on the characteristics of the writing, and the technical contrivances, and the method of forming used. "The palæographical character," he writes, "of the alphabet of the Hôrinzi palm-leaves is determined chiefly by the following general principles, visible in the formation of the letters: 1, the separation of aksharas from each other; 2, a predilection for the use of small wedges, the so-called nail-heads; 3, the substitution of flat tops for the angular or round ones of the old alphabets; 4, the development of right-hand verticles, projecting beyond the body

of the letters; 5, the retention of open tops wherever they existed in the old letters." Under these heads Dr. Bühler comments on the position of this alphabet and its relation to others, the origin of its peculiarities, and the influence which the tendencies here working have exerted on the later development of the alphabet down to the Dêvanâgarî. In his separate consideration of each letter Dr. Bühler has selected for comparison the following cognate alphabets: of the literary—1, that preserved in the oldest Nêpâlese MSS. at Cambridge (plate I. in Mr. Bendall's Çatalogue); 2, the Śâradâ Alphabet of Kaśmîr; of the epigraphic—1, the Gupta of Kuhaôn,[1] and for some letters that of the Indôkhêra copper-plate; 2, Nêpâlese of Dr. Bhagvânlâl's series of inscriptions;[2] 3, Jhâlrâpâṭhan inscriptions;[3] 4, the closely-allied alphabets of the Sâmangaḍh plates of Dantidurga,[4] and of the signatures of Dadda Prâśâtaraga, on the Gurjara plates.[5] The results of this minute examination and comparison Dr. Bühler sums up thus: "The close agreement of the much later Nêpâlese MSS., and of numerous inscriptions from all parts of India with the forms of H. P., shows that this alphabet was not exclusively cultivated by the Buddhists or peculiar to Northern India, but enjoyed a widespread popularity down to the end of the ninth century, and perhaps later. At present it survives only in the Śâradâ of Kaśmîr, which probably branched off in early times."

At a subsequent page he adds: "Another result deducible from the analysis of the H. P. alphabet is that it is probably more ancient than the precursor of the modern Dêvanâgarî, found in the signatures on the Umêta and Bagumrâ plates, and the alphabets of Dantidurga's Sâmangaḍh plates, though the former documents date a little earlier than the H. P. leaves. The reason for this supposition is that U. B. and Sâ, both show characteristics belonging to the system followed in H. P., and inexplicable on the general principles prevailing in Sâ and U. B. The triangles in the left limbs of *kha*, *ga*, and *sa*, the opened-up triangles in *bha* and *sa*, and the straight line to the left of the down-stroke in *ra* are, as has been shown above, all remnants of wedges. The employment of wedges is one of the principles regulating the letters of H. P., but they are meaningless in an alphabet like that of U. B.-Sâ, which in general employs only straight or curved lines. If we, therefore, find in U. B.-Sâ forms which are based on the principles prevailing in the H. P., the inevitable inference is that U. B.-Sâ has been modified by the influence of H. P. This conclusion is, of course, of great importance for the determination of the age of the alphabet with the wedges. As U. B. belongs to the end of the fifth century, it seems not unreasonable to assume that the H. P. characters existed in the fourth century, and perhaps earlier. How far they go back must, for the present, be left undetermined. But I believe that a fuller investigation of the inscriptions of the Gupta kings, which will only be possible when Mr. Fleet's exact facsimiles have been published, will make its existence during the reign of that dynasty very probable."

Hitherto the historical development of the Indian alphabet has been investigated, chiefly from the data supplied by inscriptions. This theory, which considers the literary alphabets to be evolved from the epigraphic, was fully worked out by the late Dr. Burnell in his *Elements of South-Indian Palæography*. But under this theory inexplicable anomalies were experienced. On the copper-plate grants of the fifth century A.D. from Gujarât modern-looking characters were found to be used in signatures, while the body of the grant was in archaic characters; a mixed alphaphet or rather a sporadic occurrence of modern-looking signs among archaic ones (*Ind. Ant.* vol. VI, p. 193 n, vol. IX, p. 62, vol. XI, p. 305, vol. XIII, p. 116); and retrograde steps observable in one and the same series, *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI, p. 59, vol. XI, p. 156, and vol. XII, p. 179, also Dr. Bhagvânlâl, *Journ. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc*.vol. XVI, Article VIII). From these facts Dr. Bühler, Dr. Burgess, and Professor Dowson had concluded that the characters of the official documents lagged behind those employed for literary purposes, and that they were gradually modified through the influence of the latter. These conclusions are fully substantiated by the lesson taught by the Hôrinzi palm-leaves, and considering its great importance it will be best to give Professor Bühler's argument in his own words: "If we had no historical information regarding the age of the Hôrinzi palm-leaves, every palæographist, I believe, would draw from the above facts the inference that they belonged to the beginning of the eighth century A.D. For it is undeniable that their alphabet is nearly identical with the characters of the Nêpâlese inscriptions of Dr. Bhagvânlâl's series, Nos. 13-15 A.D., which were written between 749-50 and 759-60 A.D., and that the earlier documents of the Nêpâl series apparently show how the H. P. alphabet was gradually evolved in the course of about four centuries from the Gupta characters. This conclusion would be strengthened by the circum-

[1] *Ind. Ant.* vol. X, p. 125.
[2] *Ind. Ant.* vol. IX, pp. 16 and 3 sqq.
[3] *Ind. Ant.* vol. V, p. 180.
[4] *Ind. Ant.* vol. XI, p. 108.
[5] *Ind. Ant.* vol. VII, p. 61.

stance that the Jhâlrâpâthan inscription of Saṁvat 746, which mostly shows characters standing midway between the Gupta and H. P. alphabets, cannot be older than the end of the seventh century, and that there is no inscription showing letters similar to Jhâ which can be referred to an earlier time. It would further be corroborated by the close resemblance of the Daśâvatâra fragment of the Deogaṛh pillar inscription, of the Morbî plate, and of the oldest Nêpâlese MSS. of the Cambridge collection with our palm-leaves, as none of these documents can be placed earlier than the second half of the eighth century, and some of them clearly belong to the ninth century. In short, on the supposition that the characters of the inscriptions permit us to trace the gradual transformation of the Indian alphabets, the arguments for assigning the Hôrinzi MS. to the beginning of the eighth century would be as strong as possible. As we, however, know from external evidence that this document is at the least two hundred years older, it is evident that there must be some radical fault in the argumentation. The facts with reference to the age of the inscriptions being indisputable, the fault must lie in the tacit assumption that the inscriptions give us a correct view of the development of the Indian alphabets. This being once recognised, the case is plain enough. Starting from the two facts that we have, on the one hand, a MS. of the first half of the sixth century A.D. showing an alphabet with far advanced forms, and, on the other hand, a series of inscriptions, extending over the period from the fourth to the eighth century, the characters of which gradually change, and in their latest development closely agree with those of the MS., the inevitable conclusion is that the changes in the epigraphic characters are due to the influence of the literary alphabet. In other words, the masons who incised the inscriptions, or the writers who wrote the originals from which the masons copied, tried to make the characters archaic, but succumbed at last to the influence of the literary alphabet which they used in every-day life. In some cases the old forms disappeared sooner, in others later, and the natural conclusion was, as it is always in such struggles, that the antique types went out altogether" In conclusion, he adds: "I am persuaded that this importance will be brought out still more clearly, when, in a general survey of the history of the Indian alphabets, the principles adopted above have been fully worked out and applied also to the writing of Southern India, and if it is shown that in the South, too, the apparent gradual transformation of the epigraphic characters is not the cause of the development of the modern literary characters, but the result of their existence. S. H.

PTOLEMY'S GEOGRAPHY OF INDIA AND SOUTHERN ASIA.

WITH A COMMENTARY

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In publishing a commentary on Ptolemy's *Geography of India* I may indicate *in limine* what method I have followed in the treatment of the subject, and also on what authorities I have mainly relied. I have then, in an introductory chapter, attempted to give a succinct account of the general nature of Ptolemy's geographical system, and this is followed by a translation of several chapters of his First Book, which serve to exhibit his general mode of procedure in dealing with questions of Geography, and at the same time convey his views of the configuration of the coasts of India, both on this side the Ganges and beyond. The object of the notes which form the commentary is 1st, to show, as far as has been ascertained, how each place named by Ptolemy in his Indian Tables has been identified; 2nd, to trace the origin or etymology of each name, so far as it is possible to do so; and 3rd, to notice very concisely the most prominent facts in the ancient history of the places of importance mentioned. In the notes it will be found that I have generally observed the rule of quoting the sources from which my information has been derived, but I may here state that I have generally adopted the views of M. Vivien de Saint-Martin and those of Colonel Yule, whose map of Ancient India in Smith's *Historical Atlas of Ancient Geography* is allowed to be the best that has yet been produced. These authors have examined the whole or nearly the whole of the Ptolemaic Geography of India, and their conclusions are for the most part coincident. The works of Saint Martin which I have consulted are these: *Étude sur la Géographie Grecque et Latine de l'Inde, et en particulier sur l'Inde de Ptolémée, dans ses rapports avec la Géographie Sanskrite; Mémoire Analytique sur la Carte de l'Asie Centrale et de l'Inde;* and *Étude sur la Géographie et les populations primitives du Nord-Ouest de l'Inde d'après les hymnes védiques.*

Colonel Yule has expressed his views respecting Ptolemy chiefly in the notes upon the map referred to, but he comments upon him also occasionally in the notes to his edition of *Marco Polo* and in other works from his pen. Frequent reference will

be found in my notes to that work of vast erudition, Prof. Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*. Unfortunately the section which he has devoted to a full examination of Ptolemy's India is the least satisfactory portion of his work. His system of identification is based on a wrong principle, and many of the conclusions to which it has led are such as cannot be accepted. His work is, notwithstanding, as Yule says, "a precious mine of material for the study of the ancient geography of India."

For elucidations of the Ptolemaic geography of particular portions of India I have consulted with great advantage such works as—Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua*; General Cunningham's *Geography of Ancient India*, Vol. I; and his *Reports on the Archæological Survey of India*; Bishop Caldwell's Introduction to his *Dravidian Grammar*, valuable for identification of places in the south of the Peninsula; the *Bombay Gazetteer*, edited by Mr. J. M. Campbell, who has carefully investigated the antiquities of that Presidency; the *Asiatic Researches*; the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, and of the kindred Societies in India; the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*; the articles on India and on places in India in Smith's *Dictionary of Classical Geography*, written almost all by Mr. Vaux; articles in this *Journal*; Benfey's *Indien* in the *Encyclopädie* of Ersch and Grüber; Abbé Halma's *Traité de Géographie de Claude Ptolémée* (Paris, 1828); and the chapters on Marinos and Ptolemy's System of Geography in Bunbury's *History of Ancient Geography*. I have also consulted numerous other works which I need not here specify.

PTOLEMY AND HIS SYSTEM OF GEOGRAPHY.

Klaudios Ptolemaios, or as he is commonly called, Ptolemy, was distinguished alike as a Mathematician, a Musician, an Astronomer and a Geographer, and was altogether one of the most accomplished men of science that antiquity produced. His works were considered as of paramount authority from the time of their publication until the discoveries of modern times had begun to show their imperfections and errors. It is surprising that with all his fame, which had even in his own lifetime become pre-eminent, that the particulars of his personal history should be shrouded in all but total darkness. Nothing in fact is known for certain regarding him further than that he flourished in Alexandria about the middle of the 2nd century of our æra, in the reign of Antoninus Pius, whom he appears to have survived.

His work on Geography formed a sequel to his great work on Astronomy, commonly called the *Almagest*. From its title Γεωγραφικὴ Ὑφήγησις, *an Outline of Geography*, we might be led to infer that it was a general treatise on the subject, like the comprehensive work of Strabo, but in reality it treats almost exclusively of Mathematical, or what may be called Cosmical, Geography. Ptolemy's object in composing it was not like that of the ordinary Geographer to describe places, but to correct and reform the map of the world in accordance with the increased knowledge which had been acquired of distant countries and with the improved state of science. He therefore limits his argument to an exposition of the geometrical principles on which Geography should be based, and to a determination of the position of places on the surface of the earth by their latitudes and longitudes. What he considered to be the proper method of determining geographical positions he states very clearly in the following passage: "The proper course," he says, "in drawing up a map of the world is to lay down as the basis of it those points that were determined by the most correct (astronomical) observations, and to fit into it those derived from other sources, so that their positions may suit as well as possible with the principal points thus laid down in the first instance."[1]

Unfortunately, as Bunbury remarks, it was impossible for him to carry out in practice—even approximately—the scheme that he had so well laid down in theory. The astronomical observations to which he could refer were but few—and they were withal either so defective or so inaccurate that he could not use them with confidence. At the same time his information concerning many parts of the earth, whether owing to their remoteness or the conflicting accounts of travellers regarding them, was imperfect in the extreme. The extent, however, of his geographical knowledge was far greater than that possessed by any of his predecessors, and he had access to sources of information which enabled him to correct many of the errors into which they had fallen.

He was induced to undertake the composition of his *Geography* through his being dissatisfied more or less with all the existing systems. There was however one work—that of his immediate precursor, Marinos of Tyre—which approximated somewhat closely to his ideal, and which he therefore made the basis of his own treatise. Marinos, he tell us, had collected his materials with the most praiseworthy diligence, and had moreover sifted them both with care and judgment. He points out, however, that his system required

[1] Book I. cap. 4. The translation is Bunbury's.

correction both as to the method of delineating the sphere on a plane surface, and as to the computation of distances, which he generally exaggerated. He censures him likewise for having assigned to the known world too great a length from west to east, and too great a breadth from north to south.

Of Ptolemy's own system, the more prominent characteristics may now be noted: He assumed the earth to be a sphere, and adopting the estimate of Poseidônios fixed its circumference at 180,000 stadia, thus making the length of a degree at the equator to be only 500 stadia, instead of 600, which is its real length.[2] To this fundamental miscalculation may be referred not a few of the most serious errors to be found in his work. With regard to the question of the length and the breadth of the inhabited part of the earth, a question of first importance in those days, he estimated its length as measured along the parallel of Rhodes[3] which divided the then known world into two nearly equal portions at 72,000 stadia, and its breadth at 40,000. The meridian in the west from which he calculated his longitudes was that which passed through the Islands of the Blest (Μακάρων Νῆσοι) probably the Canary Islands,[4] and his most eastern meridian was that which passed through the Metropolis of the Sinai, which he calls Sinai or Thinai, and places in 180° 40′ E. Long. and 3° S. Lat. The distance of this meridian from that of Alexandria he estimated at 119½ degrees, and the distance of the first meridian from the same at 60½ degrees, making together 180 degrees, or exactly one-half of the circumference of the earth. His estimate of the breadth he obtained by fixing the southern limit of the inhabited parts in the parallel of 16¼ degrees of South Latitude, which passes through a point as far south of the Equator as Meroë is north of it. And by fixing the northern limit in the parallel of 63 degrees North Latitude, which passes through Thoulê (probably the Shetland Islands), a space of nearly 80 degrees was thus included between the two parallels, and this was equivalent in Ptolemy's mode of reckoning to 40,000 stadia.

Having made these determinations he had next to consider in what mode the surface of the earth with its meridians of longitude and parallels of latitude should be represented on a sphere and on a plane surface—of the two modes of delineation that on the sphere is the much easier to make, as it involves no method of projection, but a map drawn on a plane is far more convenient for use, as it presents simultaneously to the eye a far greater extent of surface. Marinos had drawn his map of the world on a plane, but his method of projection was altogether unsatisfactory. It is thus described by Ptolemy: Marinos, he says, on account of the importance of the countries around the Mediterranean, kept as his base the line fixed on of old by Eratosthenes, *viz.*, the parallel through Rhodes in the 36th degree of north latitude. He then calculated the length of a degree along this parallel, and found it to contain 400 stadia, the equatorial degree being taken at 500. Having divided this parallel into degrees he drew perpendiculars through the points of division for the meridians, and his parallels of latitude were straight lines parallel to that which passed through Rhodes. The imperfections of such a projection are obvious. It represented the parts of the earth north of the parallel of Rhodes much beyond, and those south of it much below, their proper length. Places again to the north of the line stood too far apart from each other, and those to the south of it too close together. The projection, moreover, is an erroneous representation, since the parallels of latitude ought to be circular arcs and not straight lines.

Ptolemy having pointed out these objections to the system of Marinos proceeds to explain the methods which he himself employed. We need say nothing more regarding them than that they were such as presented a near approximation to some of those which are still in use among modern Geographers.

Ptolemy's treatise is divided into 8 books. In the 1st or introductory book he treats first of Geography generally—he then explains and

[2] The Olympic *stadium*, which was in general use throughout Greece, contained 600 Greek feet, which were equal to 625 Roman feet, or 606¾ English feet. The Roman mile contained 8 stadia, or about half a stadium less than an English mile. A stadium of 600 Greek feet was very nearly the 600th part of a degree, and 10 stadia are therefore just about equal to a Nautical or Geographical mile. According to Eratosthenes, a degree at the Equator was equal to 700 stadia, but according to Poseidônios it was equal to only 500. The truth lay between, but Ptolemy unfortunately followed Poseidônios in his error.

[3] "The equinoctial line was of course perfectly fixed and definite in Ptolemy's mind, *as an astronomical line*; but he had no means of assigning its position on the Map of the World, except with reference to other parallels, such as the tropic at Syene, or the parallels of Alexandria and Rhodes, which had been determined by direct observation."—Bunbury, *Hist. of Anc. Geog.*, vol. II, p. 560, n. 2.

[4] The Island of Ferro—the westernmost of the Group of the Canaries, which was long taken as the prime meridian, and is still so taken in Germany—is really situated 18° 20′ west of Greenwich, while Cape St. Vincent (called anciently *the Sacred Cape*) is just about 9°, so that the real difference between the two amounted to 9° 20′ instead of only 2½°. Two corrections must therefore be applied to Ptolemy's longitudes—one-sixth must be deducted because of his under-estimate of the length of a degree along the Equator, and 6° 50′ must be added because Ferro was so much further west than he supposed. Subject to these corrections his longitudes would be fairly accurate, provided his calculations of distances were otherwise free from error.

criticizes the system of Marinos, and concludes by describing the methods of projection which may be employed in the construction of maps. The next 6 books and the first 4 chapters of the 7th book consist of tables which give distinctly in degrees and parts of a degree the latitudes and longitudes of all the places in his map. These places are arranged together in sections according to the country or tribe to which they belong, and each section has prefixed to it a brief description of the boundaries and divisions of the part about to be noticed. Descriptive notices are also occasionally interspersed among the lists, but the number of such is by no means considerable. The remainder of the 7th book and the whole of the 8th are occupied with a description of a series of maps which, it would appear, had been prepared to accompany the publication of the work, and which are still extant. The number of the maps is twenty-six, viz. 10 for Europe. 4 for Libya, and 12 for Asia. They are drawn to different scales, larger or smaller, according as the division represented was more or less known. He gives for each map the latitudes and longitudes of a certain number of the most important cities contained in it, but these positions were not given in the same manner as in the tables, for the latitudes are now denoted by the length of the longest day and the longitudes according to the difference of time from Alexandria. It might be supposed that the positions in question were such as had been determined by actual astronomical observations, as distinguished from those in the Tables, which were for the most part derived from itineraries, or from records of voyages and travels. This supposition is however untenable, for we find that while the statements as to the length of the longest days at the selected places are always correct for the latitudes assigned them, they are often glaringly wrong for their real positions. Ptolemy. it is evident, first mapped out in the best way he could the places, and then calculated for the more important of these places the astronomical phenomena incident to them as so situated. I conclude by presenting the reader with a translation of some chapters of the Introductory Book,[5] where Ptolemy in reviewing the estimate made by Marinos of the length of the known world from west to east, has frequent occasion to mention India and the Provinces beyond the Ganges, which together constitute what is now called Indo-China.

BOOK I., CAP. 11.

§ 1. What has now been stated will suffice to show us what extent in *breadth* it would be fair to assign to the inhabited world. Its *length* is given by Marinos at 15 hours, this being the distance comprised between his two extreme meridians—but in our opinion he has unduly extended the distance towards the east. In fact, if the estimate be properly reduced in this direction the entire length must be fixed at less than 12 hours, the Islands of the Blest being taken as the limit towards the west, and the remotest parts of Sêra and the Sinai[6] and Kattigara[7] as the limit towards

[5] The edition used is that of C. F. A. Noble, Leipsic, 1843.

[6] "China for nearly 1,000 years has been known to the nations of Inner Asia, and to those whose acquaintance with it was got by that channel, under the name of Khitai, Khata, or Cathay, *e.g.*, the Russians still call it Khitai. The pair of names, Khitai and Machin, or Cathay and China, is analogous to the other pair Seres and Sinai. Seres was the name of the great nation in the far east as known by land, Sinai as known by sea; and they were often supposed to be diverse, just as Cathay and China were afterwards." Yule's *Marco Polo*, 2nd ed., Introd., p. 11 and note.

[7] The locality of Kattigara has been fixed very variously. Richthofen identified it with Kian-chi in Tong-king, and Colonel Yule has adopted this view. "To myself," he says, "the arguments adduced by Richthofen in favour of the location of Kattigara in the Gulf of Tong-king, are absolutely convincing. This position seems to satisfy every condition. For 1st, Tong-king was for some centuries at that period (B. C. 111 to A.D. 263), only incorporated as part of the Chinese Empire. 2nd, the only part mentioned in the Chinese annals as at that period open to foreign traffic was Kian-chi, substantially identical with the modern capital of Tong-king, Kesho or Hanoi. Whilst there are no notices of foreign arrivals by any other approach, there are repeated notices of such arrivals by this province, including that famous embassy from Antun, King of Ta-t'sin, *i.e.*, M. Aurelius Antoninus (A.D. 161-180) in A.D. 166. The province in question was then known as Ji-nan (or Zhi-nan, French); whence possibly the name Sinai, which has travelled so far and spread over such libraries of literature. The Chinese Annalist who mentions the Roman Embassy adds: 'The people of that kingdom (Ta-t'sin or the Roman Empire) came in numbers for trading purposes to Fu-nan, Ji-nan, and Kian-chi.' Fu-nan we have seen, was Champa, or Zabai. In Ji-nan with its chief port Kian-chi, we may recognize with assurance Kattigara, Portus Sinarum. Richthofen's solution has the advantages of preserving the true meaning of Sinai as the Chinese, and of locating the Portus Sinarum in what was then politically a part of China, whilst the remote Metropolis Thinae remains unequivocally the capital of the Empire, whether Si-gnan-fu in Chen-si, or Lo-yang in Ho-nan be meant. I will only add that though we find Katighora in Edrisi's *Geography* I apprehend this to be a mere adoption from the *Geography* of Ptolemy, founded on no recent authority. It must have kept its place also on the later mediæval maps; for Pigafetta, in that part of the circumnavigation where the crew of the *Victoria* began to look out for the Asiatic coast, says that Magellan 'changed the course . . . until in 13° of N. Lat. in order to approach the land of Cape Gaticara, which Cape (under correction of those who have made cosmography their study, for they have never seen it), is not placed where they think, but is towards the north in 12° or thereabouts.' [The Cape looked for was evidently the extreme S. E. point of Asia, actually represented by Cape Varela or Cape St. James on the coast of Cochin-China.] It is probable that, as Richthofen points out, Kattigara, or at any rate Kian-chi was the Lukin or Al-Wâkin of the early Arab Geographers. But the terminus of the Arab voyagers of the 9th century was no longer in Tong-King, it was Khân-fû, apparently the Kan-pu of the Chinese, the haven of the

the east. § 2. Now the entire distance from the Islands of the Blest to the passage of the Euphrates at Hierapolis, as measured along the parallel of Rhodes, is accurately determined by summing together the several intervening distances as estimated in stadia by Marinos, for not only were the distances well ascertained from being frequently traversed, but Marinos seems moreover in his computation of the greater distances, to have taken into account the necessary corrections for irregularities and deviations.[8] He understood, besides, that while the length of a single degree of the 360 degrees into which the equatorial circle is divided measures, as in the commonly accepted estimate, 500 stadia, the parallel circle which passes through Rhodes in 36 degrees of N. latitude, measures about 400 stadia. § 3. It measures, in fact, a little over that number if we go by the exact proportion of the parallels, but the excess is so trifling as in the case of the equatorial degree, that it may be neglected. But his estimates of the distances beyond Hierapolis require correction. § 4. He computes the distance from the passage of the Euphrates already mentioned to the Stone Tower[9] at 876 *schœni*[10] or 26,280 stadia, and from the Stone Tower to Sèra, the metropolis of the Sêres, at a 7 months' journey or 36,200 stadia as reckoned along the same parallel. Now in neither case has he made the proper deductions for the excess caused by deviations; and for the second route he falls into the same absurdity as when he estimated the distance from the Garamantes to Agisymba.[11] § 5. Where he had to deduct above half of the stadia in the march of the 3

great city which we know as Hang-chow, and which then lay on or near a delta-arm of the great Yang-tse." These arguments may be accepted as conclusively settling the vexed question as to the position of Kattigara. In a paper, however, recently read before the R. Asiatic Society, Mr. Holt, an eminent Chinese scholar, expressed a different view. He "showed that there was good evidence of a very early communication from some port on the Chinese coast to near Martaban, or along the valley of the Irâwadî to the north-west capital of China, then at Si-gnan-fu or Ho-nan-fu. He then showed that the name of China had been derived from the Indians, who first knew China, and was not due to the Tsin Dynasty, but more probably came from the name of the Compass, specimens of which were supplied to the early envoys, the Chinese being thus known in India as the 'Compass-people,' just as the Seres, another Chinese population, derived their western name from 'Silk.' That the knowledge of this fact was lost to both Indians and Chinese is clear from the use by Hiuen-Tsiang and later writers of two symbols (see Morrison's *Dictionary*, syllabic part, No. 8,033) to designate the country, as these, while giving the sound 'Che-ha,' indicate that they are substitutes for original words of like sounds, the true sense of which cannot now be recovered. Having shown that M. Reinaud's view of an intercourse between China and Egypt in the first century A.D. has no real foundation, Mr. Holt further stated that there was no evidence of an embassy from M. Aurelius having gone by sea to China in A.D. 166. In conclusion, he urged, that in his judgment, there was no proof whatever of any knowledge of a maritime way to China before the 4th century A.D., the voyage even of Fa-hian, at that period being open to serious criticism. He believes therefore with M. Gosselin that the Kattigara of Ptolemy was probably not far from the present Martaban, and that India for a considerable period up to the 7th century A.D. dominated over Cambodia."

8 Deviations from the straight line by which the route would be represented in the map. The irregularities refer to the occasional shortening of the daily march by obstacles of various kinds, bad roads, hostile attacks, fatigue, &c.

9 "One of the circumstances of the route that Ptolemy has reproduced from Marinos is that on leaving Baktra the traveller directed his course for a long enough time towards the North. Assuredly the caravans touched at Samarkand (the Marakanda of Greek authors) which was then, as now, one of the important centres of the region beyond the Oxus. For passing from Sogdiana to the east of the snowy range, which covers the sources of the Jaxartes and the Oxus, three main routes have existed at all times: that of the south, which ascends the high valleys of the Oxus through Badakshân; that in the centre, which goes directly to Kâshgar by the high valleys of the Syr-Darya or Jaxartes; and lastly that of the north, which goes down a part of the middle valley of the Jaxartes before turning to the east towards Chinese Tartary. Of these three routes, the itinerary of the Greek merchants could only apply to the 2nd or the 3rd; and if, as has been for a long time supposed with much probability, the Stone Tower of the Itinerary is found in an important place belonging to the valley of the Jaxartes, of which the name Tâshkand has precisely the same meaning in the language of the Turkomâns, it would be the northern route that the caravan of Maës would have followed. The march of seven months in advancing constantly towards the east leads necessarily towards the north of China (Saint-Martin, *Étude*, pp. 428-9.) Sir H. Rawlinson however assigns it a more southern position, placing it at Tash-kurghan, an ancient city which was of old the capital of the Sarik-kul territory, a district lying between Yarkand and Badakshan, and known to the Chinese as Ko-panto. The walls of Tash-kurghan are built of unusually large blocks of stone. It was no doubt, Sir Henry remarks, owing to the massive materials of which it was built, that it received the name of Tash-kurghan or the 'Stone Fort,' and it seems to have every claim to represent the λίθινος πύργος of Ptolemy, where the caravans rendezvoused before entering China, in preference to Tashkand or Ush, which have been selected as the site of the Stone Tower by other geographers."—*Jour. R. Geog. Soc.* vol. XLII, p. 327.

10 According to Herodotos (lib. II, c. vi), the *schoinos* was equal to two Persian *parasangs* or 60 stadia, but it was a very vague and uncertain measure, varying as Strabo informs us (lib. XVII, c. i, 24) from 30 to 120 stadia. In the case before us, it was taken as equivalent to the *parasang* of 30 stadia and afforded with correction some approximation to the truth.

11 "The Roman arms had been carried during the reign of Augustus (B. C. 19) as far as the land of the Garamantes, the modern Fezzan, and though the Roman Emperors never attempted to establish their dominion over the country, they appear to have permanently maintained friendly relations with its rulers, which enabled their officers to make use of the oasis of the Garamantes as their point of departure from which to penetrate further into the interior. Setting out from thence, a General named Septimius Plancus 'arrived at the land of the Ethiopians, after a march of 3 months towards the south.' Another Commander named Julius Maternus, apparently at a later date, setting out from Leptis Magna, proceeded from thence to Garama, where he united his forces with those of the king of the Garamantes, who was himself undertaking a hostile

months and 14 days, since such a march could not possibly have been accomplished without halting. The necessity for halting would be still more urgent when the march was one which occupied 7 months. § 6. But the former march was accomplished even by the king of the country himself, who would naturally use every precaution, and the weather besides was all throughout most propitious. But the route from the Stone Tower to Sêra is exposed to violent storms, for as he himself assumes, it lies under the parallels of the Hellespont and Byzantium,[12] so that the progress of travellers would be frequently interrupted. § 7. Now it was by means of commerce this became known, for Marinos tells us that one Maës, a Makedonian, called also Titianus, who was a merchant by hereditary profession, had written a book giving the measurement in question, which he had obtained not by visiting the Sêres in person, but from the agents whom he had sent to them. But Marinos seems to have distrusted accounts borrowed from traders. § 8. In giving, for instance, on the authority of Philêmon, the length of Ivernia (Ireland) at a 20 days' journey, he refuses to accept this estimate, which was got, he tells us, from merchants, whom he reprobates as a class of men too much engrossed with their own proper business to care about ascertaining the truth, and who also from mere vanity frequently exaggerated distances. So too, in the case before us, it is manifest that nothing in the course of the 7 months' journey was thought worthy either of record or remembrance by the travellers except the prodigious time taken to perform it.

CAP. 12.

§ 1. Taking all this into consideration, together with the fact that the route does not lie along one and the same parallel (the Stone Tower being situated near the parallel of Byzantium, and Sêra lying farther south than the parallel through the Hellespont) it would appear but reasonable in this case also to diminish by not less than a half the distance altogether traversed in the 7 months' journey, computed at 36,200 stadia, and so let us reduce the number of stadia which these represent at the equator by one-half only, and we thus obtain (22,625) stadia or 45¼ degrees.[13] § 2. For it would be absurd, and show a want of proper judgment, if, when reason enjoins us to curtail the length of both routes we should follow the injunction with respect to the African route, to the length of which there is the obvious objection, *viz.*, the species of animals in the neighbourhood of Agisymba, which cannot bear to be transplanted from their own climate to another, while we refuse to follow the injunction with regard to the route from the Stone Tower, because there is not a similar objection to its length, seeing that the temperature all along this route is uniform, quite independantly of its being longer or shorter. Just as if one who reasons according to the principles of philosophy, could not, unless the case were otherwise clear, arrive at a sound conclusion.[14]

§ 3. With regard again to the first of the two Asiatic routes, that, I mean which leads from the Euphrates to the Stone Tower, the estimate of 870 *schœni* must be reduced to 800 only, or 24,000 stadia, on account of deviations. § 4. We may accept as correct his figures for the entire distance as the several stages had been frequently traversed and had therefore been measured with accuracy. But that there were numerous deviations is evident from what Marinos himself tells us. § 5. For the route from the passage of the Euphrates at Hierapolis through Mesopotamia to the Tigris, and the route thence through the

expedition against the Ethiopians, and their combined armies 'after marching for four months towards the south,' arrived at a country inhabited by Ethiopians, called Agisymba, in which rhinoceroses abounded."—Bunbury, *Hist. of Anc. Geog.*, vol. II, pp. 522-3.

[12] Lat. 40° 1'—Lat. of Tâsh-kurghân.

[13] 36,200 stadia along the parallel of Rhodes are equivalent according to Ptolemy's system to 45,250 stadia along the equator, and this sum reduced by a half gives the figures in the text.

[14] Marinos was aware that Agisymba lay in a hot climate, from the fact that its neighbourhood was reported to be a favourite resort for rhinoceroses, and he was thus compelled to reduce his first estimate of its distance, which would have placed it in far too cold a latitude for these animals, which are found only in hot regions. But no such palpable necessity compelled him to reduce his estimate of the distance from the Stone Tower to the Metropolis of the Sêres, for here the route had an equable temperature, as it did not recede from the equator but lay almost uniformly along the same parallel of latitude. A little reflexion, however, might have shown Marinos that his enormous estimate of the distance to the Seric Metropolis required reduction as much as the distance to Agisymba, though such a cogent argument as that which was based on the habitat of the rhinoceros was not in this instance available. It is on the very face of it absurd to suppose that a caravan could have marched through a difficult and unknown country for 7 months consecutively at an average progress of 170 stadia (about 20 miles) daily.

Garamaioi of Assyria, and through Media to Ekbatana and the Kaspian Gates, and through Parthia to Hekatompylos Marinos considers to lie along the parallel which passes through Rhodes, for he traces (*in his map*) this parallel as passing through these regions. § 6. But the route from Hekatompylos to the capital city of Hyrkania must, of necessity, diverge to the north, because that city lies somewhere between the parallel of Smyrna and that of the Hellespont, since the parallel of Smyrna is traced as passing below Hyrkania and that of the Hellespont through the southern parts of the Hyrkanian Sea from the city bearing the same name, which lies a little farther north. § 7. But, again, the route herefrom to Antiokheia (Merv) of Margiana through Areia, at first bends towards the south, since Areia lies under the same parallel as the Kaspian Gates, and then afterwards turns towards the north, Antiokheia being situated under the parallel of the Hellespont.[15] The route after this runs in an eastward direction to Baktra whence it turns towards the north in ascending the mountains of the Kômêdoi, and then in passing through these mountains it pursues a southern course as far as the ravine that opens into the plain country. § 8. For the northern parts of the mountain region and those furthest to the west where the ascent begins, are placed by him under the parallel of Byzantium, and those in the south and the east under the parallel of the Hellespont. For this reason, he says, that this route makes a detour of equal length in opposite directions, that in advancing to the east it bends towards the south, and thereafter probably runs up towards the north for 50 *schœni*, 'till it reaches the Stone Tower. § 9. For to quote his own words, "When the traveller has ascended the ravine he arrives at the Stone Tower, after which the mountains that trend to the east unite with Imaus, the range that runs up to the north from Palimbothra." § 10. If, then, to the 60 degrees made up of the 24,000 stadia, we add the 45¼ degrees which represent the distance from the Stone Tower to Sêra, we get 105¼ degrees as the distance between the Euphrates and Sêra as measured along the parallel of Rhodes.[16] § 11. But, further, we can infer from the number of stadia which he

[15] The actual latitudes of the places here mentioned may be compared with those of Ptolemy :—

	Real Lat.	Ptolemy's Lat.
Byzantium	41°	43° 5′
Hellespont	40°	41° 15′
Smyrna	38° 28′	38° 35′
Issus	37°	36° 35′
Rhodes	36° 24′	36° 25′
Hierapolis	36° 28′	36° 15′
Ekbatana	34° 50′	37° 45′
Kaspian Gates	35° 30′	37°
Hekatompylos	35° 40′	37° 50′
Antiokheia (Merv)	37° 35′	40° 20′
Baktra (Balkh)	36° 40′	41°
Stone Tower (Tâshkand)	42° 58′	43°
Sêra Metropolis (Ho-nan)	38° 35′	33° 58′

[16] St. Martin identifies Sêra, the Metropolis of the Sêres, with a site near Ho-nan-fu. He says, (*Etudes*, p. 432) "At the time when the caravan journey reported by Maës was made (in the first half of the first century of our era), the Han surnamed Eastern held the reins of government, and their residence was at Lo-yang near the present City of Ho-nan-fou, not far from the southern bank of the lower Hoang-ho. It is there then we should look to find the place which in their ignorance of the language of the country, and in their disdain for barbarous names, the Greek traders designated merely as the Metropolis of the Sêres." The road these traders took appears to have been the same by which Hiuen-Tsiang travelled towards India.

We may here insert for comparison with Ptolemy's distances two itineraries, one by Strabo and the other by Pliny. Strabo (lib. XI, c. viii, 9) says: "These are the distances which he (Eratosthenes) gives :—

	Stadia.
From the Kaspian Sea to the Kyros about ...	1,800
Thence to the Kaspian Gates	5,600
Thence to Alexandreia of the Areioi (Herat)..	6,400
Thence to Baktra, called also Zariaspa (Balkh)	3,870
Thence to the Jaxartes, which Alexander reached, about	5,000
Making a total of	22,670"

He also assigns the following distances from the Kaspian Gates to India :—

	Stadia.
"To Hekatompylos	1,960
To Alexandreia of the Areioi (Herat)	4,530
Thence to Prophthasia in Dranga (a little north of lake Zarah	1,600
Thence to the City Arakhotos (Ulan Robût)...	4,120
Then to Ortospana (Kâbul) on the 3 roads from Baktra	2,000
Thence to the confines of India	1,000
Which together amount to	15,300"
The sum total however is only	15,210

Pliny (lib. VI, c. xxi) says: "Diognetus and Baeton, his (Alexander's) measurers, have recorded that from the Kaspian Gates to Hekatompylos of the Parthians there were as many miles as we have stated, thence to Alexandria Arion a city built by that king, 575 miles, to Prophthasia of the Drangae 198 miles, to the town of the Arakhosii 565 miles, to Hortospanum 175 miles, thence to Alexander's town (Opianê) 50 miles. In some copies numbers differing from these are found. They state that the last-named city lay at the foot of Caucasus; from that the distance to the Cophes and Peucolatis, a town of the Indians, was 237 miles, and thence to the river Indus and town of Taxila 60 miles, to the Hydaspes, a famous river, 120 miles, to the Hypasis, no mean river [IXXXIXI] 390—which was the limit of Alexander's progress, although he crossed the river and dedicated altars on the far-off bank, as the letters of the king himself agree in stating." The Kaspian Gates formed a point of great import-

gives as the distance between successive places lying along the same parallel, that the distance from the Islands of the Blest to the sacred Promontory in Spain (*Cape St. Vincent*), is $2\frac{1}{2}$ degrees, and the distance thence to the mouth of the Bætis (*Guadalquivir*), the same. From the Bætis to Kalpê, and the entrance of the Straits, $2\frac{1}{2}$ degrees. From the Straits to Karallis in Sardinia, 25 degrees. From Karallis to Lilybaion, in Sicily, $4\frac{1}{2}$ degrees. From this Cape to Pakhynos, 3 degrees. Then again, from Pakhynos to Tainaros, in Lakonia, 10 degrees. Thence to Rhodes, $8\frac{1}{4}$ degrees. From Rhodes to Issus, $11\frac{1}{4}$ degrees, and finally from Issos to the Euphrates, $2\frac{1}{2}$ degrees.[17] § 12. The sum of these particular distances gives a total of 72 degrees, consequently the entire length of the known world between the meridian of the Islands of the Blest and that of the Sêres is $177\frac{1}{4}$ degrees, as has been already shown.[18]

CAP. 13.

§ 1. That such is the length of the inhabited world may also be inferred from his estimate of the distances in a voyage from India to the Gulf of the Sinai and Kattigara, if the sinuosities of the coast and irregularity of the navigation be taken into account, together with the positions as drawn into nearer proximity in the projections; for, he says, that beyond the Cape called Kôry where the Kolkhic Gulf terminates, the Argaric Gulf begins, and that the distance thence to the City of Kouroula, which is situated to the north-east of Kôry is 3,400 stadia. § 2. The distance right across may, therefore, be estimated at about 2,030 stadia, since we have to deduct a third because of the navigation having followed the curvature of the Gulf, and have also to make allowances for irregularities in the length of the courses run. § 3. If now we further reduce this amount by a third, because the sailing, *though subject to interruption*, was taken as continuous, there remain 1,350 stadia, determining the position of Kouroula as situated north-east from Kôry. § 4. If now this distance be referred to a line running parallel to the equator and towards the East, and we reduce its length by half in accordance with the intercepted angle, we shall have as the distance between the meridian of Kouroula and that of Kôry, 675 stadia, or $1\frac{1}{3}$ degree, since the parallels of these places do not differ materially from the great circle.[19]

§ 5. But to proceed: the course of the voyage from Kouroura lies, he says, to the south-east as far as Paloura, the distance being 9,450 stadia. Here, if we deduct as before one-third for the irregularities in the length of the courses, we shall have the distance on account of the navigation having been continuous to

ance in ancient Geography, and many of the meridians were measured from it. The pass has been clearly identified with that now known as the Sirdar Pass between Verâmîn and Kishlak in Khowar. Arrian states that the distance from the city of Rhagai to the entrance of the Gates was a one day's march. This was, however, a forced march, as the ruins of Rhagai (now Rai. about 5 miles from Tehran) are somewhere about 30 miles distant from the Pass.

[17] I may present here the tabular form in which Mr. Bunbury (vol. II, p. 638) exhibits the longitudes of the principal points in the Mediterranean as given by Ptolemy, and the actual longitudes of the same points computed from Ferro:

	Longitude in Ptolemy.	Real longitude E. of Ferro.
Sacred Promontory	2° 30′	9° 20′
Mouth of Bætis	5° 20′	12°
Calpe (at mouth of Straits).	7° 30′	13°
Caralis in Sardinia......... ..	32° 30′	27° 30′
Lilybæum in Sicily	37°	30° 45′
Pachynus (Prom.) in Sicily.	40°	33° 25′
Tænarus (Prom.)	50°	40° 50′
Rhodes	58° 20′	46° 45′
Issus	69° 20′	54° 30′

The same authority observes (vol. II, p. 564) "Ptolemy thus made the whole interval from the Sacred Cape to Issus, which really comprises only about 45° 15′ to extend over not less than 67 degrees of longitude, and the length of the Mediterranean itself from Calpe to Issus, to amount to 62 degrees: rather more than 20 degrees beyond the truth. It is easy to detect one principal source of this enormous error. Though the distances above given are reported by Ptolemy in degrees of longitude, they were computed by Marinos himself from what he calls *stadiasmi*, that is from distances given in maritime itineraries and reported in stadia In other words, he took the statements and estimates of preceding authorities and converted them into degrees of longitude, according to his own calculation that a degree on the equator was equal to 500 stadia, and consequently a degree of longitude in latitude 36° would be equal (approximately) to 400 stadia." The total length of the Mediterranean computed from the stadiasmoi must have been 24,800. This was an improvement on the estimate of Eratosthenes, but was still excessive. In the ancient mode of reckoning sea distances the tendency was almost uniformly towards exaggeration.

[18] The different corrections to be applied to Ptolemy's eastern longitudes have been calculated by Sir Henry Rawlinson to amount to *three-tenths*, which is within one-seventieth part of the empirical correction used by M. Gossellin. [If we take *one-fifth* from Ptolemy's longitude of a place, and deduct 17° 43′ for the W. longitude of Ferro, we obtain very approximately the modern English longitude. Thus, for Barygaza, Ptolemy's longitude is 113°15′ and 113°15′—22°39′—17°43′=72°53′, or only 5′ less than the true longitude W. of Greenwich. —J. B.]

[19] By the intercepted angle is meant the angle contained by two straight lines drawn from Kôry, one running north-east to Kouroula and the other parallel to the Equator. In Ptolemy's map Kouroula is so placed that its distance in a straight line from Kôry is about double the distance between the meridians of those two places.

the south-east about 6,300 stadia. § 6. And if we deduct from this in like manner as before one-sixth, in order to find the distance parallel to the equator, we shall make the interval between the meridians of these two places 5,250 stadia, or $10\frac{1}{2}$ degrees.

§ 7. At this place the Gangetic Gulf begins, which he estimates to be in circuit 19,000 stadia. The passage across it from P a l o u r a to S a d a in a direct line from west to east is 1,300 stadia. Here, then, we have but one deduction to make, *viz.*, one-third on account of the irregularity of the navigation, leaving as the distance between the meridians of Paloura and Sada 8,670 stadia, or $17\frac{1}{3}$ degrees. § 8. The voyage is continued onward from Sada to the City of T a m a l a, a distance of 3,500 stadia, in a south-eastward direction. If a third be here again deducted on account of irregularities, we find the length of the continuous passage to be 2,330 stadia, but we must further take into account the divergence towards the south-east, and deduct one-sixth, so we find the distance between the meridians in question to be 1,940 stadia, or 3° 50′ nearly. § 9. He next sets down the passage from T a m a l a to the Golden Khersonese at 1,600 stadia, the direction being still towards the south-east, so that after making the usual deductions there remain as the distance between the two meridians 900 stadia, or 1° 48′. The sum of these particulars makes the distance from Cape K ô r y to the Golden Khersonese, to be 34° 48′.

CAP. 14.

§ 1. Marinos does not state the number of stadia in the passage from the Golden Khersonese to Kattigara, but says that one Alexander had written that the land thereafter faced the south, and that those sailing along this coast reached the city of Z a b a in 20 days, and by continuing the voyage from Zaba southward, but keeping more to the left, they arrived after some days at Kattigara. § 2. He then makes this distance very great by taking the expression "some days" to mean "many days," assigning as his reason that the days occupied by the voyage were too many to be counted,—a most absurd reason, it strikes me. § 3. For would even the number of days it takes to go round the whole world be past counting? And was there anything to prevent Alexander writing "many" instead of "some," especially when we find him saying that Dioskoros had reported that the voyage from R h a p t a to Cape P r a s u m took "many days." One might in fact with far more reason take "some" to mean "a few," for we have been wont to censure this style (*of expression*).[20] § 4. So now lest we should appear to fall ourselves into the same error, that of adapting conjectures about distances to some number already fixed on, let us compare the voyage from the Golden Khersonese to Kattigara, consisting of the 20 days to Zaba and the "some days" thence to Kattigara with the voyage from Arômata to Cape Prasum, and we find that the voyage from Arômata to Rhapta took also 20 days as reported by Theophilos, and the voyage from Rhapta to Prasum "many more days" as reported by Dioskoros, so that we may set side by side the "some days" with the "many days" and like Marinos take them to be equivalent. § 5. Since then, we have shown both by reasoning and by

[20] To account for the seeming caprice which led Marinos to take the expression *some days* as equivalent to *ever so many days* it has been supposed that he had adopted the theory that Kattigara, the furthest point eastward that had been reached by sea, was situated nearly under the same meridian as Sêra, the furthest point in the same direction that had been reached by land. Unfortunately the expression used by Alexander *some days* did not square with this theory, and it was all the worse in consequence for that expression. "The result," says Mr. Bunbury (vol. II, p. 537), "derived by Marinos from these calculations was to place Kattigara at a distance of not less than 100 degrees of longitude, or nearly 50,000 stadia, east of Cape Kôry; and as he placed that promontory in 125½° of longitude east of the Fortunate Islands, he arrived at the conclusion that the total length of the inhabited world was, in round numbers, 225°, equivalent, according to his calculation to 112,500 stadia. As he adopted the system of Poseidônios, which gave only 180,000 stadia for the circumference of the globe, he thus made the portion of it which he supposed to be known, to extend over nearly two-thirds of the whole circumference. This position of Cape Kôry, which was adopted by Ptolemy as a position well established, was already nearly 34° too far to the east; but it was by giving the enormous extension we have pointed out to the coast of Asia beyond that promontory, that he fell into this stupendous error, which though partly corrected by Ptolemy, was destined to exercise so great an influence upon the future progress of geography." Columbus by accepting Ptolemy's estimate of the circumference of the globe greatly under-estimated the distance between the western shores of the Atlantic and the eastern shores of Asia, and hence was led to undertake his memorable enterprise with all the greater hope and courage.

With reference to the position of Cape Kôry as given by Ptolemy, Bunbury says (Vol. II, p. 537, note): "Cape Kôry is placed by Ptolemy, who on this point apparently follows Marinos, in 125° E. Longitude. It is really situated 80° E. of Greenwich and 98° E. of Ferro; but as Ptolemy made a fundamental error in the position of his primary meridian of nearly 7° this must be added to the amount of his error in this instance. He himself states that Cape Kôry was 120° E. of the mouth of the Bætis, the real difference of longitude being only 86°20′."

stating ascertained facts, that Prasum is under the parallel of 16° 25′ in South latitude, while the parallel through Cape Arômata is 4° 15′ in North latitude, making the distance between the two capes 20° 40′, we might with good reason make the distance from the Golden Khersonese to Zaba and thence to Kattigara just about the same. § 6. It is not necessary to curtail the distance from the Golden Khersonese to Zaba, since as the coast faces the south it must run parallel with the equator. We must reduce, however, the distance from Zaba to Kattigara, since the course of the navigation is towards the south and the east, in order that we may find the position parallel to the equator. § 7 If again, in our uncertainty as to the real excess of the distances, we allot say one-half of the degrees to each of these distances, and from the 13° 20′ between Zaba and Kattigara we deduct a third on account of the divergence, we shall have the distance from the Golden Khersonese to Kattigara along a line parallel to the equator of about 17° 10′. § 8. But it has been shown that the distance from Cape Kôry to the Golden Khersonese is 34° 48′, and so the entire distance from Kôry to Kattigara will be about 52°.

§ 9. But again, the meridian which passes through the source of the River Indus is a little further west than the Northern Promontory of Taprobanê, which according to Marinos is opposite to Kôry, from which the meridian which passes through the mouths of the River Bætis is a distance of 8 hours or 120°. Now as this meridian is 5° from that of the Islands of the Blest, the meridian of Cape Kôry is more than 125° from the meridian of the Islands of the Blest. But the meridian through Kattigara is distant from that through the Islands of the Blest a little more than 177° in the latitude of Kôry, each of which contains about the same number of stadia as a degree reckoned along the parallel of Rhodes. § 10. The entire length then of the world to the Metropolis of the Sinai may be taken at 180 degrees or an interval of 12 hours, since it is agreed on all hands that this Metropolis lies further east than Kattigara, so that the length along the parallel of Rhodes will be 72,000 stadia.

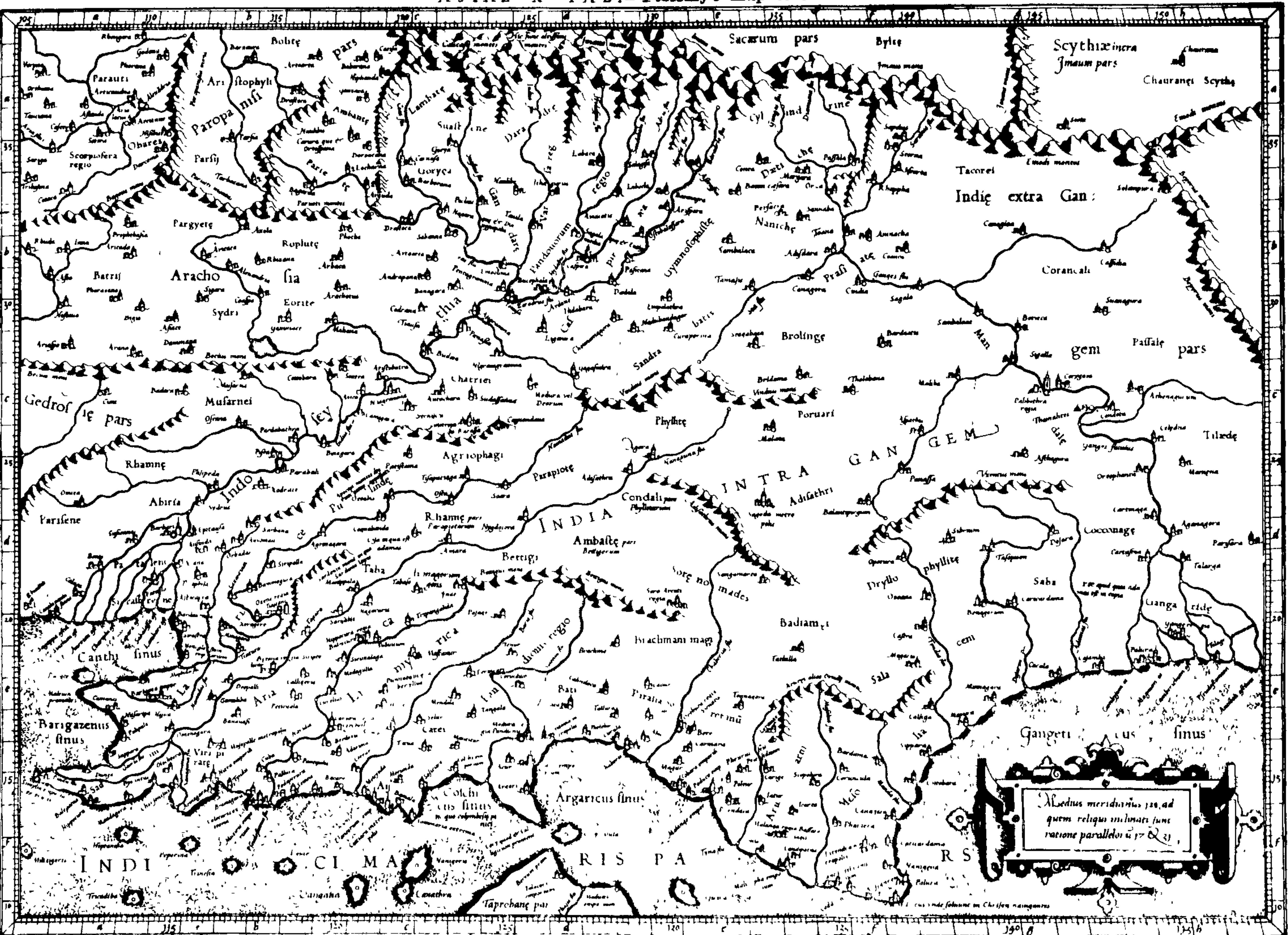
CAP. 17, (part).

§ 3. For all who have crossed the seas to those places agree in assuring me that the district of Sakhalitês in Arabia, and the Gulf of the same name, lie to the east of Syagros and not to the west of it as stated by Marinos, who also makes Simylla, the emporium in India, to be further west not only than Cape Komari, but also than the Indus. § 4. But according to the unanimous testimony both of those who have sailed from us to those places and have for a long time frequented them, and also of those who have come from thence to us, Simylla, which by the people of the country is called Timoula, lies only to the south of the mouths of the river, and not also to west of them. § 5. From the same informants we have also learned other particulars regarding India and its different provinces, and its remote parts as far as the Golden Khersonese and onward thence to Kattigara. In sailing thither, the voyage, they said, was towards the east, and in returning towards the west, but at the same time they acknowledged that the period which was occupied in making the voyages was neither fixed nor regular. The country of the Sêres and their Metropolis was situated to the north of the Sinai, but the regions to the eastward of both those people were unknown, abounding it would appear, in swamps, wherein grew reeds that were of a large size and so close together that the inhabitants by means of them could go right across from one end of a swamp to the other. In travelling from these parts there was not only the road that led to Baktrianê by way of the Stone Tower, but also a road that led into India through Palimbothra. The road again that led from the Metropolis of the Sinai to the Haven at Kattigara runs in a south-west direction, and hence this road does not coincide with the meridian which passes through Sêra and Kattigara, but, from what Marinos tell us, with some one or other of those meridians that are further east.

I may conclude this prefatory matter by quoting from Mr. Bunbury his general estimate of the value of Ptolemy's Indian Geography as set forth in his criticism of Ptolemy's Map of India.

His strictures, though well grounded, may perhaps be considered to incline to the side of severity. He says (vol. II, pp. 642-3), "Some excellent remarks on the portion of Ptolemy's work devoted to India, the nature of the different materials of which he made use, and the manner in which he employed them, will be found in Colonel Yule's introduction to his Map of India, in Dr. Smith's *Atlas of Ancient Geography* (pp. 22-24). These

ASIAE X TAB:—Ptolemy's Map of India.



remarks are indeed in great measure applicable to the mode of proceeding of the Alexandrian Geographer in many other cases also, though the result is particularly conspicuous in India from the fulness of the information—crude and undigested as it was—which he had managed to bring together. The result, as presented to us in the tables of Ptolemy, is a map of utter confusion, out of which it is very difficult to extract in a few instances any definite conclusions. The attempt of Lassen to identify the various places mentioned by Ptolemy, is based throughout upon the fundamental error of supposing that the geographer possessed a Map of India similar to our own, and that we have only to compare the ancient and modern names in order to connect the two. As Col. Yule justly observes: "Practically, he (Lassen) deals with Ptolemy's compilation as if that Geographer had possessed a collection of real Indian surveys, with the data systematically co-ordinated. The fact is, that if we should take one of the rude maps of India that appeared in the 16th century (*e.g.* in Mercator or in Lindschoten), draw lines of latitude and longitude, and then *more Ptolemaico* construct tables registering the co-ordinates of cities, sources and confluences as they appeared in that map, this would be the sort of material we have to deal with in Ptolemy's India." But, in fact, the case is much stronger than Col. Yule puts it For such a map as he refers to, of the 16th century, however rude, would give a generally correct idea of the form and configuration of the Indian Peninsula. But this, as we have seen, was utterly misconceived by Ptolemy. Hence he had to fit his data, derived from various sources, such as maritime and land itineraries, based upon real experience, into a framework to which they were wholly unsuited, and this could only be effected by some Procrustean process, or rather by a repetition of such processes, concerning which we are left wholly in the dark.

Col. Yule's map of Ancient India is undoubtedly by far the best that has yet been produced: it is indeed the only attempt to interpret Ptolemy's data, upon which such a map must mainly be founded upon anything like sound critical principles. But it must be confessed that the result is far from encouraging. So small a proportion of Ptolemy's names can find a place at all, and so many of those even that appear on the map are admitted by its author to rest upon very dubious authority; that we remain almost wholly in the dark as to the greater part of his voluminous catalogues; and are equally unable to identify the localities which he meant to designate, and to pronounce an opinion upon the real value of his materials."

BOOK VII.

Contents.

Description of the furthest parts of Greater Asia, according to the existing provinces and Satrapies.

CAP. I.

Description of India within the Ganges.

§ 1. India within the river Ganges is bounded on the west by the Paropanisadai and Arakhôsia and Gedrôsia along their eastern sides already indicated; on the north by Mount Imaös along the Sogdiaioi and the Sakai lying above it; on the east by the river Ganges; and on the south and again on the west by a portion of the Indian Ocean. The circuit of the coast of this ocean is thus described :—

2. In Syrastrênê, on the Gulf called Kanthi, a roadstead and harbour	109° 30′	20°
The most western mouth of the River Indus called Sagapa	110° 20′	19° 50′
The next mouth called Sinthôn	110° 40′	19° 50′
The 3rd mouth called Khrysoun (the Golden)	111° 20′	19° 50′
The 4th called Kariphron	111° 40′	19° 50′
The 5th called Sapara	112° 30′	19° 50′
The 6th called Sabalaessa	113°	20° 15′
The 7th called Lônibarê	113° 30′	20° 15′
3. Bardaxêma, a town	113° 40′	19° 40′
Syrastra, a village	114°	19° 30′
Monoglôsson, a mart	114° 10′	18° 40′

Comment.—Strabo, following Eratosthenes, regarded the Indus as the boundary of India on the west, and this is the view which has been generally prevalent Ptolemy, however, included within India the regions which lay immediately to the west of that river, comprehending considerable portions of the countries now known as Balûchistân and Afghânistân. He was fully justified in this determination, since many places beyond the Indus, as the sequel will show, bore names of Sanskrit origin, and such parts were ruled from the earliest times down to the Muhammadan conquests by princes of Indian descent. The western boundary as given by Ptolemy would be roughly represented by a line drawn from the mouth of the Indus and passing through the parts adjacent to Kandahâr, Ghaznî, Kâbul, Balkh, and even places beyond. The Paropanisadai inhabited the regions lying south of the mountain range called Paropanisos, now known as the Central Hindû-Kûsh. One of these towns was Ortospana which has been identified with the city of

Kâbul, the Karoura of our author. He gives as the eastern boundary of the Paropanisadai a line drawn south from the sources of the river Oxus through the Kaukasian Mountains (the eastern portion of the Hindû-Kûsh) to a point lying in long. 119° 30′ and lat. 39°. Arakhôsia lay to the south of the Paropanisadai—its chief city was Arakhôtos, whose name, according to Rennell, is preserved in Arokhaj. There is a river of the same name which has been identified with the Helmand (the Etymander or Erymanthos of the ancients) but also and more probably with the Urghand-âb or Arkand-âb, which passes by Kandahâr. Gedrôsia, the modern Balûchistân, had for its eastern boundary the River Indus. The boundary of India on the north was formed by Mount Imaös (Sansk. *hima*, cold), a name which was at first applied by the Greeks to the Hindû-Kûsh and the chain of the Himâlayas running parallel to the equator, but which was gradually in the course of time transferred to the Bolor range which runs from north to south and intersects them. Ptolemy, however, places Imaös further east than the Bolor, and in the maps which accompany his *Geography*, this meridian chain, as he calls it, is prolonged up to the most northernly plains of the Irtish and Obi.

Sogdiana lay to the north of Baktria and abutted on Skythia, both towards the north and towards the west. The name has been preserved in that of Soghd, by which the country along the Kohik from Bokhârâ to Samarkand has always been known. Our author places the Sogdian Mountains (the Pâmîr range) at the sources of the Oxus, and the mountains of the Kômêdai between the sources of that river and the Jaxartes.

The Sakai were located to the east of the Sogdians—Ptolemy describes them as nomadic, as without towns and as living in woods and caves. He specifies as their tribes the Karatai (probably connected with the Kirâtai of India), the Komaroi, the Kômêdai, the Massagetai, the Grynaioi Skythai, the Toörnai and the Byltai. The Sakai it would appear therefore were the Mountaineers of Kâfiristân, Badakshân, Shignân, Roshan, Baltistân or Little Tibet, &c.

Syrastrênê and Larikê.

Syrastrênê. The name is formed from the Sanskrit Surâshṭra (now Soraṭh) the ancient name of the Peninsula of Gujarât. It is mentioned in the *Periplûs of the Erythraean Sea* as the sea-board of Abêria and is there praised for the great fertility of its soil, for its cotton fabrics, and for the superior stature of its inhabitants.

Kanthi:—The Gulf of this name is now called the Gulf of Kachh. It separates Kachh, the south coast of which is still called Kantha, from the Peninsula of Gujarât. In the *Periplûs* the gulf is called Barakê and is described as of very dangerous navigation. In Ptolemy, Barakê is the name of an island in the Gulf.

Two mouths only of the Indus are mentioned by the followers of Alexander and by Strabo. The *Periplûs* gives the same number (7) as Ptolemy. There are now 11, but changes are continually taking place. Sagapa, the western mouth, was explored by Alexander. It separates from the main stream below Ṭhaṭha. In the chronicles of Sindh it is called Sâgâra, from which perhaps its present name Ghâra, may be derived. It has long ceased to be navigable.

Sinthôn:—This has been identified with the Piti branch of the Indus, one of the mouths of the Baghâr River. This branch is otherwise called the Sindhi Khrysoun. This is the Kediwârî mouth.

Khariphron:—Cunningham identifies this with the Kyâr river of the present day which, he says, leads right up to the point where the southern branch of the Ghâra joins the main river near Lâri-bandar.

Sapara:—this is the Wârî mouth.

Sabalaessa is now the Sir mouth.

Lonibarê in Sanskrit is Lôṇavâri (or Lôṇavaḍâ, or Lavaṇavâri or Lâvaṇavâṭâ.[31] It is now the Korî, but is called also the Launî which preserves the old name.

Bardaxêma:—This, according to Yule, is now Pur-bandar, but Dr. Burgess prefers Srînagar, a much older place in the same district, having near it a small village called Bardiyâ, which, as he thinks, may possibly be a reminiscence of the Greek name.

Syrastra:—This in the Prakritized form is Soraṭh. It has been identified by Lassen with Junâgaḍh, a place of great antiquity and historical interest in the interior of the Peninsula, about 40 miles eastward from the coast at Navi-bandar. The meaning of the name is *the old fort.* The place was anciently called Girnagara, from its vicinity to the sacred mountain of Girnâr, near which is the famous rock inscribed with the edicts of Aśôka, Skandagupta and Rudra Dâma. Yule identifies Syrastra with Navi-bandar, a port at the mouth of the Bhâdar, the largest river of the Peninsula, said to be fed by 99 tributaries. Junâgaḍh was visited by Hiuen Tsiang, who states that after leaving the kingdom of Valabhî (near Bhaunagar) he went about 100 miles to the west

[31] *Lavaṇa* is the Sanskrit word for *salt.*

and reached the country of Su-la-ch'a (Saurâshṭra) that was subject to the kingdom of Valabhî. See *Tarîkh-i-Soraṭh*, edited by Dr. Burgess, pp. 33-199.

Monoglôsson.—This is now represented by Mangrol, a port on the S. W. coast of the Peninsula below Navi-bandar. It is a very populous place, with a considerable traffic, and is tributary to Junâgaḍh.

4. In Larikê.

Mouth of the River Môphis	114°	18° 20′
Pakidarê, a village	113°	17° 50′
Cape Maleô	111°	17° 30′

5. In the Gulf of Barygaza.

Kamanê	112°	17°
Mouth of the River Namados	112°	17° 45′
Nausaripa	112° 30′	16° 30′
Poulipoula	112° 30′	16°

Larikê, according to Lassen, represents the Sansk. Râshṭrika in its Prakrit form Laṭika. Lâr-deśa, however, the country of Lâr (Sansk. Lâṭa) was the ancient name of the territory of Gujarât, and the northern parts of Koṅkaṇ, and Larikê may therefore be a formation from Lâr with the Greek termination *ikê* appended. The two great cities of Barygaza (Bharoch) and Ozênê (Ujjain) were in Larikê, which appears to have been a political rather than a geographical division.

Maleô must have been a projection of the land somewhere between the mouth of the Mahî and that of Narmadâ—but nearer to the former if Ptolemy's indication be correct.

The Gulf of Barygaza, now the Gulf of Khambhat, was so called from the great commercial emporium of the same name (now Bharoch) on the estuary of the Narmadâ at a distance of about 300 stadia from the Gulf. This river is called the Namados or Namadês by Ptolemy and the Namnadios by the Author of the *Periplûs*, who gives a vivid account of the difficulties attending the navigation of the gulf and of the estuary which was subject to bores of great frequency and violence.

Kamanê is mentioned as Kammônê in the *Periplûs*, where it is located to the south of the Narmadâ estuary. Ptolemy probably errs in placing it to northward of it.

Nausaripa has been identified with Nausâri, a place near the coast, about 18 miles south from Sûrat.

Poulipoula is in Yule's map located at Sanjan, which is on the coast south from Nausâri. It was perhaps nearer Balsâr.

6. Ariakê-Sadinôn.

Soupara	112° 30′	15° 30′
Mouth of the River Goaris	112° 15′	15° 10′
Dounga	111° 30′	15°
Mouth of the River Bênda	110° 30′	15°
Simylla, a mart and a cape	110°	14° 45′
Hippokoura	111° 45′	14° 10′
Baltipatna	110° 30′	14° 20′

Ariakê corresponds nearly to Mahârâshṭra—the country of the Marâṭhâs. It may have been so called, because its inhabitants being chiefly Aryans and ruled by Indian princes were thereby distinguished from their neighbours, who were either of different descent or subject to foreign domination. The territory was in Ptolemy's time divided among three potentates, one of whom belonged to the dynasty of the Sadineis and ruled the prosperous trading communities that occupied the seaboard. This dynasty is mentioned in the *Periplûs* (cap. 52) whence we learn that Sandanes after having made himself master of Kalliena (now Kalyâṇa), which had formerly belonged to the house of Saraganes the elder, subjected its trade to the severest restrictions, so that if Greek vessels entered its port even accidentally, they were seized and sent under guard to Barygaza, the seat evidently of the paramount authority. Sadanes, according to Lassen, corresponds to the Sanskṛit word Sâdhana, which means *completion* or *a perfecter*, and also an agent or representative. By Saraganes is probably indicated one of the great Śâtakarṇi or Andhra dynasty. The *Periplûs* makes Ariâkê to be the beginning of the kingdom of Mambares and of all India.

Soupara has been satisfactorily identified by Dr. Burgess with Supârâ, a place about 6 miles to the north of Vasai (Bassein). It appears to have been from very early times an important centre of trade, and it was perhaps the capital of the district that lay around it. Among its ruins have been preserved some monuments, which are of historical interest, and which also attest its high antiquity. These are a fragment of a block of basalt like the rocks of Girnâr, inscribed with edicts of Aśôka, and an old Buddhist Stûpa. The name of Supârâ figures conspicuously in the many learned and elaborate treatises which were evoked in the course of the famous controversy regarding the situation of Ophir to which Solomon despatched the ships he had hired from the Tyrians. There can now be little doubt that if Ophir did not mean India itself it designated some place in India, and probably Supârâ, which lay on that part of the coast to which the traders of the west, who took advantage of the monsoon to cross the ocean, would naturally direct their course. The name moreover of Supârâ is almost identical with that of Ophir when it assumes, as it often does, an initial S, becoming Sôphara as in

the *Septuagint* form of the name, and Sofir which is the Coptic name for India, not to mention other similar forms. (See Benfey's *Indien*, pp. 30-32).

The mouths of the Goaris and Bênda Yule takes to be the mouths of the Strait that isolates Salsette and Bombay. The *names* represent, as he thinks, those of the Gôdâvarî and Bhîma respectively, though these rivers flow in a direction different from that which Ptolemy assigns to them, the former discharging into the Bay of Bengal and the latter into the Krishṇâ, of which it is the most considerable tributary. Ptolemy's rivers, especially those of the Peninsula, are in many instances so dislocated, that it is difficult to identify them satisfactorily. It appears to have been his practice to connect the river-mouths which he found mentioned in records of coasting voyages with rivers in the interior concerning which he had information from other sources, and whose courses he had only partially traced. But, as Yule remarks, with his erroneous outline of the Peninsula this process was too hazardous and the result often wrong. Mr. J. M. Campbell, Bo C.S., would identify the Goaris with the Vaitarna River, as Gore is situated upon it and was probably the highest point reached by ships sailing up its stream. The sources of the Vaitarna and the Gôdâvarî are in close propinquity. The Bênda he would identify with the Bhîwandî River, and the close similarity of the names favours this view.

Dounga is placed in Yule's map to the S. E. of Supârâ on the Strait which separates Salsette from the mainland. Ptolemy, however, through his misconception of the configuration of this part of the coast, places it a whole degree to the west of Supârâ. Mr. Campbell, from some similarity in the names, suggests its identity with Dugâḍ—a place about 10 miles N. of Bhîwandî and near the Vajrabâî hot springs. Dugâḍ, however, is too far inland to have been here mentioned by Ptolemy, and moreover, it lies to the north of Supârâ, whereas in Ptolemy's enumeration, which is from north to south, it is placed after it.

Simylla:—Yule identifies this with Chaul and remarks: "Chaul was still a chief port of Western India when the Portuguese arrived. Its position seems to correspond precisely both with Simylla and with the Ṣaimûr or Jaimûr (*i.e* Chaimur, the Arabs having no *ch*) of the Arabian Geographers. In Al-Bîrûnî the coast cities run: Kambâyat, Bahruj, Sindân (Sanjân), Sufâra (Supârâ), Tana (near Bombay), "There you enter the country of Lârân, where is Jaimûr." Istakhri inverts the position of Sindân and Sufâra, but Saimûr is still furthest south." In a note he adds: "Ptolemy mentions that Simylla was called by the natives Timula (probably Tiamula); and putting together all these forms, Timula, Simylla, Ṣaimûr, Chaimûr, the real name must have been something like Chaimul or Châmul, which would modernize into Chaul, as Chamari and Prâmara into Chauri and Pawâr" Chaul or Chênwal lies 23 miles S. of Bombay Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl Indraji, Ph D., suggested as a better identification Chimûla in Trombay Island, this being supported by one of the Kaṇhêri inscriptions in which Chimûla is mentioned, apparently as a large city, like Supârâ and Kalyâṇa in the neighbourhood Mr. Campbell thus discusses the merits of these competing identifications:—"Simylla has a special interest, as Ptolemy states that he learned some of his Geography of Western India from people who traded to Simylla and had been familiar with it for many years, and had come from there to him—Ptolemy speaks of Simylla as a point and emporium, and the author of the *Periplûs* speaks of it as one of the Konkaṇ local marts. Simylla till lately was identified with Chaul. But the discovery of a village Chembur on Trombay Island in Bombay Harbour, has made it doubtful whether the old trade centre was there or at Chaul. In spite of the closer resemblance of the names, the following reasons seem to favour the view that Chaul, not Chimûla, was the Greek Simylla. First, it is somewhat unlikely that two places so close, and so completely on the same line of traffic as Kalyân (the Kalliena of the *Periplûs*) and Chimûla should have flourished at the same time. Second, the expression in the *Periplûs* 'below (μετα) Kalliena other local marts are Semulla' points to some place down the coast rather than to a town in the same Harbour as Kalliena, which according to the Author's order north to south should have been named before it. Third, Ptolemy's point (promontorium) of Simylla has no meaning if the town was Chembur in Trombay. But it fits well with Chaul, as the headland would then be the south shore of Bombay Harbour, one of the chief capes in this part of the coast, the south head of the gulf or bay whose north head is at Bassein. This explanation of the Simylla point is borne out by Fryer (1675) *New Account* (pp. 77-82), who talked of Bombay 'facing Chaul' and notices the gulf or hollow in the shore stretching from Bassein to Chaul Point. The old (1540) Portuguese name 'Chaul Island' for the isle of Kennery of the south point of Bombay, further supports this view." Ptolemy's map gives great prominence to the projection of land at Simylla, which (through a

strange misconception on his part, for which it is impossible to account) is therein represented as the great south-west point of India, whence the coast bends at once sharply to the east instead of pursuing its course continuously to the south.

Hippokoura. This word may be a Greek translation (in whole or in part) of the native name of the place. Hence Paṇdit Bhagvânlâl Indraji was led to identify it with Ghoḍabandar (Horse-port) a town on the Ṭhana Strait, whose position however is not in accordance with Ptolemy's data. Mr. Campbell again has suggested an identification free from this objection. Ghoregâoṅ (Horse-village) in Kolâba, a place at the head of a navigable river, which was once a seat of trade. Yule takes it, though doubtingly, as being now represented by Kuḍâ near Râjapûr. Hippokouros was one of the Greek epithets of Poseidôn. Ptolemy mentions another Hippokoura, which also belonged to Ariâkê and was the Capital of Baleokouros. Its situation was inland.

Baltipatna:—This place is mentioned in the *Periplûs* under the somewhat altered form Palaipatmai. Yule locates it, but doubtingly, at Daibal. Fra Paolino identified it with Balaerpatam (the Baleopatam of Rennell) where the king of Cananor resided, but it lies much too far south to make the identification probable. Mr. Campbell has suggested Pali, which he describes as "a very old holy town at the top of the Nagôtna river." Its position, however, being too far north and too far from the sea, does not seem to suit the requirements.

7. (Ariakê) of the Pirates.

Mandagara	113°	14°
Byzanteion	113° 40′	14° 40′
Khersonêsos	114° 20′	14° 30′
Armagara	114° 20′	14° 20′
Mouth of the River Nanagouna	114° 30′	13° 50′
Nitra, a mart	115° 30′	14° 40′

Piracy, which from very early times seems to have infested, like a pernicious parasite, the commerce of the Eastern Seas, flourished nowhere so vigorously as on the Koṅkaṇ Coast, along which richly freighted merchantmen were continually plying. Here bands of pirates, formed into regularly organized communities like those of the Ṭhags in the interior of the country, had established themselves in strongholds contiguous to the creeks and bays, which were numerous on the coast, and which afforded secure harbourage to their cruisers. The part of the coast which was subject to their domination and which was in consequence called the Pirate Coast, extended from the neighbourhood of Simylla to an emporium called Nitra, the Mangaruth of Kosmas and the Mangalûr of the present day. Whether the native traders took any precautions to protect their ships from these highwaymen of the ocean is not known, but we learn from Pliny, that the merchantmen which left the Egyptian ports heading for India carried troops on board well-armed for their defence. Mr. Campbell has ingeniously suggested that by Ἀνδρῶν Πειρατῶν Ptolemy did not mean pirates, but the powerful dynasty of the Ândhrabhṛitya that ruled over the Koṅkaṇ and some other parts of the Dekhan. He says (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Thâna, Vol. II., p. 415 n. 2nd), "Perhaps because of Pliny's account of the Koṅkaṇ pirates, Ptolemy's phrase *Ariâkê Andrōn Peiratōn* has been taken to mean Pirate Ariâkê. But Ptolemy has no mention of pirates on the Koṅkaṇ Coast, and, though this does not carry much weight in the case of Ptolemy, the phrase *Andrōn Peiratōn* is not correct Greek for pirates. This and the close resemblance of the words suggest that *Andrōn Peiratōn* may originally have been Andhrabhrityon." On this it may be remarked, that though Ptolemy has no mention of pirates on the Koṅkaṇ Coast this is not in the least surprising, since his work is almost exclusively geographical, and whatever information on points of history we obtain from it is more from inference than direct statement. Further, I do not see why the expression ἀνδρῶν Πειρατῶν if taken to mean pirates should be called incorrect Greek, since in later Attic it was quite a common usage to join ἀνήρ with titles, professions and the like.

Mandagara:—This may be a transliteration, somewhat inexact, of Madangaṛh (House of Love) the name of a fort about 12 miles inland from Bankûṭ. More likely the place is Mândlâ on the north bank of the Sautrî river, opposite Bankûṭ, and now known as Kolmândlâ, and Bâg and Bâgmândlâ. Mangalûr, to which as far as the name goes it might be referred, is too far south for the identification.

Byzanteion:—The close correspondence of this name with that of the famous capital on the Bosporos has led to the surmise that a colony of Greeks had established themselves on this coast for commercial purposes, notwithstanding the danger to be apprehended from attacks by the pirates in their neighbourhood. It appears however quite unlikely that Greeks should have formed a settlement where few, if any, of the advantages could be enjoyed which generally determined their choice of a locality in which to plant a colony. The name may perhaps be a transliteration of Vijayanta, now Vijayadurga, the south entrance of the Vâghotan river in Ratnagiri. The word means the Fort of Victory.

Khersonêsos. This seems to be the peninsula which is in the neighbourhood of Goa. It is mentioned in the *Periplûs* as one of the haunts of the pirates, and as being near the island of the Kaineitai, that is, St. George's Island.

Armagara:—This is placed near the mouth of the Nanagouna river, which may be taken to mean here the river on which Sadâśivagaṛh stands. The Nanagouna however must be identified with the Tâptî, whose embouchure is about 6° farther north. Its name is Sanskṛit, meaning 'possessed of many virtues.' To account for this extraordinary dislocation, Yule supposes that Ptolemy, having got from his Indian lists a river Nânâguna rising in the Vindhyas, assigns to it three discharges into the sea by what he took for so many delta branches, which he calls respectively Goaris, Benda, and Nanaguna. This, he adds, looked possible to Ptolemy on his map, with its excessive distortion of the western coast, and his entire displacement of the Western Ghâts. Mr. Campbell suggests that Ptolemy may have mistaken the Nânâ Pass for a river.

Nitras is the most southern of the pirate ports, and is mentioned by Pliny in a passage where he remarks that ships frequenting the great emporium of Mouziris ran the risk of being attacked by pirates who infested the neighbourhood, and possessed a place called Nitra. Yule refers it as has been already stated to Mangalur.

8. Limyrikê.

Tyndis, a city	116°	14° 30′
Bramagara	116° 45′	14° 20′
Kalaikarias	116° 40′	14°
Mouziris, an emporium	117°	14°
Mouth of the river Pseudostomos	117° 20′	14°
Podoperoura	117° 40′	14° 15′
Semnê	118°	14° 20′
Koreoura	118° 40′	14° 20′
Bakarei	119° 30′	14° 30′
Mouth of the river Baris	120°	14° 20′

Limyrikê:—Lassen was unable to trace this name to any Indian source, but Caldwell has satisfactorily explained its origin. In the introduction to his *Dravidian Grammar* he states (page 14), that in the Indian segment of the Roman maps called the *Peutinger Tables* the portion of India to which this name is applied is called Damirike, and that we can scarcely err in identifying this name with the Tamiḻ country, since Damirike evidently means *Damir-ikê*. In the map referred to there is moreover a district called Scytia Dymirice, and it appears to have been this word which by a mistake of Δ for Λ Ptolemy wrote Lymirike. The D, he adds, retains its place in the *Cosmography* of the Geographer of Ravenna, who repeatedly mentions Dimirica as one of the 3 divisions of India. Ptolemy and the author of the *Periplûs* are at one in making Tyndis one of the first or most northern ports in Limyrikê. The latter gives its distance from Barygaza at 7,000 stadia, or nearly 12 degrees of latitude, if we reckon 600 stadia to the degree. Notwithstanding this authoritative indication, which makes Limyrikê begin somewhere near Kalikat (11° 15′ N. Lat.) its frontier has generally been placed nearly 3 degrees further north, Tyndis having been located at Barcelôr. This error has been rectified by Yule, whose adherence to the data of the *Periplûs* has been completely justified by the satisfactory identification of Mouziris (the southern rival in commercial prosperity of Barygaza) with Kranganur, instead of with Mangalur as previously accepted. The capital of Limyrikê was Karûr, on the Kâvêrî, where resided Kêrobothros, *i.e.*, Kêralaputra, the Chêra king.

Tyndis is described in the *Periplûs* as a place of great note pertaining to the kingdom of Kêprobotras, and situate near the sea at a distance of 500 stadia from Mouziris. This distance north from Kranganur with which, as has been stated, Mouziris has been identified, brings us to Tanûr. "Tanûr itself," says Yule, "may be Tyndis; it was an ancient city, the seat of a principality, and in the beginning of the 16th century had still much shipping and trade. Perhaps, however, a more probable site is a few miles further north, Kaḍalunḍi, *i. e.* Kaḍal-tunḍi, 'the raised ground by the sea,' standing on an inlet 3 or 4 miles south of Bêpur. It is not now a port, but persons on the spot seem to think that it must formerly have been one, and in communication with the Backwater." He adds in a note supplied by Dr. Burnell, "The composition of *Kaḍal* and *Tunḍi* makes *Kaḍalunḍi* by Tamiḻ rules." The pepper country called Kottonarike was immediately adjacent to Tyndis, which no doubt exported great quantities of that spice.

Bramagara is placed in the table half a degree to the east of Tyndis, *i.e.*, really to the south of it, since Ptolemy makes the Malabar Coast run east instead of south. The name may be a transliteration of the Sanskrit *Brahmâgâra*, which means 'the abode of the Brâhmaṇs.' The Brâhmaṇs of the south of India appear in those days to have consisted of a number of isolated communities that were settled in separate parts of the country, and that were independent each of the other. This, as Lassen remarks (*Ind. Alt.*, vol. III., p. 193) is in harmony with the tradition according to which the Ârya Brâhmaṇs were

represented as having been settled by Paraśurâma in 61 villages, and as having at first lived under a republican constitution. In section 74 Ptolemy mentions a town called Brâhmê belonging to the Brâhmaṇoi Magoi, *i e.*, 'sons of the Brâhmaṇs.'

Kalaikarias:—The last half of this word (*Karias*) is doubtless the Tamil word for "coast," *karei*, which appears also in another of Ptolemy's names, Peringkarei, mentioned as one of the inland towns Kandionoi (sec. 89). I find in Arrowsmith's large Map of India a place called 'Chalacoory' to the N. E. of Kranganur, and at about the same distance from it as our author makes Kalaikarias distant from Mouziris.

Mouziris may unhesitatingly be taken to represent the Muyiri of Muyiri-Koḍu, which, says Yule, appears in one of the most ancient of Malabar inscriptions as the residence of the King of Koḍangalur or Kranganur, and is admitted to be practically identical with that now extinct city. It is to Kranganur he adds that all the Malabar traditions point as their oldest seaport of renown; to the Christians it was the landing-place of St. Thomas the Apostle.

Mouth of the river Pseudostomos, or 'false-mouth' According to the table the river enters the sea at the distance of ⅓ of a degree below Mouziris. It must have been one of the streams that discharge into the Backwater.

Podoperoura must be the Poudopatana of Indikopleustês—a word which means 'new town,' and is a more correct form than Ptolemy's Podoperoura.

Semnê:—The Sanskrit name for Buddhist Ascetics was *Śramaṇa*, in Tamil *Śamaṇa*, and as we find that this is rendered as *Semnoi* by Clemens Alexandrinus, we may infer that Semnê was a town inhabited by Buddhists, having perhaps a Buddhist temple of noted sanctity. For a different explanation see Lassen's *Ind. Alt.* vol. III, p. 194.

Bakarei is mentioned by Pliny as Becare, and as Bakarê by the Author of the *Periplûs*, who places it at the mouth of the river on which, at a distance of 120 stadia from the sea was situated the great mart called Nelkynda, or Melkynda as Ptolemy writes it. The river is described as difficult of navigation on account of shallows and sunken reefs, so that ships despatched from Nelkynda were obliged to sail down empty to Bakarê and there take in their cargoes. The distance of Nelkynda from Mouziris is given at about 500 stadia, and this whether the journey was made by sea or by river or by land. Upon this Yule thus remarks: "At this distance south from Kranganur we are not able to point to a quite satisfactory Nelkynda. The site which has been selected as the most probable is nearly 800 stadia south of Mouziris. This is Kallaḍa, on a river of the same name entering the Backwater, the only navigable river on this south-west coast except the Perri-âr near Kranganur. The Kallaḍa River is believed to be the *Kanĕtti* mentioned in the Kêralotatti legendary history of Malabar, and the town of Kallaḍa to be the town of Kanĕtti. It is now a great entrepôt of Travankor pepper, which is sent from this to ports on the coast for shipment. That Nelkynda cannot have been far from this is clear from the vicinity of the Πυῤῥὸν ὄρος or *Red-Hill* of the *Periplûs* (sec. 58). There can be little doubt that this is the bar of red laterite which, a short distance south of Quilon, cuts short the Backwater navigation, and is thence called the Warkallê barrier. It forms abrupt cliffs on the sea, without beach, and these cliffs are still known to seamen as the *Red Cliffs*. This is the only thing like a sea cliff from Mount d'Ely to Cape Comorin." The word Bakarei may represent the Sanskrit *dvâraka*, 'a door.'

Mouth of the river Baris:—The Baris must be a stream that enters the Backwater in the neighbourhood of Quilon.

9. Country of the Aïoi.

Melkynda	120° 20′	14° 20′
Elangkôn (or Elangkôr), a mart	120° 40′	14°
Kottiara, the metropolis	121°	14°
Bammala	121° 20′	14° 15′
Komaria, a cape and town	121° 45′	13° 30′

The Aïoi:—This people occupied the southern parts of Travankor. Their name is perhaps a transliteration of the Sanskrit *ahi*, 'a snake,' and if so, this would indicate the prevalence among them of serpent worship. Cunningham, in his *Geography of Ancient India* (p. 552), states that in the Chino-Japanese Map of India the alternative name of Malyakûṭa is Hai-an-men, which suggests a connection with Ptolemy's Aïoi. I note that the entrance to the Backwater at Kalikoulan is called the Great Ayibicca Bar, and an entrance farther south the Little Ayibicca Bar. The first part of this name may also be similarly connected.

Melkynda, as already stated is the Nelkynda of the *Periplûs*, which places it, however, in Limyrikê. Pliny speaks of it as *portus gentis Neacyndon* (v. ll. Neacrindon, Neachyndon, Nelcyndon) The name, according to Caldwell, probably means West Kynda, that is Kannetri, the south boundary of Kêrala Proper. When Mangalur was taken as the representative of

Mouziris, Nelkynda was generally identified with Nelisuram, which besides the partial resemblance of its name, answered closely in other respects to the description of Nelkynda in the *Periplûs*—*Cf.* C. Müller, *not. ad Peripl., Sec.* 54. Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, vol. III, p. 190. Bunbury, *Hist. of Anc. Geog.* vol. I, pp. 467-8.

Elangkôn or Elangkôr is now Quilon, otherwise written Kulam.

Kottiara, says Caldwell, "is the name of a place in the country of the Aïoi of Ptolemy in the Paralia of the Author of the *Periplûs*, identical in part with South Travankor. Apparently it is the Cottara of Pliny, and I have no doubt it is the Cottara of the *Peutinger Tables.* It is called by Ptolemy the Metropolis, and must have been a place of considerable importance. The town referred to is probably Kôttâra, or as it is ordinarily written by Europeans 'Kotaur,' the principal town in South Travankor, and now as in the time of the Greeks distinguished for its commerce." *Dravid. Gram.*, Introd. p. 98. The name is derived from *kôḍ* 'a foot,' and *âr-û* 'a river.'

Bammala:—Mannert would identify this with Bulita, a place a little to the north of Anjenga, but this is too far north. It may perhaps be the Balita of the *Periplûs.*

Komaria, a cape and a town:—We have no difficulty in recognizing here Cape Comorin, which is called in the *Periplûs* Komar and Komarei. The name is derived from the Sanskrit *kumâri*, 'a virgin,' one of the names of the Goddess Dûrgâ who presided over the place, which was one of peculiar sanctity. The Author of the *Periplûs* has made the mistake of extending the Peninsula southward beyond Comorin.

We may here compare Ptolemy's enumeration of places on the west coast with that of the *Periplûs* from Barygaza to Cape Comorin.

Ptolemy.	*Periplûs.*
Barygaza	Barygaza
Nousaripa	Akabarou
Poulipoula	
Soupara	Souppara
Dounga	Kalliena
Simylla	Semylla
Island of Milizêgyris	Mandagora
Hippokoura	
Baltipatna	Palaipatmai
Mandagora	Melizeigara
Is. of Heptanêsia	
Byzanteion	Byzantion
	Toparon
	Tyrannosboas
	3 separate groups of islands
Khersonêsos	Khersonêsos
Armagara	Is. of Leukê
Is. of Peperine	
Nitra	Naoura
Tyndis	Tyndis
Trinêsia Islands	
Bramagara	
Kalaikarias	
Mouziris	Mouziris
Podoperoura	
Semnê	
Is. Leukê	
Koreoura	
Melkynda	Nelkynda
Bakarei	Bakarê
Elangkôn	Mons Pyrrhos
Kottiara	
Bammola	Balita
Komaria	Komar.

There is a striking agreement between the two lists, especially with respect to the order in which the places enumerated succeed each other. There are but three exceptions to the coincidence and these are unimportant. They are, Milizegyris, Mandagora and the Island Leukê, i.e. 'white island,' if the name be Greek. The Melizeigara of the *Periplûs*, Vincent identifies with Jayagaḍh or Sidi, perhaps the Sigerus of Pliny (lib. VI, c. xxvi, 100). Ptolemy makes Milizêgyris to be an island about 20 miles south of Simylla. There is one important place which he has failed to notice, Kalliena now Kalyâṇa, a well-known town not far from Bombay.

10. Country of the Kareoi.

In the Kolkhic Gulf, where there is the Pearl Fishery:—Sôsikourai..122° 14° 30′

Kolkhoi, an emporium ....123° 15°

Mouth of the river Sôlên ....124° 14° 40′

The country of the Kareoi corresponds to South Tinneveli. The word *karei*, as already stated is Tamiḻ, and means 'coast.' The Kolkhic Gulf is now known as the Gulf of Manâr. The pearl fishery is noticed in the *Periplûs.*

Sôsikourai:—By the change of S into T we find the modern representative of this place to be Tutikorin (Tuttukuḍi) a harbour in Tinneveli, where there are pearl banks, about 10 miles south of Kolkhoi. This mart lay on the Sôlên or Tâmraparṇî river. Tutikorin in the *Peutinger Tables* is called *Colcis Indorum.* The Tamiḻ name is Kolkei, almost the same as the Greek. Yule in his work on Marco Polo (vol. II, pp. 360-61) gives the following account of this place, based on information supplied by Dr. Caldwell:—

"Kolkhoi, described by Ptolemy and the

Author of the *Periplûs* as an emporium of the pearl trade, as situated on the sea-coast to the east of Cape Comorin, and as giving its name to the Kolkhic Gulf or Gulf of Manâr has been identified with Korkai, the mother-city of Kayal (the Coël of Marco Polo). Korkai, properly Kolkai (the *l* being changed into *r* by a modern refinement, it is still called Kolka in Malayalam), holds an important place in Tamiḷ traditions, being regarded as the birth-place of the Pâṇḍya dynasty, the place where the princes of that race ruled previously to their removal to Madurâ. One of the titles of the Pâṇḍya kings is 'Ruler of Korkai.' Korkai is situated two or three miles inland from Kayal, higher up the river. It is not marked in the G. Trig. Surv. map, but a village in the immediate neighbourhood of it, called Mâramangalam 'the good fortune of the Pâṇḍyas' will be found in the map. This place, together with several others in the neighbourhood, on both sides of the river, is proved by inscriptions and relics to have been formerly included in Korkai, and the whole intervening space between Korkai and Kayal exhibits traces of ancient dwellings. The people of Kayal maintain that their city was originally so large as to include Korkai, but there is much more probability in the tradition of the people of Korkai, which is to the effect that Korkai itself was originally a sea-port; that as the sea retired it became less and less suitable for trade, that Kayal rose as Korkai fell, and that at length, as the sea continued to retire, Kayal also was abandoned. They add that the trade for which the place was famous in ancient times was the trade in pearls."

Mouth of the River Sôlên:—This river is identified by Lassen with the Sylaur, which he says is the largest northern tributary of the Tâmraparṇî. On this identification Yule remarks:— "The 'Syllâr' of the maps, which Lassen identifies with Sôlên, originates, as Dr. Caldwell tells me, in a mistake. The true name is 'Sitt-âr,' 'Little River,' and it is insignificant." The Tâmraparṇî is the chief river of Tinneveli. It entered the sea south of Kolkhoi. In Tamiḷ poetry it is called Porunei. Its Pâli form is Tambapanni. How it came to be called the Sôlên remains as yet unexplained. *Śôḷa* is an element in several South Indian geographical names, meaning Chôḷa. The word Tâmraparṇî itself means 'red-leaved' or 'copper-coloured sand.' Taprobane, the classical name for Ceylon, is this word in an altered form.

11. Land of Pandion.

In the Orgalic Gulf, Cape		
Kôry, called also Kalligikon..	125° 40′	12° 20′
Argeirou, a town	125° 15′	14° 30′
Salour, a mart	125° 20′	15° 30′

The land of Pandion included the greater portion of the Province of Tinneveli, and extended as far north as to the highlands in the neighbourhood of the Koimbatur gap. Its western boundary was formed by the southern range of the Ghâts, called by Ptolemy Mount Bêttigô, and it had a sea-board on the east, which extended for some distance along the Sinus Orgalicus, or what is now called Palk's Passage.

The Author of the *Periplûs* however, assigns it wider limits, as he mentions that Nelkynda, which lay on the Malabar Coast, as well as the pearl-fishery at Kolkhoi, both belonged to the Kingdom of Pandion. The kingdom was so called from the heroic family of the Pâṇḍya, which obtained sovereign power in many different parts of India. The Capital, called Madurâ, both by Pliny and by our author, was situated in the interior. Madurâ is but the Tamiḷ manner of pronouncing the Sanskrit *Mathurâ*, which also designated the sacred city on the Jamnâ famous as the birthplace and the scene of the exploits of Krishṇa, who assisted the Pâṇḍus in their war with the Kurus. The city to this day retains its ancient name, and thus bears, so to speak, living testimony to the fact that the Âryans of Northern India had in early times under Pâṇḍya leaders established their power in the most southern parts of the Peninsula.

The Orgalic Gulf lay beyond the Kolkhic Gulf, from which it was separated by the Island of Râmêśvaram and the string of shoals and small islands which almost connect Ceylon with the mainland. It derived its name from Argalou, a place mentioned in the *Periplûs* as lying inland and celebrated for a manufacture of muslin adorned with small pearls. The northern termination of the gulf was formed by Cape Kalimîr.

Cape Kôry:—Ptolemy makes Kôry and Kalligikon to be one and the same cape. They are however distinct, Kôry being the headland which bounded the Orgalic Gulf on the south, and Kalligikon being Point Kâlimîr, which bounded it on the north. The curvature of this Gulf was called by the Hindûs Râmadhanuḥ, or '*Râma's bow*,' and each end of the bow Dhanuḥ-kôṭi or simply Kôṭi. The Sanskrit word *kôṭi* (which means '*end, tip* or *corner*') becomes in Tamiḷ *kôḍi*, and this naturally takes the form of Kôṛi or Kôry. The southern Kôṭi, which was very famous in Indian story, was formed by the long spit of land in which the Island of Râmêśvaram terminates. It is remarkable, as Caldwell remarks, that the Portuguese, without knowing anything of the Κῶρυ of the Greeks, called the same spit of land Cape Ramancoru. Ptolemy's identification of Cape Kôry with Kalligikon or Point Kalimîr is readily

explained by the fact just stated that each of these projections was called Kôṭi.

This word Kôṭi takes another form in Greek and Latin besides that of Kôry, viz., Kôlis, the name by which Pomponius Mela and Dionysios Periêgêtês (v. 1148) designate Southern India. The promontory is called Coliacum by Pliny, who describes it as the projection of India nearest Ceylon, from which it was separated by a narrow coral sea. Strabo (lib. XV, c. i, 14) quoting Onêsikritos, speaks of Taprobane as distant from the most southern parts of India, which are opposite the Kôniakoi, 7 days' sail towards the south. For Kôniakoi the reading Kôlîakoi has been with reason suggested.

Ptolemy, like the author of the *Periplûs* and other writers, regarded Cape Kôry as the most important projection of India towards the south, and as a well-established point from which the distances of other places might conveniently be calculated. He placed it in 125 degrees of E longitude from Ferro, and at 120 degrees east of the mouth of the River Bætis in Spain from which, however, its distance is only 86½ degrees. Its latitude is 9° 20′ N. and that of Cape Comorin 8° 5′, but Ptolemy makes the difference in latitude to be only 10′.

The identity of Kalligikon with Point Kalimîr has already been pointed out. *Calimere* is a corrupt form of the Tamiḻ compound Kallimeḍu, *Euphorbia eminence*, and so the first part of the Greek name exactly coincides with the Tamiḻ Kaḷḷi, which means the *Euphorbia* plant, or perhaps a kind of cactus. Pliny mentions a projection on the side of India we are now considering which he calls Calingon, and which the similarity of name has led some to identify with Kalligikon, and therefore with Point Kalimîr. It seems better, however, taking into account other considerations which we need not here specify, to identify this projection with Point Gôdâvarî.

Before concluding this notice we may point out how Ptolemy has represented the general configuration of the eastern coast beyond the Orgalic Gulf. His views here are almost as erroneous as those he entertained concerning the west coast, which, it will be remembered, he did not carry southward to Cape Comorin, but made to terminate at the point of Simylla, thus effacing from the Map of India the whole of the Peninsula. The actual direction of the east coast from point Kalimîr is first due north as far as the mouths of the Kṛishṇâ, and thereafter north-east up to the very head of the Bay of Bengal. Ptolemy, however, makes this coast run first towards the south-east, and this for a distance of upwards of 600 miles as far as Paloura, a place of which the site has been fixed with certainty as lying near the southern border of Katak, about 5 or 6 miles above Ganjâm. Ptolemy places it at the extremity of a vast peninsula, having for one of its sides the long stretch of coast just mentioned, and he regards it also as marking the point from which the Gangetic Gulf begins. The coast of this gulf is made to run at first with an inclination to westward, so that it forms at its outlet the other side of the peninsula. Its curvature is then to the north-east, as far as to the most eastern mouth of the Ganges, and thence its direction is to the south-east till it terminates at the cape near Têmala, now called Cape Negrais, the south-west projection of Pegu.

12. Country of the Batoi.

Nikama, the Metropolis	......126°	16°
Thelkheir	......................127°	16° 10′
Kouroula, a town	...............128°	16°

13. In Paralia specially so called: the country of the Tôringoi.

Mouth of the River Khabêros	129°	15° 15′
Khabêris, an emporium	......128° 30′	15° 40′
Sabouras, an emporium	......130°	14° 30′

The Batoi occupied the district extending from the neighbourhood of Point Kâlimîr to the southern mouth of the River Kâvêrî and corresponding roughly with the Province of Tanjore.

Nikama, the capital, has been identified with Nagapatam (Nâgapaṭṭanam) by Yule, who also identifies (but doubtingly) Thelkyr with Nagor and Kouroula with Karikal.

Paralia, as a Greek word, designated generally any maritime district, but as applied in India it designated exclusively (ἰδίως) the seaboard of the Tôringoi. Our author is here at variance with the *Periplûs*, which has a Paralia extending from the Red Cliffs near Quilon to the Pearl-Fishery at the Kolkhoi, and comprising therefrom the coast lines of the Aïoi and the Kareoi. "This Paralia," says Yule, "is no doubt Purali, an old name of Travankor, from which the Râja has a title *Puraliśaṅ*, 'Lord of Purali.' But the "instinctive striving after meaning" which so often modifies the form of words, converted this into the Greek Παραλία, 'the coast.' Dr. Caldwell however inclines rather to think that *Paralia* may possibly have corresponded to the native word meaning *coast*, viz. *karei*.

In sec. 91, where Ptolemy gives the list of the inland towns of the Tôringoi, he calls them the Sôrêtai, mentioning that their capital was Orthoura, where the king, whose name was Sôrnagos, resided. In sec. 68 again he mentions the Sôrai as a race of nomads whose capital was Sôra where

their king, called Arkatos, resided. Caldwell has pointed out the identity of the different names used to designate this people. Σῶρα, he says, "which we meet alone and in various combinations in these (Ptolemy's) notices represents the name of the northern portion of the Tamilian nation. This name is Chôla in Sanskrit, Chôḷa in Telugu, but in Tamiḻ Sôṛa or Chôṛa. The accuracy with regard to the name of the people is remarkable, for in Tamiḻ they appear not only as Sôṛas, but also as Sôṛagas and Sôṛiyas, and even as Sôṛingas. Their country also is called Sôṛagam. The *r* of the Tamiḻ word Sôṛa is a peculiar sound not contained in Telugu, in which it is generally represented by *ḍ* or *ḷ*. The transliteration of this letter as *r* seems to show that then, as now, the use of this peculiar *ṛ* was a dialectic peculiarity of Tamiḻ."

The River Khabêros is the Kâvêrî. *Kâvêra* is the Sanskrit word for *saffron*. Kâvêrî, according to a legend in the *Harivaṁśa*, was changed by her father's curse from one-half of the Gaṅgâ into the river which bears her name, and which was therefore also called Ardha-gaṅgâ, *i.e.*, half-gaṅgâ. Karoura, the residence of the Chera king, was upon this river.

Dr. Burnell identified Khabêris with Kâvêrîpaṭṭam (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. VII, p. 40) which lies a little to the north of Tranquebar (Tallangambadi) at the mouth of the Pudu-Kâvêrî (New Kâvêrî).

Sabouras:—This mart Yule refers doubtingly to Gudalur (Cuddalore) near the mouth of the S. Penn-âr River.

14. The Arouarnoi (Arvarnoi).

Pôdoukê, an emporium	130° 15′	14° 30′
Melangê, an emporium	131°	14° 20′
Mouth of the River Tyna	131° 40′	12° 45′
Kottis	132° 20′	12° 10′
Manarpha (or Manaliarpha, a mart)	133° 10′	12°

15. Maisôlia.

Mouth of the River Maisôlos	134°	11° 40′
Kontakossyla, a mart	134° 30′	11° 40′
Koddoura	135°	11° 30′
Allosygnê, a mart	135° 40′	11° 20′
The point of departure (*aphetêrion*) for ships bound for Khrysê	136° 20′–11°	

The territory of the Arouarnoi (Arvarnoi) was permeated by the River Tyna, and extended northward to Maisôlia, the region watered by the River Maisôlos in the lower parts of its course. Opinions differ with regard to the identification of these two rivers, and consequently also of the places mentioned in connection with them. Some of the older commentators, followed by Yule, take the Tyna to be the Pinâka or Penn-âr River and the Maisôlos, the Kṛishṇâ. Lassen again, and recent writers generally, identify the Tyna with the Kṛishṇâ and the Maisôlos with the Gôdâvarî. To the former theory there is the objection that if the Gôdâvarî be not the Maisôlos, that most important of all the rivers on this coast is left unnoticed, and Lassen accordingly asks why should the small Penn-âr appear and the great Gôdâvarî be omitted. To this Yule rejoins, "We cannot say why; but it is a curious fact that in many maps of the 16th and 17th and even of the 18th century the Gôdâvarî continues to be omitted altogether. A beautiful map in Valentijn (Vol. V), shows Gôdâvarî only as a river of small moment, under a local name." He argues further that the name Tynna if applied to the Kṛishṇâ is unaccounted for. As identified with the Penn-âr or Pinâka, ΤΥΝΝΑ is an easy error for ΠΥΝΝΑ.

Pôdoukê:—This mart is mentioned in the *Periplûs* along with Kamara and Sôpatma as ports to which merchants from Limyrikê and the north were wont to resort. According to Böhlen, Ritter and Benfey, it is Puduchchêri (Pondicherry). Lassen and Yule agree, however, in placing it at Pulikât, which is nearly two degrees further north.

In Yule's map Melangê is placed at Kṛishṇapatam, a little to the south of the North Penn-âr River, which as we have seen, he identifies with the Tyna. Its name closely approximates to that of the capital Malanga, and hence Cunningham, who takes the Maisôlos to be the Gôdâvarî, and who locates Malanga in the neighbourhood of Elûr, identifies Melangê with Bandar Malanka (near one of the Gôdâvarî mouths) which he assumes to have been so called from its being the port (*bandar*) with which the capital that lay in the interior communicated with the sea. See *Geog. of Anc. Ind.*, pp. 539-40.

Manarpha (or Manaliarpha):—This mart lay at the mouth of a river which still preserves traces of its name, being called the Manâra. Kottis lay not very far to the north of it.

Maisôlia is the name of the coast between the Kṛishṇâ and the Gôdâvarî, and onward thence to the neighbourhood of Paloura. It is the Masalia of the *Periplûs* which describes it as the sea-board of a country extending far inland, and noted for the manufacture, in immense quantities, of the finer kinds of cotton fabrics. The name is preserved in Masulipaṭṭam, which has been corrupted for the sake of a meaning into Machhlipatam, which means *fish-town*. The Metropolis called Pityndra was seated in the interior.

Kontakossyla transliterates, though not quite correctly, the Sanskrit Kaṇṭakasthala, '*place of thorns.*' In Yule's map it is placed inland near the Krishṇâ, in the neighbourhood of Koṇḍapalle, in which its name seems to be partly preserved.

Koddoura has been identified with Gûdrû, a town near Masulipatam.

Allosygnê may perhaps be now represented by Koringa (Koranja) a port situated a little beyond Point Gôdâvarî. Its distance from the point next mentioned in the Tables may be roughly estimated at about 230 miles, but Ptolemy makes it to be only ⅔ of a degree, and thus leaves undescribed an extensive section of the coast comprising the greater part of the sea-board of the Kalingai. A clue to the explanation of this error and omission is supplied by a passage in the *Periplûs*, which runs to the effect that ships proceeding beyond Maisôlia stood out from the shore and sailing right across a bay made a direct passage to the ports of Dêsarênê, *i.e.* Orissa. It may hence be inferred that navigators who came from a distance to trade in those seas would know little or nothing of a coast which they were careful to avoid, and that Ptolemy in consequence was not even so much as aware of its existence.

The point whence ships took their departure for Khrysê Yule places at the mouth of a little river called the Baroua (the Puacotta of Lindschoten) lying under Mt. Mahendra in Lat. 18° 54′ N. This *aphetêrion*, he points out, was not a harbour as Lassen supposed, from which voyages to Khrysê were made, but the point of departure from which vessels bound thither struck off from the coast of India, while those bound for the marts of the Ganges renewed their coasting. The course of navigation here described continued to be followed till modern times, as Yule shows by a quotation from Valentijn's book on the Dutch East Indies (1727) under a notice of Bimlipatam :—" In the beginning of February, there used to ply . . . to Pegu, a little ship with such goods as were in demand, and which were taken on board at Masulipatam. . . . From that place it used to run along the coast up to 18° N. Lat., and then crossed sea-wards, so as to hit the land on the other side about 16°, and then, on an offshore wind, sailed very easily to the Peguan River of Syriang." (Syriam below Rangun).

16. In the Gangetic Gulf.

Paloura or Pakoura, a town	136° 40′	11° 20′
Nanigaina	136° 20′	12°
Katikardama	136° 20′	12° 40′
Kannagara	136° 30′	13° 30′
Mouth of the River Manada	137°	14°
Kottobara	137° 15′	14° 40′
Sippara	137° 40′	15° 30′
Mouth of the River Tyndis	138° 30′	16°
17. Mapoura	139°	16° 30′
Minagara	140°	17° 15′
Mouth of the Dôsarôn	141°	17° 40′
Kôkala	142°	18°
Mouth of the River Adamas	142° 40′	18°
Kôsamba or Kôsaba	143° 30′	18° 15′

Paloura :—Ptolemy, as we have seen, placed this town at the extremity of a great peninsula projecting to the south-east, which had no existence however, except in his own imagination. The following passage, quoted by Yule from Lindschoten, shows that the name of Paloura survived till modern times, and indicates at the same time where its site is to be looked for :—" From the river of Puacota to another called Paluor or Palura, a distance of 12 leagues, you run along the coast with a course from S. W. to E. Above this last river is a high mountain called Serra de Palura, the highest mountain on the coast. This river is in 19½°." The Palura River must be the river of Ganjâm, the latitude of which is at its mouth 19° 23′. Ptolemy fixes at Paloura the beginning of the Gangetic Gulf.

Nanigaina may perhaps be placed at Purî, famous for the temple of Jagannâtha Katikardama. The first part of the name points to the identification of this place with Kaṭak, the capital of Orissa.

Kannagara :—There can be little doubt that we have here the Kanarak of modern times, called also the Black Pagoda.

Mouth of the Manada :—Ptolemy enumerates four rivers which enter the Gulf between Kannagara and the western mouth of the Ganges, the Manada, the Tyndis, the Dôsarôn and the Adamas. These would seem to be identical respectively with the four great rivers belonging to this part of the coast which succeed each other in the following order:—The Mahânadî, the Brâhmaṇî, the Vaitaranî and the Suvarṇarêkhâ, and this is the mode of identification which Lassen has adopted. With regard to the Manada there can be no doubt that it is the Mahânadî, the great river of Orissa at the bifurcation of which Kaṭak the capital is situated. The name is a Sanskrit compound, meaning 'great river.' Yule differs from Lassen with regard to the other identifications, making the Tyndis one of the branches of the Mahânadî, the Dôsarôn,—the Brâhmaṇî, the Adamas,—the Vaitaraṇî, and the Kambyson (which is Ptolemy's western mouth of the Ganges)—the Suvarṇarêkhâ.

The Dôsarôn is the river of the region inhabited by the Daśârnas, a people mentioned in the *Vishṇu Purâṇa* as belonging to the south-east of Madhya-dêśa in juxta-position to the Sabaras, or Suars. The word is supposed to be from *daśan* 'ten,' and ṛiṇa 'a fort,' and so to mean 'the ten forts.'

Adamas is a Greek word meaning *diamond*. The true Adamas, Yule observes, was in all probability the Sank branch of the Brâhmaṇî, from which diamonds were got in the days of Mogul splendour.

Sippara:—The name is taken by Yule as representing the Sanskrit *Śûrpâraka*. *Pâra* in Sanskrit means 'the further shore or opposite bank of a river.'

Minagara:—The same authority identifies this with Jajhpûr. In Arrowsmith's map I find, however, a small place marked, having a name almost identical with the Greek, Mungrapûr, situated at some distance from Jajhpûr and nearer the sea.

Kôsamba is placed by Yule at Balasôr, but by Lassen at the mouth of the Subanrêkhâ which, as we have seen, he identifies with the Adamas. There was a famous city of the same name, Kauśâmbî, in the north-west of India, on the River Jamnâ, which became the Pâṇḍû capital after Hastinâpura had been swept away by the Ganges, and which was noted as the shrine of the most sacred of all the statues of Buddha. It is mentioned in the *Râmâyaṇa*, the *Mahâvaṅśa*, and the *Mêghadûta* of Kâlidâsa. It may thus be reasonably concluded that the Kôsamba of Ptolemy was a seat of Buddhism established by propagandists of that faith who came from Kauśâmbî.

18. Mouths of the Ganges.

The Kambyson mouth, the most western	144° 30′	18° 15′
Poloura, a town	145°	18° 30′
The second mouth, called Mega	145° 45′	18° 30′
The third called Kambêrikhon	146° 30′	18° 40′
Tilogrammon, a town	147° 20′	18°
The fourth mouth, Pseudostomon	147° 40′	18° 30′
The fifth mouth, Antibolê	148° 30′	18° 15′

Ptolemy appears to have been the first writer who gave to the western world any definite information concerning that part of the Bengal Coast which receives the waters of the Ganges. His predecessors had indeed excelled him in the fulness and accuracy with which they had described the general course of the river, but they did not know, except in the very vaguest way, either where or how it entered the sea Strabo, for instance, was not even aware that it had more than a single mouth. Ptolemy, on the other hand, mentions by name five of its mouths, and his estimate of the distance between the most western and the most eastern of these (4 degrees of latitude) is not very wide of the mark. Some traces also of his nomenclature are still to be found. It is difficult, however, to identify the mouths he has named with those now existing, as the Ganges, like the Indus, has shifted some of its channels, and otherwise altered the hydrography of its delta. Opinions differ regarding the western mouth, called the Kambyson. One would naturally take it to be the Hughlî river, on which Calcutta stands, and V. de Saint-Martin accordingly adopts this identification. It is impossible to doubt, he says, that the Kambysum is the Hughlî river, which must have been at all times one of the principal outlets, as is proved historically by the mention of Tâmraliptâ, 600 years before our æra, as one of the most frequented ports of Eastern India. It would be possible enough, he continues, that below Diamond Point, the principal channel, instead of passing as now in front of Kalpî remounted to the west in front of Tamluk (the ancient Tâmraliptâ) by the mouth of Tingorcally, and came thus to touch at a locality of which the actual name Nungabusan recalls that of Kambysum or Kambusum. Wilford and Yule, on the other hand, agree in identifying the Kambyson with the Subanrêkhâ river, which was formerly but erroneously supposed to be a branch of the Ganges, and they are thus free to take the Hughlî river as representing the second mouth called by Ptolemy the Mega, the Greek word for 'great.' Saint-Martin identifies this estuary with the River Matlâ to which in recent years an attempt was made to divert the commerce of Calcutta, in consequence of the dangers attending the navigation of the Hughlî. With regard to the Kambêrikhon, or third mouth, there is no difference of opinion. "It answers," says Saint-Martin, "to the Barabaṅgâ, a still important estuary, which receives the river of Kobbadak (or rather Kobbarak), which traverses the whole extent of the delta. The *Kshêtra Samâsa*, a modern treatise of Sanskrit Geography, which Wilford has often quoted in his Memoir on the Ancient Geography of the Gangetic basin, calls this river Koumâraka. Here the Kambêrikhon of the Greek navigators is easily recognized." The fourth mouth was called Pseudostomon, that is, 'false mouth,' because it lay concealed behind numerous islands, and was often mistaken for the easternmost mouth

of the Ganges. This Ptolemy calls Antibolê, a name which has not yet been explained. It is the Ḍhakka or old Ganges river, and seems to have been the limit of India and the point from which measurements and distances relating to countries in India were frequently made.

In connexion with the river-mouths Ptolemy mentions two towns, Poloura and Tilogrammon. The former is placed in Yule's map at Jelasur, near the Subanrêkhâ, and the latter at Jesor. Its name seems to be compounded of the two Sanskrit words *tila*, '*sesamum*,' and *grâma* '*a village or township*.'

Ptolemy having thus described the whole sea-coast of India, from the mouths of the Indus to those of the Ganges, gives next a list of its mountain ranges, together with figures of Latitude and Longitude, showing the limits of the length of each range as well as the direction.

19. The mountains belonging to Intra-gangetic India are named as follows :—

The Apokopa, called *Poinai Theôn*, which extend from Long. 116° to 124° and from Lat. 23° at their western limit to 26° at the eastern.

20. Mount Sardônyx, in which is found the precious stone of the same name, and whose middle point is in Long 117° and Lat. 21°.

21. Mount Ouïndion (Vindion) which extends from 126° to 135°, and preserves from its western to its eastern limit a uniform latitude of 27°.

Ptolemy enumerates seven of these, probably following some native list framed in accordance with the native idea that seven principal mountains existed in each division of a continent. A Paurânik list gives us the names of the seven which pertained to India, Mahêndra, Malaya, Sahya, Śuktimat, Riksha, Vindhya and Pâripâtra or Pâriyâtra This can hardly be the list which Ptolemy used, as only two of his names appear in it, Ouxenton (—) Ṛiksha, and Ouindion (—) Vindhya. As his views of the configuration of India were so wide of the mark, his mountain ranges are of course hopelessly out of position, and the latitudes and longitudes assigned to them in the tables afford no clue to their identification. Some help however towards this, as Yule points out, lies in the river-sources ascribed to each, which were almost certainly copied from native lists, in which notices of that particular are often to be found.

The Apokopa, or '*punishment*' of the '*gods*':—There is a consensus of the authorities in referring the range thus named to the Aravali mountains. Mount Arbuda (Abu) which is by far the most conspicuous summit, is one of the sacred hills of India. It was mentioned by Megasthenes in a passage which has been preserved by Pliny (N.H. lib.VI,c. xxi) who calls it Mons Capitalia,*i.e.* the 'Mount of Capital Punishment,' a name which has an obvious relation to the by-name which Ptolemy gives it. 'the punishment of the gods.' The word *apokopa* is of Greek origin, and means primarily 'what has been cut off,' and is therefore used to denote 'a cleft,' 'a cliff,' 'a steep hill.' It occurs in the *Periplûs* (sec. 15) where it designates a range of precipitous hills running along the coast of Azania, *i.e.* of Ajan in Africa. Its Sanskrit equivalent may have been given as a name to Mount Arbuda because of its having been at some time rent by an earthquake. In point of fact the *Mahâbhârata* has preserved a tradition to the effect that a cleft (*chhidra*) had here been made in the earth. Such an alarming phenomenon as the cleaving of a mountain by an earthquake would naturally in superstitious times be ascribed to the anger of the gods, bent on punishing thereby some heinous crime. (See Lassen's *Ind. Alt.* vol. III, pp 121-2).

Mount Sardônyx is a short range, a branch of the Vindhya, now called Sâtpura, lying between the Narmadâ and the Tâptî: it is mentioned by Ktêsias (frag. 8.) under the name of Mount Sardous It has mines of the carnelian stone, of which the sardian is a species. The *Periplûs*(sec 49) notices that onyx-stones were imported into Barygaza from the interior of the country, and that they were also among the articles which it exported.

Mount Ouindion :—This is a correct transliteration of *Vindhya*, the native name of the extensive range which connects the northern extremities of the Western and Eastern Ghâts, and which separates Hindûstân proper—the Madhya-dêśa or middle region, regarded as the sacred land of the Hindûs—from the Dekhan. Ptolemy, as Lassen remarks (*Ind. Alt.* vol. III, p. 120), is the only geographer of classical antiquity in whose writings the indigenous name of this far-spread range is to be found. His Vindion however does not embrace the whole of the Vindhya system, but only the portion which lies to the west of the sources of the Sôṇ. Sanskrit writers speak of the Vindhyas as a family of mountains. They extended from Baroda to Mirzapur, and were continued thence to Chunar.

22. Bêttigô, which extends from 123° to 130°, and whose western limit is in Lat. 21° and its eastern in 20°.

23. Adeisathren, whose middle point is in Long. 132° and in Lat. 23°.

24. Ouxenton, which extends from 136° to 143°, and whose western limit is in Lat. 22° and its eastern in 24°.

25. The Oroudian Mountains, which extend from 138° to 133°, and whose eastern limit is in 18° lat. and its western 16°.

Mount Bêttigô:—As the rivers which have their sources in this range—the Pseudostomos, the Baris, and the Sôlên or Tâmraparṇî, all belong to South Malabar, there can be no doubt that Bêttigô denotes the southern portion of the Western Ghâṭs extending from the Koimbatur gap to Cape Comorin—called Malaya in the Paurâṇik list already quoted. One of the summits of this range, famous in Indian mythology as the abode of the Ṛishi Agastya, bears the name in Tamiḷ of Podigei, or as it is pronounced Pothigei. It is visible from the mouth of the Tâmraparnî, which has its sources in it, and from Kolkhoi, and the Greeks who visited those parts, and had the mountain pointed out to them would no doubt apply the name by which they heard it called to the whole range connected with it. (See Caldwell's *Dravid. Gram.* Introd. p. 101).

Adeisathron:—If we take Ptolemy's figures as our guide here, we must identify this range with the chain of hills which Lassen describes in the following passage:—" Of the mountain system of the Dekhan Ptolemy had formed an erroneous conception, since he represented the chain of the Western Ghâṭs as protruded into the interior of the country, instead of lying near to the western coast with which it runs parallel, and he was misled thereby into shortening the courses of the rivers which rise in the Western Ghâṭs. The chain which he calls Adeisathron begins in the neighbourhood of Nâgpur and stretches southward to the east of the rivers Wain + Gaṅgâ and Praṇitâ, separates the Gôdâvarî from the Kṛishṇâ, and comes to an end at the sources of the Kâvêrî. This view of his meaning is confirmed by the fact that he locates the two cities Baithana or Pratishṭhâna which lies to the east of the Western Ghâṭs, on the Gôdâvarî, and Tagara both to the west of Adeisathron. He was led into this misrepresentation partly through the incompleteness and insufficiency of the accounts which he used, and partly through the circumstance that the Eastern Ghâṭ does not consist of a single chain, but of several parallel chains, and that to the south of the sources of the Kâvêrî the Eastern Ghâṭ is connected with the Western Ghâṭ through the Nilgiri Mountains. The name Adeisathron, one sees, can only refer to the West Ghâṭ in which the Kâvêrî rises." (*Ind. Alt.* vol. III, pp. 162-3). Yule explains the source of Ptolemy's error thus: " No doubt his Indian lists showed him Kâvêrî rising in Sahyâdri (as does Wilford's list from the *Brahmanda Pûrâṇa, As. Res.* vol. VIII, p. 335f.). He had no real clue to the locality of the Sahyâdri, but found what he took for the same name (*Adisathra*) applied to a city in the heart of India, and there he located the range." Adeisathron must therefore be taken to denote properly that section of the Western Ghâṭs which is immediately to the north of the Koimbatur Gap, as it is there the Kâvêrî rises. The origin of the name Adeisathron will be afterwards pointed out.

Ouxenton designates the Eastern continuation of the Vindhyas. All the authorities are at one in referring it to the mountainous regions south of the Sôṇ, included in Chhutia Nâgpûr, Râmgarh, Sirgujâ, &c. Ptolemy places its western extremity at the distance of one degree from the eastern extremity of the Vindhyas. The rivers which have their sources in the range are the Tyndis, the Dôsarôn, the Adamas and an unnamed tributary of the Ganges. The name itself represents the Sanskrit Ṛikshavant, which however did not designate the Eastern Vindhyas, but a large district of the central. This difference in the application of the names need not invalidate the supposition of their identity. The authors whom Ptolemy consulted may have misled him by some inaccuracy in their statements, or the Hindûs themselves may have intended the name of Ṛikshavant to include localities further eastward than those which it primarily denoted. *Ṛiksha* means 'a bear,' and is no doubt connected with the Greek word of the same meaning, *arktos*.

The Oroudian Mountains:—" This we take," says Yule, " to be the Vaidûrya just mentioned, as the northern section of the Western Ghâṭs, though Ptolemy has entirely misconceived its position. We conceive that he found in the Indian lists that the great rivers of the eastern or Maesolian Coast rose in the Vaidûrya, and having no other clue he places the Orûdia (which seems to be a mere metathesis of Odûrya for Vaidûrya) near and parallel to that coast Hence Lassen and others (all, as far is known) identify these Oroudian Mountains with those that actually exist above Kaliṅga. This corresponds better, no doubt, with the position which Ptolemy has assigned. But it is not our business to map Ptolemy's errors; he has done that for himself; we have to show the real meaning and application of the names which he used, whatever false views he may have had about them."

26. The rivers which flow from Mount Imaös into the Indus are arranged as follows:—

Sources of River Kôa	120°	37°
Sources of the River Souastos..	122° 30′	36°
Sources of the River Indus ..	125°	37°

Sources of the River Bidaspês	127° 30′	36° 40′
Sources of the River Sandabal	129°	36°
Sources of the River Adris or Rouadis	130°	37°
Sources of the River Bidasis	131°	35° 30′

Regarding the origin and meaning of the name Indus, says Max Müller (*India, what it can teach us*): "In the *Vêdas* we have a number of names of the rivers of India as they were known to one single poet, say about 1000 B.C. We then hear nothing of India till we come to the days of Alexander, and when we look at the names of the Indian rivers represented by Alexander's companions in India, we recognize without much difficulty nearly all of the old Vedic names. In this respect the names of rivers have a great advantage over the names of towns in India. I do not wonder so much at the names of the Indus and the Ganges being the same. The Indus was known to early traders, whether by sea or land. Skylax sailed from the country of the Paktys, *i.e.* the Pushtus, as the Afghans still call themselves, down to the mouth of the Indus. That was under Darius Hystaspês (B.C. 521-486). Even before that time India and the Indians were known by their name, which was derived from Sindhu, the name of their frontier river. The neighbouring tribes who spoke Iranic languages all pronounced, like the Persian, the *s* as an *h* (Pliny, lib. VI, c.xx, 7) '*Indus incolis Sindus appellatus*.' Thus *Sindhu* became *Hindhu* (*Hidhu*) and as *h's* were dropped, even at that early time, *Hindhu* became *Indu*. Thus the river was called Indus, the people Indoi by the Greeks, who first heard of India from the Persians. *Sindhu* probably meant originally the *divider*, *keeper* and *defender*, from *sidh* to *keep off*. No more telling name could have been given to a broad river, which guarded peaceful settlers both against the inroads of hostile tribes and the attacks of wild animals. . . . Though Sindhu was used as an appellative noun for river in general, it remained throughout the whole history of India, the name of its powerful guardian river, the Indus." For a full discussion of the origin of the name I may refer the reader to Benfey's *Indien*, pp. 1—2, in the *Encyclopædia* of Ersch and Gruber.

The Indus being subject to periodic inundations, more or less violent, has from time to time undergone considerable changes. As has been already indicated it not unfrequently shifts the channels by which it enters the sea, and in the upper part of its course it would seem to be scarcely less capricious. Thus while at the time of the Makedonian invasion it bifurcated above Arôr, the capital of the Sogdi, to run for about the distance of 2 degrees in two beds which enclosed between them the large island called by Pliny (lib. VI, c. xx, 23) Prasiakê, the Prârjuna of the inscription on the Allâhâbâd column, it now runs at that part in a single stream, having forsaken the eastern bed, and left thereby the once flourishing country through which it flowed a complete desert.

In his description of the Indus, Ptolemy has fallen into error on some important points. In the first place, he represents it as rising among the mountains of the country of the Daradrae to the east of the Paropanisos, and as flowing from its sources in a southward direction. Its true birthplace is, however, in a much more southern latitude, viz., in Tibet, near the sources of the Satlaj, on the north side of Mount Kailâsa, famous in Indian mythology as the dwelling-place of Kuvêra and as the paradise of Śiva, and its initial direction is towards the north-west, till it approaches the frontiers of Badakshân, where it turns sharply southward. Ptolemy does not stand alone in making this mistake, for Arrian places the sources in the lower spurs of the Paropanisos, and he is here at one with Mela (lib. III, c. vii, 6), Strabo (lib. XV, c. ii, 8) Curtius (lib. VIII, c. ix, 3) and other ancient writers. In fact, it was not ascertained until modern times whence the Indus actually came. His next error has reference to the length of the Indus valley as measured from the mouth of the Indus to its point of junction with the Kâbul river. This he makes to be 11 degrees, while in point of fact it is somewhat less than 10. This error is, however, trivial as compared with the next by which the junction of the Indus with the united stream of the Panjâb rivers is made to take place at the distance of only one degree below its junction with the Kâbul river, instead of at the distance of 6 degrees or halfway between the upper junction and the sea. This egregious error not only vitiates the whole of his delineation of the river system of the Panjâb, but as it exaggerates by more than 300 miles the distance between the lower junction and the sea, it obscures and confuses all his geography of the Indus valley, and so dislocates the positions named in his tables, that they can only in a few exceptional cases be identified.[22]

[22] "It is hard enough," says Major-General Haig, "to have to contend with the vagueness, inconsistencies and contradictions of the old writers; but these are as nothing compared with the obstacles which the physical characteristics of the country itself oppose to the enquirer. For ages the Indus has been pushing its bed across the valley from east to west, generally by the gradual process of erosion, which effectually wipes out every trace of town and village on its banks; but at times also by a more or less sudden shifting of its waters into entirely new channels, leaving large tracts of country to go to waste, and forcing the inhabitants of many a

All the large tributaries of the Indus, with the exception of the Kâbul river, join it on its left or eastern side. Their number is stated by Strabo (lib. XV, c. i, 33) and by Arrian (lib. V, c. vi) to be 15, but by Pliny (lib. VI, c. xx, 23) to be 19. The most of them are mentioned in one of the hymns of the *Ṛig Veda* (X, 75) of which the following passages are the most pertinent to our subject:—

1. "Each set of seven [*streams*] has followed a threefold course. The Sindhu surpasses the other rivers in impetuosity.

2. Varuṇa hollowed out the channels of thy course, O Sindhu, when thou didst rush to thy contests. Thou flowest from [*the heights of*] the earth, over a downward slope, when thou leadest the van of those streams.

4. To thee, O Sindhu, the [*other streams*] rush . . . Like a warrior king [*in the centre of his army*] thou leadest the two wings of thy host when thou strugglest forward to the van of these torrents.

5. Receive favourably this my hymn, O Gaṅgâ, Yamunâ, Sarasvatî, Śutudrî, Parashṇi; hear, O Marudvṛidhâ, with the Asiknî, and Vitastâ, and thou Arjîkîyâ with the Sushômâ.

6. Unite first in thy course with the Tṛishṭâmâ, the Sasartû, the Rasâ and the Śvêti; thou meetest the Gomatî, and the Krumu, with the Kubhâ, and the Mehatnû, and with them are borne onward as on the same car." (See *Journ. R. A. S.*, N. S., Vol. XV, pp. 359-60).

As Ptolemy makes the Kôa join the Indus, it must be identified with the Kâbul river, the only large affluent which the Indus receives from the west. Other classical writers call it the Kôphên or Kôphês, in accordance with its Sanskrit name the Kubhâ. Ptolemy's name, it must however be noted, is not applicable to the Kâbul river throughout its whole course, but only after it has been joined by the River Kâmah, otherwise called the Kunâr. This river, which is inferior neither in size nor in length to the arm which comes from Kâbul, is regarded as the main stream by the natives of the country, who call the course of the united streams either the Kâmah or the Kunâr indifferently, as far as the entrance into the plain of Peshâwar. The Kâmah has its sources high up in the north at the foot of the plateau of Pâmîr, not far from the sources of the Oxus, and this suits Ptolemy's description of the Kôa as a river which has its sources in the eastern extremity of Paropanisos, and which joins the Indus after receiving the Souastos or the river of Swât. Kôa is very probably a curtailed form of the name. The Persians appear to have called it the Khoaspês, that being the name of the river on which Susa, their capital city, stood. Under this name it is mentioned by Aristotle (*Meteorolog.* lib. I, c. xiii,) who lived long enough to enter in his later writings some of the new knowledge which the expedition of his illustrious pupil had opened up regarding Eastern Countries. It is mentioned also by Strabo (lib. XV, c. i, 26) who followed here the authority of Aristoboulos, one of the companions and one of the historians of the expedition of Alexander, and by Curtius (lib. VIII, c. x), Strabo *l. c.* states that it joins the Kôphês near Plemyrion, after passing by another city Gorys, in its course through Bandobênê and Gandaritis. The Kôa of Ptolemy is not to be confounded with the Khôês of Arrian (lib. IV, c. xxiii, 2), which must be identified with a river joining the Kôphês higher up its course, viz. that which is formed by the junction of the Alishang and the Alingar. The Euaspla of the latter writer (lib. IV, c. xxiv, 1) is probably only an altered form of Khoaspês.

The identification of the Kôphês and its numerous affluents has been a subject that has much exercised the pens of the learned. They are now unanimous in taking the Kôphês to be the Kâbul river[23] but there are still some important points on which they differ. In the foregoing notice I have adopted as preferable the views of Saint-Martin (*Étude*, pp. 26—34): *Conf.* Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* vol. III, pp. 127-8; Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua*, pp. 183—188. Benfey's *Indien*, pp. 44—46, Cunningham, *Geog. of Anc. India*, pp. 37—38.

Souastos:—All the authorities are at one in identifying the Souastos with the Swât river—the principal tributary of the Landai or river of Pañjkora (the Gaurî of Sanskrit), which is the last of the great affluents that the Kâbul river receives from the east before it falls into the Indus. The Souastos, though a small stream, is yet of old renown, being the Śvêti of the Vedic hymn already quoted, and the Suvâstu of the *Mahâbhârata* (VI, ix, 333), where it is mentioned in conjunction with the Gaurî. Its name figures also in the list of Indian rivers which Arrian (*Indika.* sec. 4) has preserved from the lost work of Megasthenês. Here it is mentioned in conjunction with the Malamantos and the Garoia, which latter is of course the Gaurî. Arrian thus makes the Souastos and the Gouraios to be different rivers, but in another passage of his works (*Anab.* lib. IV,

populous place to abandon their old homes, and follow the river in search of new settlements. . . . Perhaps the retiring stream will leave behind it vast quantities of drift-sand which is swept by the high winds over the surrounding country . . . where the explorer may search in vain for any record of the past. I have had, as an enquirer, experience of the difficulties here described." (*J. R. A. S.* N. S. vol. XVI, p. 281).

[23] Rennell identified it with the Gomul and D'Anville with the Argandâb.

c. xxv,) he seems to have fallen into the mistake of making them identical. It is surprising, as Lassen has remarked, that Ptolemy should notice the Souastos, and yet say nothing about the Garoia, especially as he mentions the district of Goryaia, which is called after it, and as he must have known of its existence from the historians of Alexander. He has also, it may be noted, placed the sources of the Souastos too far north.

The five great rivers which watered the region of the Panjâb bear the following names in Ptolemy: Bidaspês, Sandabal, Adris or Rhonadis, Bibasis and Zaradros. This region in early times was called the country of the seven rivers—Sapta Sindhu, a name which, as Sir H. Rawlinson has pointed out, belonged primarily to the seven head streams of the Oxus. As there were only five large streams in the locality in India to which the name was applied, the number was made up to seven by adding smaller affluents or lower branches of combined streams, to which new names were given. The Vedic Âryans, however, as Mr. Thomas remarks, could never satisfactorily make up the sacred seven without the aid of the comparatively insignificant Sarasvatî, a river which no longer exists. These rivers are notably erratic, having more than once changed their bed since Vedic times.

Bidaspês:—This is now the Jhelam or river of Behat, the most western of the five rivers. It drains the whole of the valley of Kaśmir, and empties into the Akesinês or Chenâb. Ptolemy, however, calls their united stream the Bidaspês. By the natives of Kaśmîr it is called the Bedasta, which is but a slightly altered form of its Sanskrit name the Vitastâ, meaning 'wide-spread.' The classical writers, with the sole exception of our author, call it the Hydaspês, which is not so close to the original as his Bidaspês. It was on the left bank of this river that Alexander defeated Pôros and built (on the battle-field) the city of Nikaia in commemoration of his victory.

Sandabal is an evident mistake of the copyist for Sandabaga. The word in this corrected form is a close transliteration of Chandrabhâgâ (*lunae portio*), one of the Sanskrit names of the River Chenâb. In the Vedic hymn which has been quoted it is called the Asiknî, 'dark-coloured,' whence the name given to it by the Greeks in Alexander's time, the Akesinês. It is said that the followers of the great conqueror discerned an evil omen in the name of Chandrabhâgâ on account of its near similarity to their own word *Androphagos* or *Alexandrophagos*, 'devourer of Alexander' and hence preferred calling it by the more ancient of its two names. It is the largest of all the streams of the Pañchanada. Vigne says that Chandrabhâgâ is the name of a small lake from which the river issues. Pliny has distorted the form Chandabaga into Cantabra or Cantaba (lib VI, c. xx). According to the historians of Alexander the confluence of this river with the Hydaspês produced dangerous rapids, with prodigious eddies and loud roaring waves, but according to Burnes their accounts are greatly exaggerated In Alexander's time the Akesinês joined the Indus near Uchh, but the point of junction is now much lower down.

The Adris or Rhouadis is the Râvî, a confluent of the Akesinês, but according to Ptolemy of the Bidaspês. The name Râvî is an abridged form of the Sanskrit Airâvati. It is called by Arrian (*Anab* lib VI, c. viii), the Hydraôtês, and by Strabo (lib. XV, c. i, 21) the Hyarôtis. Arrian (*Indik.* sec. 4) assigns to it three tributaries—the Hyphasis, the Saranges and Neudros. This is not quite correct, as the Hyphasis joins the Akesinês below the junction of the Hydraôtês.

The Bibasis is the river now called the Beiâs, the Vipâśâ of Sanskrit. This word "Vipâśâ" means 'uncorded,' and the river is said to have been so called because it *destroyed the cord* with which the sage Vasishtha had intended to hang himself. It is called the Hyphasis by Arrian (*Anab.* lib. VI, c. viii), and Diodôros (lib XVII, c. xciii), the Hypasis by Pliny (lib. VII, c. xvii, 20) and Curtius (lib. IX, c. i), and the Hypanis by Strabo (lib. XV, c. i, 17) and some other writers. It falls into the Śatadru. It was the river which marked the limit of Alexander's advance into India.

27. Sources of the River Zaradros	132°	36°
Confluence of the Kôa and Indus	124°	31°
Confluence of the Kôa and Souastos	122° 30′	31° 40′
Confluence of the Zaradros and Indus	124°	30°
Confluence of the Zaradros and Bidaspês	125°	30°
Confluence of the Zaradros and Bibasis	131°	34°
Confluence of the Bidaspês and Adris	126° 30′	31° 30′
Confluence of the Bidaspês and Sandabal	126° 40′	32° 40′

The Zaradros is the Satlaj, the most easterly of the five rivers. It is called in Sanskrit the Śatadru, *i e., flowing in a hundred (branches).* Pliny (lib. VI, c. xvii) calls it the Hesydrus, Zadrades is another reading of the name in Ptolemy. The

Satlaj, before joining the Indus, receives the Chenâb, and so all the waters of the Pañchanada.

With regard to the nomenclature and relative importance of the rivers of the Panjâb the following remarks of V. de Saint-Martin may be cited :—

"As regards the Hyphasis, or more correctly the Hypasis, the extended application of this name till the stream approaches the Indus, is contrary to the notions which we draw from Sanskrit sources, according to which the Vipâśâ loses its name in the Śatadru (Satlaj), a river which is otherwise of greater importance than the Vipâśâ. Nevertheless the assertion of our author by itself points to a local notion which is confirmed by a passage in the chronicles of Sindh, where the name of the Beiah which is the form of the Sanskrit Vipâśâ in Musalmân authors and in actual use, is equally applied to the lower course of the Satlaj till it unites with the Chenâb not far from the Indus. Arrian, more exact here, or at least more circumstantial than Strabo and the other geographers, informs us that of all the group of the Indus affluents the Akesinês was the most considerable. It was the Akesinês which carried to the Indus the combined waters of the Hydaspês of the Hydraôtês and of the Hyphasis, and each of these streams lost its name in uniting with the Akesinês (Arr. *Anab.* lib. VI, c. v). This view of the general hydrography of the Panjâb is in entire agreement with facts, and with the actual nomenclature. It is correctly recognized that the Chenâb is in effect the most considerable stream of the Panjâb, and its name successively absorbs the names of the Jhelam, the Râvi, and the Gharra or lower Satlaj, before its junction with the Indus opposite Mittankôṭ. Ptolemy here differs from Arrian and the current ideas on the subject. With him it is not the Akesinês (or, as he calls it, the Sandabala for Sandabaga) which carries to the Indus the waters of the Panjâb. It is the Bidaspês (Vitastâ). Ptolemy departs again in another point from the nomenclature of the historians who preceded him in applying to the Gharra or lower Satlaj the name of Zaradros, and not, as did Arrian that of Hypasis. Zadadros is the Śutudrî or Śatadru of the Sanskrit nomenclature, a name which common usage since the Musalmân ascendancy has strangely disfigured into Satlaj. No mention is made of this river in the memoirs relating to the expedition of Alexander, and Megasthenês, it would appear, was the first who made its existence known. The application moreover of the two names of Zadadros and Bibasis to the united current of the Śatadru and the Vipâśâ is justified by the usage equally variable of the natives along the banks, while in the ancient Sanskrit writings the Śatadru goes, as in Ptolemy, to join the Indus. It may be added that certain particularities in the texts of Arrian and Ptolemy suggest the idea that formerly several arms of the Hyphasis existed which went to join, it may be, the Hydraôtês, or, it may be, the lower Akesinês above the principal confluent of the Hyphasis, an idea which the actual examination of the locality appears to confirm. This point merits attention because the obscurities or apparent contradictions in the text of the two authors would here find an easy explanation" (pp. 129-131, also pp. 396-402).

Junction of the Kôa and Indus:—Ptolemy fixes the point of junction in latitude 31°, but the real latitude is 33° 54′. Here the Indus is 872 miles distant from its source, and 942 miles from the sea. The confluence takes place amidst numerous rocks and is therefore turbulent and attended with great noise.

Junction of the Zaradros and Indus:—Ptolemy fixes this great junction in latitude 30°, the real latitude being however 28° 55′. It takes place about 3 miles below Miṭankôt, at a distance of about 490 miles below the junction with the Kâbul River.

Divarication of the Indus towards Mt. Vindion:—The Indus below its junction with the Kâbul river frequently throws out branches (*e.g* the Nara) which join it again before reaching the sea, and to such branches Ptolemy gives the name of ἐκτροπαί. "It is doubtful," Saint-Martin observes, "whether Ptolemy had formed quite a clear idea of this configuration of the valley, and had always distinguished properly the affluents from the branches. Thus one does not quite precisely see what he means by the expression which he frequently employs ἡ πηγὴ τῆς ἐκτροπῆς. What he designates thereby must be undoubtedly the streams or currents which descend from the lateral region, and which come to lose themselves in the branches of the river. But the expression, which is familiar to him, is not the less ambiguous and altogether improper"—(p. 235 n.) The branch here mentioned, Lassen (*Ind. Alt.* vol. III, pp. 121. 129) takes to be the Lavaṇî River. "Ptolemy," he says, "in contradiction to fact makes a tributary flow to it from the Vindhya Mountains. His error is without doubt occasioned by this, that the Lavaṇî River, which has its source in the Arâvalî chain falls into the salt lake, the Rṇn or Iriṇa, into which also the eastern arm of the Indus discharges."

Divarication of the Indus into Arakhôsia:—Lassen (vol. III, p. 128), takes this to be the Gomal rather than the Korum River. These rivers are both mentioned in the Vedic hymn,

where the former appears as the Gômati and the latter as the Krumu.

Branch of the Kôa towards the Paropanisadai:—This is probably the upper Kôphên, which joins the Kôa (Kunâr river) from Kâbul.

Divarication of the Indus towards the Arbita mountains:—Between the Lower Indus and the river called anciently the Arabis or Arbis, was located a tribe of Indian origin called variously the Arabii, the Arbies, the Arabitae, the Ambritae and the Arbiti. There can be no doubt therefore that by the Arbita Mountains Ptolemy designates the range of hills in the territory of that tribe, now called the Hâla Mountains. Towards the northern extremity of this range the Indus receives a tributary called the Gandava, and this we may take to be what Ptolemy calls the divarication of the Indus towards the range. It may perhaps, however, be the Western Nara that is indicated.

Divarication of the Indus into the Paropanisadai:—To judge from the figures in the table this would appear to be a tributary of the Indus joining it from the west a little above its junction with the Kôa or Kâbul river. There is, however, no stream, even of the least note, answering to the description.

28. Divarication (ἐκτροπή) from the Indus

running towards Mt. Ouindion	123°	29° 30′
The source of (tributary joining) the Divarication	127°	27°
Divarication of the Indus towards Arakhôsia	121° 30′	27° 30′
Divarication of the Kôa towards the Paropanisadai	121° 30′	33°
The source of (tributary joining) the Divarication	115°	24° 30′
Divarication of the Indus towards the Arbita Mountains	117°	25° 10′
Divarication of the Indus towards the Paropanisadai	124° 30′	31° 20′
Divarication of the Indus into the Sagapa mouth	113° 40′	23° 15′
From the Sagapa into the Indus	111°	21° 30′
Divarication of the Indus into the Khrysoun (or Golden) mouth	112° 30′	22°
Divarication of the Indus into the Khariphon mouth	113° 30′	22° 20′
From the Khariphon to the Sapara	112° 30′	21° 45′
Divarication of the same River Khariphon into the Sabalaessa mouth	113°	21° 20′
Divarication from the River Khariphon into the Lônibare mouth	113° 20′	12° 40′

29. Of the streams which join the Gangês the order is this:—

Sources of the River Diamouna	134° 30′	36°
Sources of the Gangês itself	136°	37°
Sources of the River Sarabos	140°	36°
Junction of the Diamouna and Ganges	136°	34°
Junction of the Sarabos and Gangês	136° 30′	32° 30′

Ptolemy's description of the Gangês is very meagre as compared with his description of the Indus. He mentions by name only 3 of its affluents, although Arrian (quoting from Megasthenês) enumerates no fewer than 17, and Pliny 19. The latitude of its source, Gangotri, which is in the territory of Garhwal, is 30° 54′, or more than 6 degrees further south than its position as given in the table. The name of the river, the Gangâ, is supposed to be from a root *gam*, 'to go,' reduplicated, and therefore to mean the 'Go—go.' The tributaries mentioned by Arrian are these: the Kaïnas, Erannoboas, Kossoanos, Sônos, Sittokatis, Solomatis, Kondokhates Sambos, Magon, Agoranis, Omalis, Kommenases, Kakouthis, Andomatis, Amystis, Oxymagis and the Errhenysis. The two added by Pliny are the Prinas and Jomanes. Regarding these names the following remarks may be quoted from Yule:—"Among rivers, some of the most difficult names are in the list which Pliny and Arrian have taken from Megasthenês, of affluents of the Gangês. This list was got apparently at Palibothra (Patna), and if streams in the vicinity of that city occupy an undue space in the list, this is natural. Thus Magona and Errhenysis,—Mohana and Nirañjana, join to form the river flowing past Gayâ, famous in Buddhist legend under the second name. The navigable Prinas or Pinnas is perhaps Punyâ, now Pûnpûn, one of the same cluster. Sonus instead of being a duplicate of Erannoboas, may be a branch of the Gayâ river, still called Sonâ. Andomatis flowing from the Madiandini, *i.e.*, "Meridionales" is perhaps the Andhela, one of the names of the Chandan river of Bhâgalpûr. Kainas, navigable, is not likely to be the Ken of Bundêlkhand, the old form of which is Karṇavatî, but more probably the Kayâna or Kohâna of Gorakhpûr. It is now a tributary of the lower

Ghâgrâ, but the lower course of that river has shifted much, and the map suggests that both the Rapti (Solomatis of Lassen) and Kayâna may have entered the Ganges directly." For the identification of the other rivers in the list see my article in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. V, p. 331.

Diamouna:—In this it is easy to recognize the Yamunâ, the river which after passing Dehli, Mathurâ, Âgrâ, and other places, joins the Ganges, of which it is the largest affluent at Allâhâbâd. It rises from hot springs amid Himâlayan snows, not far westward from the sources of the Ganges. Arrian singularly enough has omitted it from his list of the Ganges affluents, but it is no doubt the river which he subsequently mentions as the Jobares and which flows, he says, through the country of the Sourasenoi, an Indian tribe possessing two large cities, Methora and Kleisobara (Krishnapura?) Pliny (lib. VI, c. xix) calls it the Jomanes, and states that it flows into the Ganges through the Palibothri, between the towns of Methora and Chrysobara (Krishnapura?) The Ganges at its junction with the Jamnâ and a third but imaginary river called the Sarasvatî, which is supposed to join it underground is called the Trivênî, *i.e.*, 'triple plait' from the intermingling of the three streams.

Sarabos:—This is the great river of Kôsala, that is now called the Sarayu or Sarju, and also the Gharghara or Ghogra. It rises in the Himâlayas, a little to the north-east of the sources of the Ganges, and joins that river on its left side in latitude 25° 46′, a little above the junction of the Sôn with their united stream. Cunningham regards the Solomatis mentioned in Arrian's list of the tributaries of the Ganges as being the Sarayu under a different name, but Lassen takes it to be the Rapti, a large affluent of the same river from Gôrakhpur. The name, he thinks, is a transliteration or rather abbreviation of Śarâvatî, the name of a city of Kôsala mentioned by Kalidâsa. The river on which the city stood is nowhere mentioned, but its name was in all probability the same as that of the city (*Ind. Alt.*, vol. II, p. 671).

Mouth of the River Sôa:—This river can be no other than the Sôn (the Sônos of Arrian's list) which falls into the Ganges about 16 miles above Patna in lat. 25° 37′. It rises in Gôndwana in the territory of Nâgpur, on the elevated table-land of Amarakantaka, about 4 or 5 miles east of the source of the Narmadâ. It would appear that in former times it joined the Ganges in the immediate neighbourhood of Patna, the modern representative of the Palibothra or Palimbothra of the classical writers. The lat. of the source is 22° 41′; in Ptolemy 28°.

30. Divarication from the Ganges towards the Ouindion range to the mouth of the River Sôa	136° 10′	31° 30′
The sources of the river	131°	28°
Divarication of the Ganges towards the Ouxenton range	142°	28°
The sources of the divarication	137°	23°
Divarication from the Ganges into the Kambyson Mouth	146°	22°
Divarication from the Ganges into the Pseudostomos	146° 30′	20°
Divarication from the Ganges into the Antibolê Mouth	146° 30′	21°
Divarication from the Kambyson River into the Mega Mouth	145°	20°
Divarication from the Mega Mouth into the Kambêrikhon Mouth	145° 30′	19° 30′

The divarication towards the Ouxenton range:—By this unnamed river, as Lassen has pointed out (*Ind. Alt.*, vol. III, pp. 130, 131) Ptolemy must have meant the Dharmôdaya of the Hindus, although he has assigned far too high a latitude for its junction with the Ganges, 28° instead of only 22° 13′. It is, however, the only considerable stream which flows to the Ganges from the Bear Mountains. It passes Ramgarh and Bardhwân, and joins the Hughlî not far from the sea, a little to the east of Tamluk. It is commonly called the Damuda River.

The mouths of the Ganges:—In addition to the remarks already made regarding these mouths I may here quote a passage from Wilford on this topic: "Ptolemy's description," he says (*Asiat. Researches*, vol. XIV, pp. 464-6) "of the Delta of the Ganges is by no means a bad one, if we reject the latitudes and longitudes, which I always do, and adhere solely to his narrative, which is plain enough. He begins with the western branch of the Ganges or Bhâgîrathî, and says that it sends one branch to the right or towards the west, and another towards the east, or to the left. This takes place at Trivênî, so called from three rivers parting, in three different directions, and it is a most sacred place. The branch which goes towards the right is the famous Sarasvatî; and Ptolemy says that it flows into the Kambyson mouth, or the mouth of the Jelasor river, called in Sanskrit Śaktimatî, synonymous with Kambu or Kambuj, or the river of shells. This communication does not exist, but it was believed to exist, till the country was surveyed. This branch sends another arm, says our author, which affords a passage into the great mouth, or that of the

Bhâgîrathî or Ganges. This supposed branch is the Rûpanârâyaṇa, which, if the Sarasvatî ever flowed into the Kambyson mouth, must of course have sprung from it, and it was then natural to suppose that it did so. M. D'Anville has brought the Sarasvatî into the Jelasor river in his maps, and supposed that the communication took place a little above a village called Danton, and if we look into the *Bengal Atlas*, we shall perceive that during the rains, at least, it is possible to go by water, from Hughlî, through the Saraswatî, and many other rivers, to within a few miles of Danton, and the Jelasor river. The river, which according to Ptolemy branches out towards the east, or to the left, and goes into the Kambarikan mouth is the Jumnâ, called n Bengal Jubunâ. For the Ganges, the Jumnâ and the Sarasvatî unite at the Northern Trivêṇî or Allâhâbâd, and part afterwards at this Trivêṇî near Hughlî . . . called in the spoken dialects Terboni. Though the Jumnâ falls into the Kambarikan mouth, it does by no means form it; for it obviously derives its name from the Kambâdârâ or Kambâraka river, as I observed before. Ptolemy says that the Ganges sends an arm towards the east or to the left, directly to the false mouth or Hariṇaghaṭṭâ. From this springs another branch to Antibolê, which of course is the Ḍhâkkâ branch called the Padmâ or Puddâgangâ. This is a mistake, but of no great consequence, as the outlines remain the same. It is the Paddâ or Ḍhâkkâ branch, which sends an arm into the Hariṇaghaṭṭâ. The branching out is near Kasti and Komarkalli, and under various appellations it goes into the Hariṇaghaṭṭâ mouth."

Besides the tributaries of the Ganges already mentioned, Ptolemy refers to two others which it receives from the range of Bêpyrrhos. These are not named, but one is certainly the Kauśikî and the other ought to be either the Gaṇḍakî or the Tîstâ.

31. And of the other rivers the positions are thus:

The sources of the River Namados in the Ouindion range	127°	26° 30′
The bend of the river at Sêripala	116° 30′	22°
Its confluence with the River Môphis	115°	18° 30′
32. Sources of the River Nanagouna from the Ouindion range	132°	26° 30′
Where it bifurcates into the Goaris and Binda	114°	16°
33. Sources of the Pseudostomos from the Bêttigô range	123°	21°
The point where it turns	118° 30′	17° 15′
34. Sources of the River Baris in the Bêttigô range	127°	26° 30′
Sources of the River Sôlên in the Bêttigô range	127°	20° 30′
The point where it turns	124°	18°
35. Sources of the River Khabêros in the Adeisathros range	132°	22°
36. Sources of the River Tyna in the Oroudian (or Arouëdan) Mountains	133°	17°
37. Sources of the River Maisôlos in the same mountains	134° 30′	17° 30′
38. Sources of the River Manda in the same mountains	136° 30′	16° 30′
39. Sources of the River Toundis in the Ouxenton range	137°	22° 30′
40. Sources of the River Dôsarôn in the same range	140°	24°
41. Sources of the River Adamas in the same range	142°	24°

These rivers have been all already noticed, with the exception of the Môphis. This is now the Mahî, a considerable river which flows into the Gulf of Khambât at its northern extremity at a distance of about 35 miles north from the estuary of the Narmâda. Ptolemy is in error in making the two rivers join each other. The Môphis is mentioned in the *Periplûs* as the Maïs. In this list the spelling of the names of two of the rivers of Orissa has been slightly changed, the Manada into Manda and Tyndis into Toundis.

Ptolemy proceeds now (following as much as possible the order already observed) to give a list of the different territories and peoples of India classified according to the river-basins, together with the towns belonging to each territory and each people (§§42—93), and closes the chapter by mentioning the small islands that lay adjacent to the coast. He begins with the basin of the Kôphês, part of which he had already described in the 6th Book.

42. The order of the territories in this division (India intra Gangem) and of their cities or villages is as follows:—

Below the sources of the Kôa are located the Lambatai, and their mountain region extends upwards to that of the Kômêdai.

Below the sources of the Souastos is Souastênê.

Below those of the Indus are the Daradrai, in whose country the mountains are of surpassing height.

Below the sources of the Bidaspês and of the Sandabal and of the Adris is Kaspeiria.

Below the sources of the Bibasis and of the Zaradros and of the Diamouna and of the Ganges is Kylindrinê, and below the Lambatai and Souastênê is Gôryaia.

Ptolemy's description of the regions watered by the Kôphên and its tributaries given here and in the preceding book may well strike us with surprise, whether we consider the great copiousness of its details, or the way in which its parts have been connected and arranged. It is evident that he was indebted for his materials here chiefly to native sources of information and itineraries of merchants or caravans, and that he did not much consult the records, whether historical or geographical, of Alexander's expedition, else he would not have failed to mention such places as Alexandria, under Kaukasos, Massaga, Nysa, Bazira, the rock Aörnos, and other localities made memorable by that expedition.

In describing the basin of the Kôphên he divides it into two distinct regions—the high region and the lower, a distinction which had been made by the contemporaries of Alexander. The high region formed the country of the Paropanisadai, and this Ptolemy has described in the 18th chapter of the 6th Book. He now describes the lower region which, he regards as a part of India. (V. Saint-Martin, *Étude*, pp. 62-3).

The Lambatai were the inhabitants of the district now called Lamghân, a small territory lying along the northern bank of the Kâbul river bounded on the west by the Alingâr and Kunâr rivers, and on the north by the snowy mountains. Lamghân was visited in the middle of the 7th century by Hiuen-Tsiang, who calls it Lan-po, and notes that its distance eastward from Kapisênê, to which before his time it had become subject, was 600 *li* (equal to 100 miles). The name of the people is met with in the *Mahâbhârata* and in the *Paurâṇik* lists under the form Lampâka. Cunningham would therefore correct Ptolemy's Lambatai to Lambagai by the slight change of Γ for T. A minute account of this little district is given in the *Memoirs of the Emperor Baber*, who states that it was called after Lamech, the father of Noah. The *Dictionary* of Hêmachandra, which mentions the Lampâka, gives as another name of the people that of the Muraṇḍa. Their language is Pushtu in its basis. (See Cunningham's *Geog. of Anc. India*, pp. 42-3; Saint-Martin, *Étude*, pp. 74-5; also his *L'Asie Central*, p. 48; Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, vol. I, p. 422.

Souastênê designates the basin of the Souastos, which, as has already been noticed, is the river now called the river of Swât. The full form of the name is Śubhavastu, which by the usual mode of contraction becomes Subhâstu or Suvâstu. Souastênê is not the indigenous name of the district, but one evidently formed for it by the Greeks. It is the country now inhabited by the warlike tribes of the Yuzofzaïs which appears to have been called in ancient times with reference to the rich verdure and fertility of its valleys Udyâna, that is, 'a garden' or 'park.' It was visited by Hiuen-Tsiang, who calls it the kingdom of U-chang-na.

The Daradrai:—Ptolemy has somewhat disfigured the name of these mountaineers, who are mentioned in the *Mahâbhârata* and in the *Chronicle of Kaśmîr* as the Darada. They inhabited the mountain-region which lay to the east of the Lambatai and of Souastênê, and to the north of the uppermost part of the course of the Indus along the north-west frontier of Kaśmîr. This was the region made so famous by the story of the gold-digging ants first published to the west by Hêrodotos (lib. III, c. cii), and afterwards repeated by Megasthenês, whose version of it is to be found in Strabo (lib. XV, c. i, 44) and in Arrian's *Indika* (sec. 15) and also in Pliny (lib. VI, c. 21 and lib. XI, c. xxxvi). The name of the people in Strabo is Derdai, in Pliny Dardae, and in Dionys. Periêg. (v. 1138) Dardanoi. Their country still bears their name, being called Dardistân. The Sanskrit word *darad* among other meanings has that of 'mountain.' As the regions along the banks of the Upper Indus produced gold of a good quality, which found its way to India and Persia, and other countries farther west, it has been supposed that the Indus was one of the 4 rivers of Paradise mentioned in the book of *Genesis*, viz., the Pishon, "which compasseth the whole land of Havilah, where there is gold; and the gold of that land is good." This opinion has been advocated by scholars of high name and authority. Havilah they take to be in a much altered form, the Sanskrit *sarôvara*, 'a lake,' with reference perhaps to the lake in Tibet called Manasarôvara. Boscawen, however, has pointed out that there was a river called the Pisanu, belonging to the region between Nineveh and Babylon where he locates paradise.

Kaspeiria:—The name and the position concur in indicating this to be the valley of Kaśmîr, a name which, according to Burnouf, is a contraction of *Kaśyapamîra*, which is thought with good reason to be the original

whence came the Kaspapyros of the old Geographer Hekataios and the Kaspatyros of Hêrodotos (lib. III, c. cii), who tells us (lib. IV, c. xliv) that it was from the city of that name and from the Paktyikan land that Skylax the Karyandian started on his voyage of discovery down the Indus in order to ascertain for Darius where that river entered the sea. It cannot be determined with certainty where that city should be located, but there can be no good reason, as Wilson has shown (in opposition to the views of Wilford, Heeren, Mannert, and Wahl) for fixing it on any other river than the Indus. "We have no traces," he says, "of any such place as Kaspatyrus west of the Indus. Alexander and his generals met with no such city, nor is there any other notice of it in this direction. On the east of the river we have some vestige of it in oriental appellations, and Kaspatyrus is connected apparently with Kaśmîr. The preferable reading of the name is Kaspa-pyrus. It was so styled by Hecataeus, and the alteration is probably an error. Now Kaśyapa-pur. the city of Kaśyapa, is, according to Sanskrit writers, the original designation of Kaśmîr; not of the province of the present day, but of the kingdom in its palmy state, when it comprehended great part of the Panjâb, and extended no doubt as far as, if not beyond, the Indus."—*Ar. Antiq.*, p. 137.

In the time of Ptolemy the kingdom of Kaśmîr was the most powerful state in all India. The dominions subject to its sceptre reached as far south as the range of the Vindhyas and embraced, together with the extensive mountain region wherein the great rivers of the Panjâb had their sources, a great part of the Panjâb itself, and the countries which lay along the courses of the Jamnâ and the Upper Ganges. So much we learn from Ptolemy's description which is quite in harmony with what is to be found recorded in the *Râjataraṅgiṇî*, regarding the period which a little preceded that in which Ptolemy wrote—that the throne of Kaśmîr was then occupied by a warlike monarch called Mêghâvahana who carried his conquests to a great distance southward (*Râjatar.* vol. III, pp. 27 sqq.) The valley proper of Kaśmîr was the region watered by the Bidaspês (Jhelam) in the upper part of its course. Ptolemy assigns to it also the sources of the Sandabal (Chenâb) and of the Rhouadis (Râvî) and thus includes within it the provinces of the lower Himâlayan range that lay between Kaśmîr and the Satlaj.

K y l i n d r i n ê designated the region of lofty mountains wherein the Vipâśâ, the Śatadru, the Jamnâ and the Ganges had their sources. The inhabitants called K u l i n d a are mentioned in the *Mahâbhârata* in a long list there given of tribes dwelling between Mêru and Mandara and upon the Śailôdâ River, under the shadow of the Bambu forests, whose kings presented lumps of ant-gold at the solemnity of the inauguration of Yudhishṭhira as universal emperor. Cunningham would identify Kylindrinê with "the ancient kingdom of Jâlandhara which since the occupation of the plains by the Muḥammadans has been confined almost entirely to its hill territories, which were generally known by the name of Kâṅgra, after its most celebrated fortress." Saint-Martin, however, is unable to accept this identification. A territory of the name of K u l u t a, which was formed by the upper part of the basin of the Vipâśâ, and which may be included in the Kylindrinê of Ptolemy, is mentioned in a list of the *Varâha Saṁhitâ*. Kuluta was visited by the Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen-Tsiang, who transcribes the name K'iu-lu-to, a name which still exists under the slightly modified form of Koluta. (See Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* vol. I, p. 547; Wilson, *Ar. Antiq.* p. 135 n.; Saint-Martin, *Étude*, 217; Cunningham, *Geog.* pp. 136—8.

G ô r y a i a designates the territory traversed by the Gouraios or river of Ghôr, which, as has already been noticed, is the affluent of the Kâbul river now called the Landaï, formed by the junction of the river of Pañjkora and the river of Swât. Alexander on his march to India passed through Gôryaia, and having crossed the river Gouraios entered the territory of the Assakênoi. The passage of the river is thus described by Arrian (*Anab.* lib. IV, c. xxv). "Alexander now advanced with a view to attack the Assakênoi, and led his army through the territory of the Gouraioi. He had great difficulty in crossing the Gouraios, the eponymous river of the country, on account of the depth and impetuosity of the stream, and also because the bottom was so strewn with pebbles that the men when wading through could hardly keep their feet." It can scarcely be doubted that the Gouraios is the Gaurî mentioned in the 6th Book of the *Mahâbhârata* along with the Suvâstu and the Kampanâ. Arrian's notion that it gave its name to the country by which it flowed has been assented to by Lassen but has been controverted by Saint-Martin, who says (p. 33), "the name of the Gouraioi did not come, as one would be inclined to believe, and as without doubt the Greeks thought, from the river of Gur which watered their territory; the numerous and once powerful tribe of Ghorî, of which a portion occupies still to this day the same district, to the west of the Landaï, can advance a better claim to the attribution of the ancient classical name." In a note to this passage he says: "Kur, with the signification of 'river,' *courant*, is a primitive

term common to most of the dialects of the Indo-Germanic family. Hence the name of Kur (Greek, Κύρος, Κύῤῥος, Lat. Cyrus) common to different rivers of Asia. . . . This name (of Ghorîs or Gûrs) ought to have originally the signification of 'mountaineers.' It is at least a remarkable fact that all the mountain region adjacent to the south of the Western Hindû-kôh and its prolongation in the direction of Herât have borne or still bear the names of Gûr, Ghôr or Ghaur, Gurkân, Gurjistân, &c. Let us add that *garayo* in Zend signifies 'mountains.' "

43. And the cities are these :—

Kaisana	120°	34° 20′
Barborana	120° 15′	33° 40′
Gôrya	122°	34° 45′
Nagara or Dionysopolis	121° 45′	33°
Drastoka	120° 30′	32° 30′

Kaisana, Barborana and Drastoka are places unknown, but as the same names occur in the list of the towns of the Paropanisadai (lib. VI, c. xviii, 4) it is not improbable, as Saint-Martin conjectures, that the repetition was not made by Ptolemy himself, but through a careless error on the part of some copyist of his works. Cunningham thinks that Drastoka may have designated a town, in one of the *darâs* or 'valleys' of the Koh-Dâman, and that Baborana may be Parwân, a place of some consequence on the left bank of the Ghorband river in the neighbourhood of Opiân or Alexandria Opiane. Kaisana he takes to be the Cartana of Pliny (lib. VI, c. xxiii) according to whom it was situated at the foot of the Caucasus and not far from Alexandria, whilst according to Ptolemy it was on the right bank of the Pânjshir river. These data, he says, point to Bêgrâm, which is situated on the right bank of the Pânjshir and Ghorband rivers immediately at the foot of the Kohistân hills, and within 6 miles of Opiân. Bêgrâm also answers the description which Pliny gives of Cartana as *Tetragonis*, or the 'square;' for Masson, in his account of the ruins especially notices "some mounds of great magnitude, and accurately describing a square of considerable dimensions." A coin of Eukratidês has on it the legend Karisiye Nagara or city of Karisi (*Geog. of Anc. Ind.*, pp. 26—29).

Gôrya :—Saint-Martin thinks that the position of this ancient city may be indicated by the situation of Mola-gouri, a place on the right or western bank of the River Landaï, as marked in one of Court's maps in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, vol. VIII, p. 34).

Nagara or Dionysopolis :—Lassen has identified this with Nanghenhar, the Nagarahâra of Sanskrit, a place mentioned under this name in the *Paurâṇik* Geography, and also in a Buddhistic inscription thought to belong to the 9th century which was found in Behar. The city was visited by Hiuen-Tsiang, who calls it Na-kie-lo-ho. It was the capital of a kingdom of the same name, which before the time of the pilgrim had become subject to Kapiśa, a state which adjoined it on the west. Its territory consisted of a narrow strip of land which stretched along the southern bank of the Kâbul river from about Jagdalak as far westward as the Khaibar Pass. The city was called also Udyânapura, that is, 'the city of gardens,' and this name the Greeks, from some resemblance in the sound translated into Dionysopolis (a purely Greek compound, signifying 'the city of Dionysos,' the god of wine), with some reference no doubt to legends which had been brought from the regions of Paropanisos by the companions of Alexander. This name in a mutilated form is found inscribed on a medal of Dionysios, one of the Greek kings, who possessed the province of what is now called Afghanistân in the 2nd century B.C. Some traces of the name of Udyânapura still exist, for, as we learn from Masson, "tradition affirms that the city on the plain of Jalâlâbâd was called Ajûna," and the Emperor Baber mentions in his *Memoirs* a place called Adinapur, which, as the same author has pointed out, is now Bala-bâgh, a village distant about 13 miles westward from Jalâlâbâd near the banks of the Surkhrud, a small tributary of the Kâbul river.

As regards the site of Nagarahâra, this was first indicated by Masson, and afterwards fixed with greater precision by Mr. Simpson, who having been quartered for 4 months at Jalâlâbâd during the late Afghân war took the opportunity of investigating the antiquities of the neighbourhood, which are chiefly of a Buddhist character. He has given an account of his researches in a paper read before the Royal Asiatic Society and published in the Society's *Journal* (Vol. XIII, pp. 183—207). He there states that he found at a distance of 4 or 5 miles west from Jalâlâbâd numerous remains of what must have been an ancient city, while there was no other place in all the vicinity where he could discover such marked evidences of a city having existed. The ruins in question lay along the right bank of a stream called the Surkhâb, that rushed down from the lofty heights of the Sufaid-koh, and reached to its point of junction with the Kâbul river. The correctness of the identification he could not doubt, since the word 'Nagrak,' 'Nagarat,' or 'Nagara' was still applied to the ruins by the natives on the spot, and since the site also fulfilled all the conditions which

were required to make it answer to the description of the position of the old city as given by Hiuen-Tsiang. (See Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, vol. II, p. 335; Saint-Martin's *Asie Centrale*, pp. 52—56; Cunningham, *Geog. of Anc. Ind.*, pp. 44—46; Masson, *Various Journeys*, vol. III, p. 164).

44. Between the Souastos and the Indus the Gandarai and these cities :—

Proklaïs	123°	32°
Naulibi	124° 20′	33° 20′

The Gandarai:—Gandhâra is a name of high antiquity, as it occurs in one of the Vedic hymns where a wife is represented as saying with reference to her husband, "I shall always be for him a Gandhâra ewe." It is mentioned frequently in the *Mahâbhârata* and other post-Vedic works, and from these we learn that it contained the two royal cities of Takshaśilâ (Taxila) and Pushkarâvatî (Peukelaôtis) the former situated to the east and the latter to the west of the Indus. It would therefore appear that in early times the Gandhâric territory lay on both sides of that river, though in subsequent times it was confined to the western side. According to Strabo the country of the Gandarai, which he calls Gandaritis, lay between the Khoaspês and the Indus, and along the River Kôphês. The name is not mentioned by any of the historians of Alexander, but it must nevertheless have been known to the Greeks as early as the times of Hekataios, who, as we learn from Stephanos of Byzantion, calls Kaspapyros a Gandaric city. Hêrodotos mentions the Gandarioi (Book III, c. xci) who includes them in the 7th Satrapy of Darius, along with the Sattagydai, the Dadikai and the Aparytai. In the days of Aśôka and some of his immediate successors Gandhâra was one of the most flourishing seats of Buddhism. It was accordingly visited both by Fa-hian and Hiuen-Tsiang, who found it to contain in a state of ruin many monuments of the past ascendancy of their faith. From data supplied by the narratives of these pilgrims Cunningham has deduced as the boundaries of Gandhâra, which they call Kien-to-lo, on the west Lamghân and Jalâlâbâd, on the north the hills of Swât and Bunir, on the east the Indus, and on the south the hills of Kâlabâgh. "Within these limits," he observes, "stood several of the most renowned places of ancient India, some celebrated in the stirring history of Alexander's exploits, and others famous in the miraculous legends of Buddha, and in the subsequent history of Buddhism under the Indo-Scythian prince Kanishka." (*Geog. of Ind.*, p. 48.) Opinions have varied much with regard to the position of the Gandarioi. Rennell placed them on the west of Baktria in the province afterwards called Margiana, while Wilson (*Ar. Antiq.*, p. 131) took them to be the people south of the Hindû-kûsh, from about the modern Kandahâr to the Indus, and extending into the Panjâb and to Kaśmîr. There is, however, no connexion between the names of Gandaria and Kandahâr.

Proklaïs is the ancient capital of Gandhâra, situated to the west of the Indus, which was mentioned in the preceding remarks under its Sanskrit name Pushkalâvatî, which means 'abounding in the lotus.' Its name is given variously by the Greek writers as Peukelaôtis, Peukolaitis, Peukelas, and Proklaïs, the last form being common to Ptolemy with the author of the *Periplûs*. The first form is a transliteration of the Pâli Pukhalaoti; the form Peukelas which is used by Arrian is taken by Cunningham to be a close transcript of the Pâli Pukkala, and the Proklaïs of Ptolemy to be perhaps an attempt to give the Hindî name of Pokhar instead of the Sanskrit Pushkara. Arrian describes Peukelas as a very large and populous city lying near the Indus, and the capital of a prince called Astês. Ptolemy defines its position with more accuracy, as being on the eastern bank of the river of Souastênê. The *Periplûs* informs us that it traded in spikenard of various kinds, and in kostus and bdellium, which it received from different adjacent countries for transmission to the coast of India. It has been identified with Hasht-nagar (*i.e., eight cities*) which lies at a distance of about 17 miles from Parashâwar (Peshâwar). Perhaps, as Cunningham has suggested, Hasht-nagar may mean not 'eight cities' but 'the city of Astês.'

Naulibi:—"It is probable," says Cunningham, "that Naulibi is Nilâb, an important town which gave its name to the Indus; but if so it is wrongly placed by Ptolemy, as Nilâb is to the South of the Kôphês" (*Geog. of Anc. Ind.*, p. 48).

45. Between the Indus and the Bidaspês towards the Indus the Arsa territory and these cities :—

Ithagouros	125° 40′	33° 20′
Taxiala	125°	32° 15′

Arsa represents the Sanskrit Uraśa, the name of a district which, according to Cunningham, is to be identified with the modern district of Rash in Dhantâwar to the west of Muzafarâbâd, and which included all the hilly country between the Indus and Kaśmîr as far south as the boundary of Aṭak. It was visited by Hiuen-Tsiang, who calls it U-la-shi and places it between Taxila and Kaśmîr. Pliny, borrowing from Megasthenês, mentions a people belonging to these parts called the Arsagalitae. The first part

of the name answers letter for letter to the name in Ptolemy, and the latter part may point to the tribe Ghilet or Ghilghit, the Gahalata of Sanskrit. (V. Saint-Martin, *Étude*, pp. 59-60). Uraśa is mentioned in the *Mahâbhârata* and once and again in the *Râjataraṅgiṇî*.

Ithagouros:—The Ithagouroi are mentioned by Ptolemy (lib. VI, c. xvi) as a people of Sêrika, neighbouring on the Issêdones and Throanoi. Saint-Martin takes them to be the Dagors or Dangors, one of the tribes of the Daradas.

Taxiala is generally written as Taxila by the classical authors. Its name in Sanskrit is Taksha-śilâ, a compound which means 'hewn rock' or 'hewn stone.' Wilson thinks it may have been so called from its having been built of that material instead of brick or mud, like most other cities in India, but Cunningham prefers to ascribe to the name a legendary origin. The Pâli form of the name as found in a copper-plate inscription is Takhasila, which sufficiently accounts for the Taxila of the Greeks. The city is described by Arrian (*Anab.* lib. V, c. viii) as great and wealthy, and as the most populous that lay between the Indus and the Hydaspês. Both Strabo and Hiuen-Tsiang praise the fertility of its soil, and the latter specially notices the number of its springs and watercourses. Pliny calls it a famous city, and states that it was situated on a level where the hills sunk down into the plains. It was beyond doubt one of the most ancient cities in all India, and is mentioned in both of the great national Epics. At the time of the Makedonian invasion it was ruled by a prince called Taxilês, who tendered a voluntary submission of himself and his kingdom to the great conqueror. About 80 years afterwards it was taken by Aśôka, the son of Vindusâra, who subsequently succeeded his father on the throne of Magadha and established Buddhism as the state religion throughout his wide dominions. In the early part of the 2nd century B.C. it had become a province of the Græco-Baktrian monarchy. It soon changed masters however, for in 126 B.C. the Indo-Skythian Sus or Abars acquired it by conquest, and retained it in their hands till it was wrested from them by a different tribe of the same nationality, under the celebrated Kanishka. Near the middle of the first century A.D. Apollonius of Tyana and his companion Damis are said to have visited it, and described it as being about the size of Nineveh, walled like a Greek city, and as the residence of a sovereign who ruled over what of old was the kingdom of Pôros. Its streets were narrow, but well arranged, and such altogether as reminded the travellers of Athens. Outside the walls was a beautiful temple of porphyry, wherein was a shrine, round which were hung pictures on copper tablets representing the feats of Alexander and Pôros. (Priaulx's *Apollon.*, pp. 13 sqq.) The next visitors we hear of were the Chinese pilgrims Fa-hian in 400 and Hiuen-Tsiang, first in 630, and afterwards in 643. To them, as to all Buddhists, the place was especially interesting, as it was the scene of one of Buddha's most meritorious acts of alms-giving, when he bestowed his very head in charity. After this we lose sight altogether of Taxila, and do not even know how or when its ruin was accomplished. Its fate is one of the most striking instances of a peculiarity observable in Indian history, that of the rapidity with which some of its greatest capitals have perished, and the completeness with which even their very names have been obliterated from living memory. That it was destroyed long before the Muhammadan invasion may be inferred from the fact that its name has not been found to occur in any Muhammadan author who has written upon India, even though his account of it begins from the middle of the tenth century. Even Albîrûnî, who was born in the valley of the Indus, and wrote so early as the time of Mahmûd of Ghaznî, makes no mention of the place, though his work abounds with valuable information on points of geography. The site of Taxila has been identified by Cunningham, who has given an account of his explorations in his *Ancient Geography of India* (pp. 104—124). The ruins, he says, cover an area of six square miles, and are more extensive, more interesting, and in much better preservation than those of any other ancient place in the Panjâb. These ruins are at a place called Shâh-dhêri, which is just one mile from Kâla-ka-serai, a town lying to the eastward of the Indus, from which it is distant a three days' journey. Pliny says only a two days' journey, but he under-estimated the distance between Peukelaôtis and Taxila, whence his error.

46. Around the Hidaspês, the country of the Pandoöuoi, in which are these cities:—

Labaka	127° 30′	34° 15′
Sagala, otherwise called Euthymêdia	126° 20′	32°
Boukephala	125° 30′	30° 20′
Iômousa	124° 15′	30°

The Country of the Pandoöuoi:—The Pâṇḍya country here indicated is that which formed the original seat of the Pâṇḍavas or Lunar race, whose war with the Kauravas or Solar race is the subject of the *Mahâbhârata*. The Pâṇḍavas figure not only in the heroic legends of India but also in its real history,—

princes of their line having obtained for themselves sovereignties in various parts of the country, in Râjputâna, in the Panjâb, on the banks of the Ganges, and the very south of the Peninsula. From a passage in the *Lalitavistara* we learn that at the time of the birth of Śâkyamuni a Pâṇḍava dynasty reigned at Hastinâpura, a city on the Upper Ganges about sixty miles to the north-east of Dehli. Megasthenês, as cited by Pliny, mentions a great Pâṇḍava kingdom in the region of the Jamnâ, of which Mathurâ was probably the capital. According to Râjput tradition the celebrated Vikramâditya, who reigned at Ujjain (the Ozênê of the Greeks) about half a century B. C., and whose name designates an epoch in use among the Hindûs, was a Pâṇḍava prince. From the 8th to the 12th century of our æra Pâṇḍavas ruled in Indraprastha, a city which stood on or near the site of Dehli. When all this is considered it certainly seems surprising, as Saint-Martin has observed (*Étude*, 206 n.) that the name of the Pandus is not met with up to the present time on any historic monument of the north of India except in two votive inscriptions of Buddhist *stûpas* at Bhilsa. See also *Étude*, pp. 205, 206.

Labaka:—"This is perhaps," says the same author (p. 222), "the same place as a town of Lohkoṭ (Lavakôṭa in Sanskrit) which makes a great figure in the Râjput annals among the cities of the Panjâb, but its position is not known for certain. Wilford, we know not on what authority, identified it with Lâhor, and Tod admits his opinion without examining it."

Sagala, called also Euthymêdia:—Sagala or Sangala (as Arrian less correctly gives the name) is the Sanskrit Sâkala or Sakala, which in its Prakrit form corresponds exactly to the name in Ptolemy. This city is mentioned frequently in the *Mahâbhârata*, from which we learn that it was the capital of the Madra nation, and lay to the west of the Râvî. Arrian (*Anab.* lib. V, cc. xxi, xxii) placed it to the east of the river, and this error on his part has led to a variety of erroneous identifications. Alexander, he tells us, after crossing the Hydraôtês (Râvî) at once pressed forward to Sangala on learning that the Kathaians and other warlike tribes had occupied that stronghold for the purpose of opposing his advance to the Ganges. In reality, however, Alexander on this occasion had to deal with an enemy that threatened his rear, and not with an enemy in front. He was in consequence compelled, instead of advancing eastward, to retrace his steps and recross the Hydraôtês. The error here made by Arrian was detected by General Cunningham, who, with the help of data supplied by Hiuen-Tsiang discovered the exact site which Sagala had occupied. This is as nearly as possible where *Sangla-wala-tiba* or 'Sanglala hill' now stands. This Sangala is a hill with traces of buildings and with a sheet of water on one side of it. It thus answers closely to the description of the ancient Sangala in Arrian and Curtius, both of whom represent it as built on a hill and as protected on one side from attacks by a lake or marsh of considerable depth. The hill is about 60 miles distant from Lâhor, where Alexander probably was when the news about the Kathaians reached him. This distance is such as an army by rapid marching could accomplish in 3 days, and, as we learn that Alexander reached Sangala on the evening of the third after he had left the Hydraôtês, we have here a strongly confirmative proof of the correctness of the identification. The Makedonians destroyed Sagala, but it was rebuilt by Dêmetrios, one of the Græco-Baktrian kings, who in honour of his father Euthydêmos called it Euthydêmia. From this it would appear that the reading *Euthymêdia* as given in Nobbe's and other texts, is erroneous—(see Cunningham's *Geog. of Anc. Ind.*, pp. 180—187) *cf.* Saint-Martin, pp. 103—108).

47. The regions extending thence towards the east are possessed by the Kaspeiraioi, and to them belong these cities :—

48. Salagissa	129° 30′	34° 30′
Astrassos	131° 15′	34° 15′
Labokla	128°	33° 20′
Batanagra	130°	33° 30′
Arispara	130°	32° 50′
Amakatis	128° 15′	32° 20′
Ostobalasara	129°	32°
49. Kaspeira	127°	31° 15′
Pasikana	128° 30′	31° 15′
Daidala	128°	30° 30′
Ardonê	126° 15′	30° 10′
Indabara	127° 15′	30°
Liganeira	125° 30′	29°
Khonnamagara	128°	29° 20′
50. Modoura, the *city* of the gods	125°	27° 30′
Gagasmira	126° 40′	27° 30′
Ērarasa, a Metropolis	123°	26°
Kognandaua	124°	26°

Boukephala:—Alexander, after the battle on the western bank of the Hydaspês in which he defeated Pôros, ordered two cities to be built, one Nikaia, so called in honour of his victory (*nikê*), and the other Boukephala, so called in honour of his favourite horse, Boukephalos, that died here either of old age and fatigue, or from

wounds received in the battle. From the conflicting accounts given by the Greek writers it is difficult to determine where the latter city stood. If we follow Plutarch we must place it on the eastern bank of the Hydaspês, for he states (*Vita Alexandre*) that Boukephalos was killed in the battle, and that the city was built on the place where he fell and was buried. If again we follow Strabo (lib. XV, c. i, 29) we must place it on the west bank at the point where Alexander crossed the river which in all probability was at Dilâwar. If finally we follow Arrian we must place it on the same bank, but some miles farther down the river at Jalâlpur, where Alexander had pitched his camp, and this was probably the real site. Boukephala seems to have retained its historical importance much longer than its sister city, for besides being mentioned here by Ptolemy it is noticed also in Pliny (lib. VI, c. xx) who says that it was the chief of three cities that belonged to the Asini, and in the *Periplûs* (sec. 47) and elsewhere. Nikaia, on the other hand, is not mentioned by any author of the Roman period except Strabo, and that only when he is referring to the times of Alexander. The name is variously written Boukephala, Boukephalos, Boukephalia, and Boukephaleia. Some authors added to it the surname of Alexandria, and in the *Peutinger Tables* it appears as Alexandria Bucefalos. The horse Boukephalos was so named from his 'brow' being very broad, like that of an 'ox.' For a discussion on the site of Boukephala see Cunningham's *Geog. of Anc. Ind.*, pp. 159 sqq.

Iômousa is probably Jamma, a place of great antiquity, whose chiefs were reckoned at one time among the five great râjas of the north. It doubtless lay on the great highway that led from the Indus to Palibothra.

List of cities of the Kaspeiraioi:—This long list contains but very few names that can be recognized with certainty. It was perhaps carelessly transcribed by the copyists, or Ptolemy himself may have taken it from some work the text of which had been already corrupted. Be that as it may, we may safely infer from the constancy with which the figures of latitude in the list decrease, that the towns enumerated were so many successive stages on some line of road that traversed the country from the Indus to Mathurâ on the Jamnâ. Salagissa, Arispara, Pasikana, Liganeira, Khonnamagara and Kognandaua are past all recognition; no plausible conjecture has been made as to how they are to be identified.

Astrassos:—This name resembles the Atrasa of Idrîsî, who mentions it as a great city of the Kanauj Empire (*Étude*, p. 226).

Labokla:—Lassen identified this with Lâhor, the capital of the Panjâb (*Ind. Alt.*, vol. III, p. 152). Thornton and Cunningham confirm this identification. The city is said to have been founded by Lava or Lo, the son of Râma, after whom it was named Lohâwar. The *Labo* in Labo-kla must be taken to represent the name of Lava. As for the terminal *kla*, Cunningham (*Geog. of Anc. Ind.*, p. 198) would alter it to *laka* thus, making the whole name Labolaka for Lavâlaka or 'the abode of Lava.'

Batanagra:—Ptolemy places this 2 degrees to the east of Labokla, but Saint-Martin (p. 226) does not hesitate to identify it with Bhatnair (for Bhaṭṭanagara) 'the town of the Bhatis' though it lies nearly three degrees south of Lâhor. Yule accepts this identification. A different reading is Kaṭanagara.

Amakatis (v. l. Amakastis).—According to the table this place lay to the S.E. of Labokla but its place in the map is to the S.W. of it Cunningham (pp. 195—197) locates it near Shekohpur to the south of which are two ruined mounds which are apparently the remains of ancient cities. These are called Amba and Kâpi respectively, and are said to have been called after a brother and a sister, whose names are combined in the following couplet:—

Amba-Kapa pai larai
Kalpi bahin chhurâwan ai.

When strife arose 'tween Amb and Kăp
Their sister Kalpi made it up.

"The junction of the two names," Cunningham remarks, "is probably as old as the time of Ptolemy, who places a town named Amakatis or Amakapis to the west of the Râvî, and in the immediate neighbourhood of Labokla or Lâhor." The distance of the mounds referred to from Lâhor is about 25 miles.

Ostobalasara (v. l. Stobolasara) Saint-Martin has identified this with Thanesar (Sthânêśvara in Sanskrit) a very ancient city, celebrated in the heroic legends of the Pâṇḍavas. Cunningham however thinks that Thanesar is Ptolemy's Batangkaisara and suggests that we should read Satan-aisara to make the name approach nearer to the Sanskrit Sthânêśvara—the Sa-ta-ni-shi-fa-lo of Hiuen-Tsiang (p. 331).

Kaspeira:—"If this name," says Saint-Martin (p. 226) "is to be applied, as seems natural, to the capital of Kaśmîr, it has been badly placed in the series, having been inserted probably by the ancient Latin copyists."

Daidala:—An Indian city of this name is mentioned by Stephanos of Byzantion, but he locates it in the west. Curtius also has a Daedala (lib. VIII, c. x), a region which according to his

account was traversed by Alexander before he crossed the Khoaspês and laid siege to Mazaga. Yule in his map places it doubtfully at Dudhal on the Khaghar River to the east of Bhatneer, near the edge of the great desert.

Ardonê:—Ahroni according to Yule, a place destroyed by Tîmûr on his march, situated between the Khaghar and Chitang rivers, both of which lose themselves in the great desert.

Indabara is undoubtedly the ancient Indraprastha, a name which in the common dialects is changed into Indabatta (Indopat), and which becomes almost Indabara in the cerebral pronunciation of the last syllable. The site of this city was in the neighbourhood of Dehli. It was the capital city of the Pâṇḍavas. The Prâkṛit form of the name is Indrabaṭṭha. (Lassen, vol. III, p. 151).

Modoura, the city of the gods:—There is no difficulty in identifying this with Mathurâ (Muttra) one of the most sacred cities in all India, and renowned as the birthplace of Kṛishna. Its temples struck Mahmûd of Ghaznî with such admiration that he resolved to adorn his own capital in a similar style. The name is written by the Greeks *Methora* as well as *Modoura*. It is situated on the banks of the Jamnâ, higher up than Agra, from which it is 35 miles distant. It is said to have been founded by Śatrughna, the younger brother of Râma. As already mentioned it was a city of the Pâṇḍavas whose power extended far to westward.

Gagasmira:—Lassen and Saint-Martin agree in recognizing this as Ajmîr. Yule, however, objects to this identification on the ground that the first syllable is left unaccounted for, and proposes Jajhar as a substitute. Gegasius, he argues, represents in Plutarch Yayâti, the great ancestor of the Lunar race, while Jajhpûr in Orissa was properly Yayâtipûra. Hence probably in Jajhar, which is near Dehli, we have the representative of Gagasmira.

Erarasa:—Ptolemy calls this a metropolis. It appears, says Yule, to be Girirâja, 'royal hill,' and may be Goverdhan which was so called, and was a capital in legendary times (*Ind. Antiq.*, vol. I, p. 23). Saint-Martin suggests Vârânasî, now Banâras, which was also a capital. He thinks that this name and the next, which ends the list, were additions of the Roman copyists.

51. Still further to the east than the Kaspeiraioi are the Gymnosophistai, and after these around the Ganges further north are the Daitikhai with these towns:—

Konta	133° 30′	34° 40′
Margara	135°	34°
Batangkaissara and east of the river	132° 40′	33° 20′
Passala	137°	34° 15′
Orza	136°	33° 20′

Gymnosophistai:—This Greek word means 'Naked philosophers,' and did not designate any ethnic or political section of the population, but a community of religious ascetics or hermits located along the Ganges probably, as Yule thinks in the neighbourhood of Hardwâr and also according to Benfey, of Dehli, *Indien*, p. 95. For an account of the Gymnosophists see *Ind. Antiq.*, vol. VI, pp. 242—244.

Daitikhai:—This name is supposed to represent the Sanskrit *jaṭika*, which means 'wearing twisted or plaited hair.' The name does not occur in the lists in this form but Kern, as Yule states, has among tribes in the north-east "Demons with elf locks" which is represented in Wilford by *Jaṭi-dhara*.

Konta, says Saint-Martin (*Étude*, p 321) is probably Kuṇḍâ on the left bank of the Jamnâ to the south-east of Saharanpûr.

Margara:—Perhaps, according to the same authority, Marhâra near the Kalindi River to the north-east of Agra.

Batangkaissara:—Yule objecting to Saint-Martin's identification of this place with Bhatkashaur in Saharanpur pargaṇa, on the ground of its being a modern combination, locates it, but doubtingly, at Kesarwa east of the Jamnâ, where the position suits fairly.

Passala:—Pliny mentions a people called Passalae, who may be recognized as the inhabitants of Pañchâla or the region that lay between the Ganges and the Jamnâ, and whose power, according to the *Mahâbhârata*, extended from the Himâlayas to the Chambal River. Passala we may assume was the capital of this important state, and may now, as Saint-Martin thinks, be represented by Bisauli. This was formerly a considerable town of Rohilkhand, 30 miles from Sambhal towards the south-east, and at a like distance from the eastern bank of the Ganges.

Orza is perhaps Sarsi situated on the Râmgaṅgâ river in the lower part of its course.

52. Below these are the Anikhai with these towns:—

Persakra	134°	32° 40′
Sannaba	135°	32° 30′
Toana to the east of the river	136° 30′	32°

53. Below these Prasiakê with these towns:—

Sambalaka	132° 15′	31° 50′
Adisdara	136°	31° 30′
Kanagora	135°	30° 40′

Kindia	137°	30° 20′
Sagala, and east of the river	139°	30° 20′
Aninakha	137° 20′	31° 40′
Koangka	138° 20′	31° 30′

Anikhai (v. ll. Nanikhai, Manikhai):—This name cannot be traced to its source. The people it designated must have been a petty tribe, as they had only 3 towns, and their territory must have lain principally on the south bank of the Jamnâ. Their towns cannot be identified. The correct reading of their name is probably *Manikhai*, as there is a town on the Ganges in the district which they must have occupied called Manikpur. There is further a tribe belonging to the Central Himâlaya region having a name slightly similar, Manga or Mangars, and the *Âîn-i-Akbarî* mentions a tribe of Manneyeh which had once been powerful in the neighbourhood of Dehli (*Étude*, p. 322). The form Nanikha would suggest a people named in the *Mahâbhârata* and the *Purâṇas*, the Naimishas who lived in the region of the Jamnâ.

Prasiakê.—This word transliterates the Sanskrit *Prâchyaka* which means 'eastern' and denoted generally the country along the Ganges. It was the country of the Prasii, whose capital was Palibothra, now Pâtnâ, and who in the times immediately subsequent to the Makedonian invasion had spread their empire from the mouths of the Ganges to the regions beyond the Indus. The Prasiakê of Ptolemy however was a territory of very limited dimensions, and of uncertain boundaries. Though seven of its towns are enumerated Palibothra is not among them, but is mentioned afterwards as the capital of the Mandalai and placed more than 3 degrees farther south than the most southern of them all. Yule remarks upon this: "Where the tables detail cities that are in Prasiakê, cities among the Poruari, &c., we must not assume that the cities named were really in the territories named; whilst we see as a sure fact in various instances that they were not. Thus the Mandalae, displaced as we have mentioned, embrace Palibothra, which was notoriously the city of the Prasii; while Prasiakê is shoved up stream to make room for them. Lassen has so much faith in the uncorrected Ptolemy that he accepts this, and finds some reason why Prasiakê is not the land of the Prasii but something else."

Sambalaka is Sambhal, already mentioned as a town of Rohilkhand. Sambalaka or Sambhala is the name of several countries in India, but there is only this one town of the name that is met with in the Eastern parts. It is a very ancient town and on the same parallel as Dehli.

Adisdara:—This has been satisfactorily identified with Ahichhatra, a city of great antiquity, which figures in history so early as the 14th century B.C. At this time it was the capital of Northern Pañchâla. The form of the name in Ptolemy by a slight alteration becomes *Adisadra*, and this approximates closely to the original form. Another city so called belonged to Central India, and this appears in Ptolemy as Adeisathra, which he places in the country of the Bêttigoi. The meaning of the name Ahi-chhattra is 'serpent umbrella' and is explained by a local legend concerning Âdi-Râja and the serpent demon, that while the Râja was asleep a serpent formed a canopy over him with its expanded hood. The fort is sometimes called Adikoṭ, though the commoner name is Ahi-chhatar, sometimes written Ahikshêtra. The place was visited by Hiuen-Tsiang. In modern times it was first visited by Captain Hodgson, who describes it as the ruins of an ancient fortress several miles in circumference, which appears to have had 34 bastions, and is known in the neighbourhood by the name of the Pâṇḍu's Fort. It was visited afterwards by Cunningham (*Anc. Geog. of Ind.*, pp. 359—363).

Kanagora:—This, as Saint-Martin points out, may be a corruption for Kanagoza, a form of Kanyâkubja or Kanauj. This city of old renown was situated on the banks of the Kâlînadî, a branch of the Ganges, in the modern district of Farrukhâbâd. The name applies not only to the city itself but also to its dependencies and to the surrounding district. The etymology (*kanyâ*, 'a girl,' and *kubja*, 'round-shouldered' or 'crooked') refers to a legend concerning the hundred daughters of Kuśanâbha, the king of the city, who were all rendered crooked by Vâyu for non-compliance with his licentious desires (see also Beal, *Buddhist Records*, vol. I, p. 209). The ruins of the ancient city are said to occupy a site larger than that of London. The name recurs in another list of towns under the form Kanogiza, and is there far displaced.

Kindia may be identified with Kant, an ancient city of Rohilkhand, the Shâhjahânpur of the present day. Yule hesitates whether to identify it thus or with Mirzapur on the Ganges.

Sagala:—"Sagala," says Saint-Martin (*Étude*, p. 326) "would carry us to a town of Sakula or Saghêla, of which mention is made in the Buddhist Chronicles of Ceylon among the royal cities of the North of India, and which Turnour believes to be the same town as Kuśinagara, celebrated as the place where Buddha Śâkyamuni obtained *Nirvâṇa*. Such an identification would carry us to the eastern extremity of Kôśala, not far from the River Gaṇḍakî.

Koangka ought to represent the Sanskrit *kanaka*, 'gold.' Mention is made of a town called in the Buddhistic legends Kanakavatî (abounding in gold), but no indication is given as to where its locality was (*Étude*, p. 326).

54. South of this Saurabatis with these towns:—

Empêlathra	130°	30°
Nadoubandagar	138° 40′	29°
Tamasis	133°	29°
Kouraporeina	130°	29°

Saurabatis:—This division is placed below Prasiakê. The ordinary reading is Sandrabatis, which is a transliteration of the Sanskrit Chandravatî. The original, Saint-Martin suggests, may have been Chhattravatî, which is used as a synonym of Ahikshêtra, and applies to that part of the territory of Pañchâla, which lies to the east of the Ganges. He thinks it more than probable that Sandrabatis, placed as it is just after a group of towns, two of which belong to Ahikshêtra, does not differ from this Chhattravatî, the only country of the name known to Sanskrit Geography in the Gangetic region. None of the four towns can be identified. (See Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* vol. I, p. 602; *Étude*, p. 326). Yule, however, points out that this territory is one of those which the endeavour to make Ptolemy's names cover the whole of India has greatly dislocated, transporting it from the S. W. of Râjputâna to the vicinity of Bahâr. His map locates Sandrabitis (Chandrabati) between the River Mahî and the Âravalî mountains.

55. And further, all the country along the rest of the course of the Indus is called by the general name of Indo-Skythia. Of this the insular portion formed by the bifurcation of the river towards its mouth is Patalênê, and the region above this is Abiria, and the region about the mouths of the Indus and Gulf of Kanthi is Syrastrênê. The towns of Indo-Skythia are these: to the west of the river at some distance therefrom:—

56. Artoarta	121° 30′	31° 15′
Andrapana	121° 15′	30° 40′
Sabana	122° 20′	32°
Banagara	122° 15′	30° 40′
Kodrana	121° 15′	29° 20′

Ptolemy from his excursion to the Upper Ganges now reverts to the Indus and completes its geography by describing Indo-Skythia, a vast region which comprised all the countries traversed by the Indus, from where it is joined by the river of Kâbul onward to the ocean. We have already pointed out how Ptolemy's description is here vitiated by his making the combined stream of the Panjâb rivers join the Indus only one degree below its junction with the Kâbul, instead of six degrees, or half way between that point and the ocean. The egregious error he has here committed seems altogether inexcusable, for whatever may have been the sources from which he drew his information, he evidently neglected the most accurate and the most valuable of all—the records, namely, of the Makedonian invasion as transmitted in writings of unimpeachable credit. At best, however, it must be allowed the determination of sites in the Indus valley is beset with peculiar uncertainty. The towns being but very slightly built are seldom of more than ephemeral duration, and if, as often happens they are destroyed by inundations, every trace is lost of their ever having existed. The river besides frequently changes its course and leaves the towns which it abandons to sink into decay and utter oblivion.[24] Such places again as still exist after escaping these and other casualties, are now known under names either altogether different from the ancient, or so much changed as to be hardly recognizable. This instability of the nomenclature is due to the frequency with which the valley has been conquered by foreigners. The period at which the Skythians first appeared in the valley which was destined to bear their name for several centuries has been ascertained with precision from Chinese sources. We thence gather that a wandering horde of Tibetan extraction called Yuei-chi or Ye-tha in the 2nd century B. C. left Tangut, their native country, and, advancing westward found for themselves a new home amid the pasture-lands of Zungaria. Here they had been settled for about thirty years when the invasion of a new horde compelled them to migrate to the Steppes which lay to the north of the Jaxartes. In these new seats they halted for only two years, and in the year 128 B. C. they crossed over to the southern bank of the Jaxartes where they made themselves masters of the rich provinces between that river and the Oxus, which had lately before belonged to the Grecian kings of Baktriana. This new conquest did not long satisfy their ambition, and they continued to

[24] Aristoboulos as we learn from Strabo (lib. XV. c. i. 19) when sent into this part of India saw a tract of land deserted which contained 1,000 cities with their dependent villages, the Indus having left its proper channel, was diverted into another, on the left hand much deeper, and precipitated itself into it like a cataract so that it no longer watered the country by the usual inundation on the right hand, from which it had receded, and this was elevated above the level, not only of the new channel of the river, but above that of the (new) inundation.

advance southwards till they had overrun in succession Eastern Baktriana, the basin of the Kôphês, the basin of the Etymander with Arakhôsia, and finally the valley of the Indus and Syrastrênê. This great horde of the Yetha was divided into several tribes, whereof the most powerful was that called in the Chinese annals Kwei-shwang. It acquired the supremacy over the other tribes, and gave its name to the kingdom of the Yetha. They are identical with the Kushâns. The great King Kanishka, who was converted to Buddhism and protected that faith was a Kushan. He reigned in the first century of the Christian æra and ruled from Baktriana to Kaśmîr, and from the Oxus to Surâshṭra. These Kushans of the Panjâb and the Indus are no others than the Indo-Skythians of the Greeks. In the *Râjataraṅgiṇî* they are called Sâka and Turushka (Turks). Their prosperity could not have been of very long duration, for the author of the *Periplûs*, who wrote about half a century after Kanishka's time mentions that "Minnagar the metropolis of Skythia was governed by Parthian princes" and this statement is confirmed by Parthian coins being found everywhere in this part of the country. Max Müller, in noticing that the presence of Turanian tribes in India as recorded by Chinese historians is fully confirmed by coins and inscriptions and the traditional history of the country such as it is, adds that nothing attests the presence of these tribes more clearly than the blank in the Brahmanical literature of India from the first century before to the 3rd after our æra. He proposes therefore to divide Sanskrit literature into two—the one (which he would call the ancient and natural) *before*, and the other (which he would call the modern and artificial) *after* the Turanian invasion. In his Indo-Skythia Ptolemy includes Patalênê, Abiria and Syrastrênê. The name does not occur in Roman authors.

Patalênê, so called from its capital Patala, was the delta at the mouth of the Indus. It was not quite so large as the Egyptian delta with which the classical writers frequently compare it. Before its conquest by the Skythians it had been subject to the Græco-Baktrian kings. Its reduction to their authority is attributed by Strabo (lib. XI, c. xii, 1) to Menander or to Dêmetrios, the son of Euthydêmos.

Abiria:—The country of the Abhîras (the Ahirs of common speech) lay to the east of the Indus, above where it bifurcates to form the delta. In Sanskrit works their name is employed to designate generally the pastoral tribes that inhabit the lower districts of the North-West as far as Sindh. That Abiria is the Ophir of Scripture is an opinion that has been maintained by scholars of eminence.

Syrastrênê represents the Sanskrit Surâshṭra (the modern Sorath) which is the name in the *Mahâbhârata* and the *Purâṇas* for the Peninsula of Gujarât. In after times it was called Valabhî. Pliny (lib. VI, c. xx) in his enumeration of the tribes of this part of India mentions the Horatae, who have, he says, a fine city, defended by marshes, wherein are kept man-eating crocodiles that prevent all entrance except by a single bridge. The name of this people is no doubt a corruption of Soraṭh. They have an inveterate propensity to sound the letter *S* as an *H*.

Ptolemy distributes into six groups the names of the 41 places which he specifies as belonging to the Indus valley and its neighbourhood. The towns of the second group indicate by their relative positions that they were successive stages on the great caravan route which ran parallel with the western bank of the river all the way from the Kôphês junction downward to the coast. The towns of the fourth group were in like manner successive stages on another caravan route, that which on the eastern side of the river traversed the country from the great confluence with the combined rivers of the Panjâb downward to the Delta. The towns of the first group (5 in number) belonged to the upper part of the valley, and were situated near the Kôphês junction. They are mentioned in a list by themselves, as they did not lie on the great line of communication above mentioned. The third group consists of the two towns which were the chief marts of commerce in the Delta. The towns of the fifth group (7 in number) lay at distances more or less considerable from the eastern side of the Delta. The towns of the sixth group were included in the territory of the Khatriaioi, which extended on both sides of the river from its confluence with the Panjâb rivers as far as the Delta. None of them can now be identified (See *Étude*, pp. 234 sqq.) and of the first group—Artoarta, Sabana, Kodrana cannot be identified.

Andrapana:—Cunningham (p. 86) thinks this is probably Draband, or Derâband, near Dera-Ismail-Khân.

Banagara (for Bana-nagara):—Banna or Banu is often cited as the name of a town and a district that lay on the line of communication between Kâbul and the Indus It was visited both by Fa-Hian and Hiuen-Tsiang. The former calls the country Po-na, *i.e.*, Bana. The latter calls it Fa-la-na, whence Cunningham conjectures that the original name was Varana or Barna

It consisted of the lower half of the valley of the Kuram river, and was distant from Lamghân a 15 days' journey southward It is one of the largest, richest and most populous districts to the west of the Indus.—(See *Geog. of Anc. Ind.*, pp. 84-86).

57. And along the river :—

Embolima	124°	31°
Pentagramma	124°	30° 20′
Asigramma	123°	29° 30′
Tiausa	121° 30′	28° 50′
Aristobathra	120°	27° 30′
Azika	119° 20′	27°
58. Pardabathra	117°	23° 30
Piska	116° 30′	25°
Pasipêda	114° 30′	24°
Sousikana	112°	22° 20′
Bônis	111°	21° 30′
Kôlaka	110° 30′	20° 40′

Embolima was situated on the Indus at a point about 60 miles above Aṭṭak, where the river escapes with great impetuosity from a long and narrow gorge, which the ancients mistook for its source. Here, on the western bank, rises the fort of Amb, now in ruins, crowning a position of remarkable strength, and facing the small town of Derbend, which lies on the opposite side of the river. The name of Amb suggested that it might represent the first part of the name of Emb-olima, and this supposition was raised to certitude when it was discovered that another ruin not far off, crowning a pinnacle of the same hill on which Amb is seated, preserves to this day in the tradition of the inhabitants the name of Balimah. Embolima is mentioned by Arrian (lib. IV, c. xxvii) who represents it as situated at no great distance from the rock of Aornos—which as Abbott has shown, was Mount Mahâban, a hill abutting on the western bank of the Indus, about eight miles west from Embolima. It is called by Curtius Ecbolima (*Anab.* lib. VIII, c. xii) but he gives its position wrongly—at sixteen days' march from the Indus. Ptolemy assigns to it the same latitude and longitude which he assigns to the point where the Kâbul river and Indus unite. It was erroneously supposed that Embolima was a word of Greek origin from ἐκβολή, 'the mouth of a river' conf. Cunningham, *Geog. of Anc. Ind*, pp. 52 ff).

Pentagramma:—To the north of the Kôphês at a distance of about forty miles S.W. from Embolima is a place called Panjpûr, which agrees closely both in its position and the signification of its name (5 towns) with the Pentagramma of Ptolemy.

Asigramma and the five towns that come after it cannot be identified.

Pasipêda:—Saint-Martin thinks this may be the Besmeid of the Arab Geographers, which, as they tell us was a town of considerable importance, lying east of the Indus on the route from Mansûra to Multân. Its name is not to be found in any existing map; but as the Arab itineraries all concur in placing it between Rond (now Roda) and Multân, at a three days' journey from the former, and a two days' journey from the latter, we may determine its situation to have been as far down the river as Mithankôṭ, where the great confluence now takes place. If the fact that Besmeid was on the eastern side of the river staggers our faith in this identification, Saint-Martin would remind us that this part of the tables is far from presenting us with a complete or systematic treatment of the subject, and that the only way open to us of restoring some part at least of these lists is to have recourse to synonyms. He contends that when we find in the Arab itineraries (which are documents of the same nature precisely as those which Ptolemy made use of) names resembling each other placed in corresponding directions, we ought to attach more weight to such coincidences than to the contradictions real, or apparent, which present themselves in the text of our author. Analogous transpositions occur in other lists, as, for instance, in the list of places in the Narmadâ basin. Cunningham, thinking it strange that a notable place of great antiquity like Sehwân, which he identifies with Sindomana, should not be mentioned by Ptolemy under any recognizable name, hazards the conjecture that it may be either his Piska or Pasipêda. "If we take," he says, "Haidarâbâd as the most probable head of the Delta in ancient times, then Ptolemy's Sydros, which is on the eastern bank of the Indus, may perhaps be identified with the old site of Mattali, 12 miles above Haidarâbâd, and his Pasipêda with Sehwan The identification of Ptolemy's Oskana with the Oxykanus or Portikanus of Alexander and with the great mound of Mahorta of the present day is I think almost certain. If so, either Piska or Pasipêda must be Sehwân."

Sousikana:—It is generally agreed that this is a corrupt reading for Musikana, the royal city of Musikanos, who figures so conspicuously in the records of the Makedonian Invasion, and whose kingdom was described to Alexander as being the richest and most populous in all India. Cunningham (p. 257) identifies this place with Alor, which was for many ages the capital of the powerful kingdom of Upper Sindh. Its ruins, as he informs us, are situated to the south of a gap in the low range of limestone hills which stretches

southwards from Bakhar for about 20 miles until it is lost in the broad belt of sand-hills which bound the Nâra or old bed of the Indus on the west. Through this gap a branch of the Indus once flowed which protected the city on the north-west. To the north-east it was covered by a second branch of the river which flowed nearly at right angles to the other at a distance of three miles. When Alôr was deserted by the river, it was supplanted by the strong fort of Bakhar (p. 258). The same author thinks it probable that Alôr may be the Binagara of Ptolemy, as it is placed on the Indus to the eastward of Oskana, which appears to be the Oxykanus of Arrian and Curtius.

Bônis:—The table places this at the point of bifurcation of the western mouth of the river and an interior arm of it. Arab geographers mention a town called Bania in Lower Sindh, situated at the distance of a single journey below Mansurâ. This double indication would appear to suit very well with Banna, which stands at the point where the Piniarî separates from the principal arm about 25 miles above Thattha. Its position is however on the eastern bank of the river. (*Etude*, pp 238, 239.)

Kôlaka or Kôlala is probably identical with the Krôkala of Arrian's *Indika* (sec. 21), which mentions it as a small sandy island where the fleet of Nearkhos remained at anchor for one day. It lay in the bay of Karâchi, which is situated in a district called Karkalla even now.

59. And in the islands formed by the river are these towns:—

Patala	112° 30′	21°
Barbarei	113° 15′	22° 30′

60. And east of the river at some distance therefrom are these towns:—

Xodrakê	116°	24°
Sarbana	116°	22° 50′
Auxoamis	115° 30′	22° 20′
Asinda	114° 15′	22°
Orbadarou or Ordabari	115°	22°
Theophila	114° 15′	21° 10′
Astakapra	114° 40′	20° 15′

Patala as we learn from Arrian was the greatest city in the parts of the country about the mouths of the Indus. It was situated, he expressly states, at the head of the Delta where the two great arms of the Indus dispart. This indication would of itself have sufficed for its identification, had the river continued to flow in its ancient channels. It has, however, frequently changed its course, and from time to time shifted the point of bifurcation. Hence the question regarding the site of Patala has occasioned much controversy. Rennell and Vincent, followed by Burnes and Ritter, placed it at Thattha; Droysen, Benfey, Saint-Martin and Cunningham, at Haidarâbâd (the Nirankot of Arab writers), and McMurdo, followed by Wilson and Lassen, at a place about 90 miles to the north-east of Haidarâbâd. The last supposition is quite untenable, while the arguments in favour of Haidarâbâd, which at one time was called Pâtalapur[35] appear to be quite conclusive. (See Saint-Martin, pp 180 ff., Cunningham, pp. 279—287). Patala figures conspicuously in the history of the Makedonian invasion. In its spacious docks Alexander found suitable accommodation for his fleet which had descended the Indus, and here he remained with it for a considerable time. Seeing how advantageously it was situated for strategy as well as commerce, he strengthened it with a citadel, and made it a military centre for controlling the warlike tribes in its neighbourhood. Before finally leaving India he made two excursions from it to the ocean, sailing first down the western and then down the eastern arm of the river. Pâtâla in Sanskrit mythology was the name of the lowest of the seven regions in the interior of the earth, and hence may have been applied to denote generally the parts where the sun descends into the under world, the land of the west, as in contrast to Prâchayaka, the land of the east. *Pâtala* in Sanskrit means 'the trumpet-flower,' and Cunningham thinks that the Delta may have been so called from some resemblance in its shape to that of this flower. The classic writers generally spell the name as Pattala.

Barbarei:—The position of Barbarei, like that of Patala, has been the subject of much discussion. The table of Ptolemy places it to the north of that city, but erroneously, since Barbarei was a maritime port. It is mentioned in the *Periplûs* under the name of Barbarikon, as situated on the middle mouth of the Indus. D'Anville in opposition to all the data placed it at Debal Sindhi, the great emporium of the Indus during the middle ages, or at Karâchi, while Elliot, followed by Cunningham, placed it at an ancient city, of which some ruins are still to be found, called Bambhara, and situated almost midway between Karâchi and Thattha on the old western branch of the river which Alexander reconnoitred. Burnes again, followed by Ritter, placed it at Richel,

[35] "The Brahmans of Sehvân have stated to us that according to local legends recorded in their Sanskrit books Kaboul is the ancient *Chichapalapoura*; Multân, Prahlâdpur; Tattah, Dêval, Haidarâbâd, Nêran, and more anciently Pâtalpuri." Dr. J. Wilson, *Journ. Bombay Asiat. Soc.*, vol. III, 1850, p. 77.

and Saint-Martin a little further still to the east at Bandar Vikkar on the Hajamari mouth, which has at several periods been the main channel of the river.

Xodrakê and Sarbana or Sardana:—As the towns in this list are given in their order from north to south, and as Astakapra, the most southern, was situated on the coast of the peninsula of Gujarât, right opposite the mouth of the river Narmadâ, the position of Xodrakê and the other places in the list must be sought for in the neighbourhood of the Ran of Kachh. Xodrakê and Sarbana have not been identified, but Yule doubtingly places the latter on the Sambhar Lake. Lassen takes Xodrake to be the capital of the Xudraka, and locates it in the corner of land between the Vitastâ and Chandrabhâgâ (*Ind. Alt.* vol. III, p. 145).

Asinda, according to Saint-Martin, may perhaps be Sidhpur (Siddhapura), a town on the river Sarasvatî, which rising in the Âravalîs empties into the Gulf of Kachh (pp. 246-247).

Auxoamis or Axumis:—The same authority would identify this with Sûmî, a place of importance and seat of a Muhammadan chief, lying a little to the east of the Sarasvatî and distant about twenty-five miles from the sea. Yule however suggests that Ajmir may be its modern representation.

Orbadarou or Ordabari:—Yule doubtfully identifies this with Arbuda or Mount Abû, the principal summit of the Âravalîs Pliny mentions alongside of the Horatae (in Gujarât) the Odomboerae which may perhaps be a different form of the same word. The name Udumbara is one well-known in Sanskrit antiquity, and designated a royal race mentioned in the *Harivaṅśa*.

Theophila.—This is a Greek compound meaning 'dear to God,' and is no doubt a translation of some indigenous name. Lassen has suggested that of Sardhur, in its Sanskrit form Surâdara, which means 'adoration of the gods.' Sardhur is situated in a valley of the Rêvata mountains so celebrated in the legends of Krishṇa. Yule suggests Dewaliya, a place on the isthmus, which connects the peninsula with the mainland; Dr. Burgess, Thân, the chief town of a district traditionally known as Deva-Pañchâl, lying a little further west than Dewaliya. Col. Watson writes:—"The only places I can think of for Theophila are—1. Gûndi, the ancient Gundigaḍh, one and a half or two miles further up the Hathap river, of which city Hastakavapra was the port. This city was one of the halting-places of the Bhaunagar Brâhmaṇs ere they came to Gogha. It was no doubt by them considered dear to the gods. It was connected with Hastakavapra and was a city of renown and ancient. 2. Pardwa or Priyadêva, an old village about four or five miles west of Hathap. It is said to have been contemporary with Valabhî, and there is an ancient Jain temple there, and it is said that the Jains of Gundigaḍh had their chief temple there. 3. Dêvagana, an ancient village at the foot of the west slopes of the Khôkras about 18 miles from Hâthap to the westward."

Astakapra:—This is mentioned in the *Periplûs* (sec. 41), as being near a promontory on the eastern side of the peninsula which directly confronted the mouth of the Narmadâ on the opposite side of the gulf. It has been satisfactorily identified with Hastakavapra, a name which occurs in a copper-plate grant of Dhruvasêna I, of Valabhî, and which is now represented by Hathab near Bhavnagar. Buhler thinks that the Greek form is not derived immediately from the Sanskrit, but from an intermediate old Prakṛit word Hastakampra. (See *Ind. Ant.*, vol. V, pp. 204, 314.

61. Along the river are these towns:—

Panasa	122° 30′	29°
Boudaia	121° 15′	28° 15′
Naagramma	120°	27°
Kamigara	119°	26° 20′
Binagara	118°	25° 20′
Parabali	116° 30′	24° 30′
Sydros	114°	21° 20′
Epitausa	113° 45′	22° 30′
Xoana	113° 30′	21° 30′

Panasa:—The table places Panasa one degree farther south than the confluence of the Zarados and the Indus. Ptolemy, as we have seen, egregiously misplaced this confluence, and we cannot therefore from this indication learn more than that Panasa must have been situated lower down the Indus than Pasipêda (Besmaïd) and Alexandria of the Malli which lay near the confluence. A trace of its name Saint-Martin thinks is preserved in that of Osanpur, a town on the left of the river, 21 miles below Mittankôt.

Boudaia:—According to Saint-Martin this is very probably the same place as a fort of Budhya or Bodhpur, mentioned in the Arab chronicles of the conquest of Upper Sindh and situated probably between Alôr and Mittankôṭ. Yule identifies it with Budhia, a place to the west of the Indus and south from the Bolan Pass.

Naagramma:—This Yule identifies with Naoshera, a place about 20 miles to the south of Besmaïd. Both words mean the same, 'new town.'

Kamigara:—The ruins of Arôr which are visible at a distance of four miles to the south-east of Kori, are still known in the neighbourhood under

the name of Kaman. If to this word we add the common Indian affix *nagar*—'city,' we have a near approach to the Kamigara of Ptolemy.

Binagara:—This some take to be a less correct form than Minnagar given in the *Periplûs*, where it is mentioned as the metropolis of Skythia, but under the government of Parthian princes, who were constantly at feud with each other for the supremacy. Its position is very uncertain. Cunningham would identify it with Alôr. Yule, following McMurdo, places it much further south near Brâhmanâbâd, which is some distance north from Haidarâbâd. The *Periplûs* states that it lay in the interior above Barbarikon (sec. 38).

Xoana:—Yule suggests that this may be Sewana, a place in the country of the Bhauliṅgas, between the desert and the Arâvalîs.

62. The parts east of Indo-Skythia along the coast belong to the country of Larike, and here in the interior to the west of the river Namados is a mart of commerce, the city of

Barygaza	113° 15′	17° 20′

63. To the east of the river:—

Agrinagara	118° 15′	22° 30′
Siripalla	118° 30′	21° 30′
Bammogoura	116°	20° 45′
Sazantion	115° 30′	20° 30′
Zêrogerei	116° 20′	19° 50′
Ozênê, the capital of Tiastanes	117°	20°
Minagara	115° 10′	19° 30′
Tiatoura	115° 50′	18° 50′
Nasika	114°	17°

Larikê:—Lârdêsa was an early name for the territory of Gujarât and the Northern Koṅkaṇ. The name long survived, for the sea to the west of that coast was in the early Muḥammadan time called the sea of Lâr, and the language spoken on its shores was called by Mas'ûdi, Lâri (Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. II, p. 353, n.). Ptolemy's Larikê was a political rather than a geographical division and as such comprehended in addition to the part of the sea-board to which the name was strictly applicable, an extensive inland territory, rich in agricultural and commercial products, and possessing large and flourishing towns, acquired no doubt by military conquest.

Barygaza, now Bharôch, which is still a large city, situated about 30 miles from the sea on the north side of the river Narmadâ, and on an elevated mound supposed to be artificial, raised about 80 feet above the level of the sea. The place is repeatedly mentioned in the *Periplûs*. At the time when that work was written, it was the greatest seat of commerce in Western India, and the capital of a powerful and flourishing state. The etymology of the name is thus explained by Dr. John Wilson (*Indian Castes*, vol. II, p. 113): "The Bhârgavas derive their designation from Bhârgava, the adjective form of Bhṛigu, the name of one of the ancient Ṛishis. Their chief habitat is the district of Bharôch, which must have got its name from a colony of the school of Bhṛigu having been early established in this Kshêtra, probably granted to them by some conqueror of the district. In the name Barugaza given to it by Ptolemy, we have a Greek corruption of Bhṛigukshêtra (the territory of Bhṛigu) or Bhṛigukachha, 'the tongue-land' of Bhṛigu." The illiterate Gujarâtis pronounce Bhṛigukshêtra as Bargacha, and hence the Greek form of the name.

Agrinagara:—This means 'the town of the Agri.' Yule places it at Âgar, about 30 miles to the N. E. of Ujjain.

Siripalla:—A place of this name (spelt Sêripala) has already been mentioned as situated where the Namados (Narmadâ) changes the direction of its course. Lassen therefore locates it in the neighbourhood of Haump, where the river turns to southward.

Bammogoura:—In Yule's map this is identified with Pavangar, a hill to the north of the Narmadâ.

Sazantion:—This may perhaps be identical with Sujintra, a small place some distance north from the upper extremity of the Bay of Khambât.

Zêrogerei:—This is referred by Yule to Dhâr, a place S. W. of Ozênê, about one degree.

Ozênê:—This is a transliteration of Ujjayinî, the Sanskrit name of the old and famous city of Avanti, still called Ujjain. It was the capital of the celebrated Vikramâditya, who having expelled the Skythians and thereafter established his power over the greater part of India, restored the Hindû monarchy to its ancient splendour. It was one of the seven sacred cities of the Hindûs, and the first meridian of their astronomers. We learn from the *Mahâvaṅśa* that Âsha, the grandson of Chandragupta (Sandrakottos) was sent by his father the king of Pâṭaliputra (Patna) to be the viceroy of Ujjain, and also that about a century and a half later (B.C. 157) a certain Buddhist high priest took with him 40,000 disciples from the Dakkhinagiri temple at Ujjain to Ceylon to assist there in laying the foundation stone of the great temple at Anurâdhapura. A century later than this is the date of the expulsion of the Skythians by Vikramâditya, which forms the æra in Indian Chronology called *Saṁvat* (57 B.C.) The next

notice of Ujjain is to be found in the *Periplûs* where we read (Sec. 48) "Eastward from Barygaza is a city called Ozênê, formerly the capital where the king resided. From this place is brought down to Barygaza every commodity for local consumption or export to other parts of India, onyx-stones, porcelain, fine muslins, mallow-tinted cottons and the ordinary kinds in great quantities. It imports from the upper country through Proklaïs for transport to the coast, spikenard, kostos and bdellium." From this we see that about a century and a half after Vikramâditya's æra Ujjain was still a flourishing city, though it had lost something of its former importance and dignity from being no longer the residence of the sovereign. The ancient city no longer exists, but its ruins can be traced at the distance of a mile from its modern successor. Ptolemy tells us that in his time Ozênê was the capital of Tiastanês. This name transliterates Chashṭâna, one which is found on coins and the cave temple inscriptions of Western India. This prince appears probably to have been the founder of the Kashtrapa dynasty of Western India (see *Ind. Alt.*, vol. III, p. 171).

Minagara is mentioned in the *Periplûs*, where its name is more correctly given as Minnagar, *i.e.*, 'the city of the Min' or Skythians. This Minagara appears to have been the residence of the sovereign of Barygaza. Ptolemy places it about 2 degrees to the S. W. of Ozênê. Yule remarks that it is probably the Manekir of Mas'ûdi, who describes it as a city lying far inland and among mountains. Benfey doubts whether there were in reality two cities of this name, and thinks that the double mention of Minnagar in the *Periplûs* is quite compatible with the supposition that there was but one city so called. (*Indien*, p. 91).

Tiatoura:—This would transliterate with Chittur, which, however, lies too far north for the position assigned to Tiatoura. Yule suggests, but doubtingly, its identity with Chandur. This however lies much too far south.

Nasika has preserved its name unaltered to the present day, distant 116 miles N. E. from Bombay. Its latitude is 20° N., but in Ptolemy only 17°. It was one of the most sacred seats of Brâhmaṇism. It has also important Buddhistic remains, being noted for a group of rock-temples. The word *nâsikâ* means in Sanskrit 'nose.'

64. The parts farther inland are possessed by the Poulindai Agriophagoi, and beyond them are the Khatriaioi, to whom belong these cities, lying some east and some west of the Indus:—

Nigranigramma	124°	28° 15′
Antakhara	122°	27° 20′
Soudasanna	123°	26° 50′
Syrnisika	121°	26° 30′
Patistama	121°	25°
Tisapatinga	123°	24° 20′

The 'Poulindai' Agriophagoi are described as occupying the parts northward of those just mentioned. Pulinda is a name applied in Hindû works to a variety of aboriginal races. Agriophagoi is a Greek epithet, and indicates that the Pulinda was a tribe that subsisted on raw flesh and roots or wild fruits. In Yule's map they are located to the N. E. of the Raṇ, lying between the Khatriaioi in the north and Larikê in the south. Another tribe of this name lived about the central parts of the Vindhyas.

Khatriaioi:—According to Greek writers the people that held the territory comprised between the Hydraôtês (Râvî) and the Hyphasis (Biyas) were the Kathaioi, whose capital was Sangala. The *Mahâbhârata*, and the Pâli Buddhist works speak of Sangala as the capital of the Madras, a powerful people often called also the Bâhîkas. Lassen, in order to explain the substitution of name, supposes that the mixture of the Madras with the inferior castes had led them to assume the name of Khattrias (Kshatriya, the warrior caste), in token of their degradation, but this is by no means probable. The name is still found spread over an immense area in the N. W. of India, from the Hindû-kôh as far as Bengal, and from Nêpâl to Gujarât, under forms slightly variant, Kathîs, Kattis, Kathîas, Kattris, Khatris, Khetars, Kattaour, Kattair, Kattaks, and others. One of these tribes, the Kâṭhis, issuing from the lower parts of Panjâb, established themselves in Surâshṭra, and gave the name of Kâṭhiâvad to the great peninsula of Gujarât. (*Etude*, p. 104).

The six towns mentioned in section 64 can none of them be identified.

65. But again, the country between Mount Sardônyx and Mount Bêttigô belongs to the Tabasoi, a great race, while the country beyond them as far as the Vindhya range, along the eastern bank of the Namados, belongs to the Prapiôtai, who include the Rhamnai, and whose towns are these:—

Kognabanda	120° 15′	23°
Ozoabis	120° 30′	23° 40′
Ostha	122° 30′	23° 30′
Kôsa, where are diamonds	121° 20′	22° 30′

Tabasoi is not an ethnic name, but designates a community of religious ascetics, and represents the Sanskrit *Tâpasâs*, from *tapas* 'heat' or 'religious austerity.' The haunts of

these devotees may be assigned to the valley of the Târtî or Târî (the Nanagouna of Ptolemy) to the south of the more western portion of the Vindhyas that produced the sardonyx.

Prapiôtai:—Lassen locates this people, including the subject race called the Rhamnai, in the upper half of the Narmadâ valley. From the circumstance that diamonds were found near Kôsa, one of their towns, he infers that their territory extended as far as the Upper Varadâ, where diamond mines were known to have existed. Kôsa was probably situated in the neighbourhood of Baital, north of the sources of the Târtî and the Varadâ.

Rhamṇai:—The name of this people is one of the oldest in Indian ethnography. Their early seat was in the land of the Ôreîtai and Arabitai beyond the Indus, where they had a capital called Rhambakia. As they were connected by race with the Brahui, whose speech must be considered as belonging to the Dekhan group of languages, we have here, says Lassen (*Ind. Alt.* vol. III, p. 174), a fresh proof confirming the view that before the arrival of the Aryans all India, together with Gedrôsia, was inhabited by the tribes of the same widely diffused aboriginal race, and that the Rhamnai, who had at one time been settled in Gedrôsia, had wandered thence as far as the Vindhya mountains. Yule conjectures that the Rhamnai may perhaps be associated with Râmagiri, now Râmtek, a famous holy place near Nâgpûr. The towns of the Prapiôtai, four in number, cannot with certainty be identified.

66. About the Nanagouna are the Phyllitai and the Bêttigoi, including the Kandaloi along the country of the Phyllitai and the river, and the Ambastai along the country of the Bêttigoi and the mountain range, and the following towns:—

67. Agara	129° 20′	25°
Adeisathra	128° 30′	24° 30′
Soara	124° 20′	24°
Nygdosora	125°	23°
Anara	122° 30′	22° 20′

The Phyllitai occupied the banks of the Târtî lower down than the Rhamnai, and extended northward to the Sâtpura range. Lassen considers their name as a transliteration of Bhilla, with an appended Greek termination. The Bhîls are a well-known wild tribe spread to this day not only on the Upper Narmadâ and the parts of the Vindhya chain adjoining, but wider still towards the south and west. In Ptolemy's time their seats appear to have been further to the east than at present. Yule thinks it not impossible that the Phyllitai and the Drilophyllitai may represent the Puḷinda, a name which, as has already been stated, is given in Hindû works to a variety of aboriginal races. According to Caldwell (*Drav. Gram.*, p. 464) the name *Bhilla* (*vil, bil*) means 'a bow.'

Bêttigoi is the correct reading, and if the name denotes, as it is natural to suppose, the people living near Mount Bêttigô, then Ptolemy has altogether displaced them, for their real seats were in the country between the Koimbatur Gap and the southern extremity of the Peninsula.

Kandaloi:—Lassen suspects that the reading here should be Gondaloi, as the Gonds (who are nearly identical with the Khands) are an ancient race that belonged to the parts here indicated. Yule, however, points out that Kuntaladêśa and the Kantalas appear frequently in lists and in inscriptions. The country was that, he adds, of which Kalyâṇ was in after days the capital (Elliot, *Jour. R. As. S.* vol. IV, p. 3).

Ambastai:—These represent the Ambashṭha of Sanskrit, a people mentioned in the Epics, where it is said that they fought with the club for a weapon. In the *Laws of Manu* the name is applied to one of the mixed castes which practised the healing art. A people called Ambautai are mentioned by our author as settled in the east of the country of the Paropanisadai. Lassen thinks these may have been connected in some way with the Ambastai. Their locality is quite uncertain. In Yule's map they are placed doubtfully to the south of the sources of the Mahânadî of Orissa.

Of the four towns, Agara, Soara, Nygdosora and Anara, in section 67, nothing is known.

Adeisathra:—It would appear that there were two places in Ancient India which bore the name of Ahichhattra, the one called by Ptolemy Adisdara (for Adisadra), and the other as here, Adeisathra. Adisdara, as has been already shown, was a city of Rohilkhand. Adeisathra, on the other hand, lay near to the centre of India. Yule quotes authorities which seem to place it, he says, near the Vindhyas or the Narmadâ. He refers also to an inscription which mentions it as on the Sindhu River, which he takes to be either the Kâli-sindh of Mâlwâ, or the Little Kâli-sindh further west, which seems to be the Sindhu of the *Mêghadûta*. Ptolemy, singularly enough, disjoins Adeisathra from the territory of the Adeisathroi, where we would naturally expect him to place it. Probably, as Yule remarks, he took the name of the people from some Pauranik ethnic list and the name of the city from a traveller's route, and thus failed to make them fall into proper relation to each other.

68. Between Mount Bêttigô and Adeisathros are the Sôrai nomads, with these towns :—

Sangamarta	133°	21°
Sôra, the capital of Arkatos	130°	21°

69. Again to the east of the Vindhya range is the territory of the (Biolingai or) Bôlingai, with these towns :—

Stagabaza or Bastagaza	133°	28° 30′
Bardaôtis	137° 30′	28° 30′

Sôra designates the northern portion of the Tamiḻ country. The name in Sanskrit is Chôla, in Telugu Choḷa, but in Tamiḻ Sôṛa or Chôṛa. Sôṛa is called the capital of Arkatos. This must be an error, for there can be little doubt that Arkatos was not the name of a prince, but of a city, the Ârkâḍ of the present day. This is so suitably situated, Caldwell remarks, as to suggest at once this identification, apart even from the close agreement as far as the sound is concerned. The name is properly Âr-kâḍ, and means 'the six forests.' The Hindûs of the place regard it as an ancient city, although it is not mentioned by name in the *Purâṇas* (*Drav. Gram.*, Introd. pp. 95, 96). There is a tradition that the inhabitants of that part of the country between Madras and the Ghâts including Ârkâḍ as its centre were Kuṛumbars, or wandering shepherds, for several centuries after the Christian æra. Cunningham takes Arkatos to be the name of a prince, and inclines to identify Sôra with Zora or Jora (the Jorampur of the maps) an old town lying immediately under the walls of Karnul. The Sôrai he takes to be the Suari (*Geog*. p. 547).

Biolingai or Bôlingai:—Ptolemy has transplanted this people from their proper seats, which lay where the Arâvali range slopes westward towards the Indus, and placed them to the east of the Vindhyas. He has left us however the means of correcting his error, for he makes them next neighbours to the Pôrvaroi, whose position can be fixed with some certainty. Pliny (lib. VI, c. xx) mentions the Bolingae and locates them properly. According to Pâṇini, Bhauliṅgi was the seat of one of the branches of the great tribe of the Śalvas or Śâlvas.

Stagabaza:—Yule conjectures this may be Bhôjapûr, which he says was a site of extreme antiquity, on the upper stream of the Bêtwâ, where are remains of vast hydraulic works ascribed to a king Bhôja (*J. A. S. Beng.* vol. XVI, p. 740). To account for the first part of the name *staga* he suggests the query: Taṭaka-Bhôja, the 'tank' or 'lake' of Bhoja?

Bardaôtis:—This may be taken to represent the Sanskrit Bhadravatî, a name, says Yule, famed in the Epic legends, and claimed by many cities. Cunningham, he adds, is disposed to identify it with the remarkable remains (pre-Ptolemaic) discovered at Bharâod, west of Rêwâ.

70. Beyond these is the country of the Pôrouaroi with these towns :—

Bridama	134° 30′	27° 30′
Tholoubana	136° 20′	27°
Malaita	136° 30′	25° 50′

71. Beyond these as far as the Ouxentos range are the Adeisathroi with these towns :—

Maleiba	140°	27° 20′
Aspathis	138° 30′	25° 20′
Panassa	137° 40′	24° 30′
Sagêda, the Metropolis	133°	23° 30′
Balantipyrgon	136° 30′	23° 30′

Pôrouaroi (Pôrvaroi):—This is the famous race of the Pauravas, which after the time of Alexander was all predominant in Râjasthâna under the name of the Pramâras. The race figures conspicuously both in the legendary and real history of the North of India. It is mentioned in the hymns of the *Veda*, and frequently in the *Mahâbhârata*, where the first kings of the Lunar race are represented as being Pauravas that reigned over the realms included between the Upper Ganges and the Yamunâ. The later legends are silent concerning them, but they appear again in real history and with fresh distinction, for the gallant Pôros, who so intrepidly contended against Alexander on the banks of the Hydaspês, was the chief of a branch of the Paurava whose dominions lay to the west of that river, and that other Pôros who went on an embassy to Augustus and boasted himself to be the lord paramount of 600 vassal kings was also of the same exalted lineage. Even at the present day some of the noblest houses reigning in different parts of Râjasthân claim to be descended from the Pauravas, while the songs of the national bards still extol the vanished grandeur and the power and glory of this ancient race. Saint-Martin locates the Pôrouaroi of the text in the west of Upper India, in the very heart of the Râjpût country, though the table would lead us to place them much farther to the east. In the position indicated the name even of the Pôrouaroi is found almost without alteration in the Purvar of the inscriptions, in the Pôravars of the Jain clans, as much as in the designation spread everywhere of Povars and of Pouârs, forms variously altered, but still closely approaching the classic Paurava. (*Étude*, pp. 357 sqq.)

The names of the three towns assigned to the Pôrvaroi,—Bridama, Tholoubana and Malaita designate obscure localities, and their position can but be conjectured. Saint-Martin suggests that the first may be Dildana, the second Doblana, and the third Plaita, all being places in Râjputâna. Yule, however, for Bridama proposes Bardâwaḍ, a place in a straight line from Indôr to Nimach, and for Malaita,—Maltaun; this place is in the British territory of Sagâr and Narmadâ, on the south declivity of the Naral Pass.

Adeisathroi:—It has already been pointed out that as Ptolemy has assigned the sources of the Khabêris (the Kâvêrî) to his Mount Adeisathros, we must identify that range with the section of the Western Ghâṭs which extends immediately northward from the Koimbatur Gap. He places Adeisathros however in the central parts of India, and here accordingly we must look for the cities of the eponymous people. Five are mentioned, but Sagêda only, which was the metropolis, can be identified with some certainty. The name represents the Sâkêta of Sanskrit. Sâkêta was another name for Ayôdhyâ on the Sarayû, a city of vast extent and famous as the capital of the kings of the Solar race and as the residence for some years of Śâkyamuni, the founder of Buddhism. The Sagêda of our text was however a different city, identified by Dr. F. Hall with Têwar, near Jabalpûr, the capital of the Chêdi, a people of Bandêlakhand renowned in Epic poetry. Cunningham thinks it highly probable that the old form of the name of this people was Chaṅgêdi and may be preserved in the Sagêda of Ptolemy and in the Chi-ki-tho of Hiuen Tsiang in Central India, near the Narmadâ. He says:—"The identification which I have proposed of Ptolemy's Sagêda Metropolis with Chêdi appears to me to be almost certain. In the first place, Sagêda is the capital of the Adeisathroi which I take to be a Greek rendering of Hayakshêtra or the country of the Hayas or Haihayas. It adjoins the country of the Bêttigoi, whom I would identify with the people of Vakâṭaka, whose capital was Bhândak. One of the towns in their country, situated near the upper course of the Sôn, is named Balantipyrgon, or Balampyrgon. This I take to be the famous Fort of Bândogaṛh, which we know formed part of the Chêdi dominions. To the north-east was Panassa, which most probably preserves the name of some town on the Parṇâsâ or Banâs River, a tributary which joins the Sôn to the north-east of Bândogaṛh. To the north of the Adeisathroi, Ptolemy places the Pôrouaroi or Parihârs, in their towns named Tholoubana, Bridama, and Malaita. The first I would identify with Boriban (Bahuriband) by reading Oöloubana or Voloubana. The second must be Bilhâri; and the last may be Lameta, which gives its name to the Ghâṭ on the Narmadâ, opposite Têwar, and may thus stand for Tripura itself. All these identifications hold so well together, and mutually support each other, that I have little doubt of their correctness." *Archæolog. Surv. of Ind.* vol. IX, pp 55—57.

Panassa:—This in Yule's map is doubtfully placed at Panna, a decaying town in Bandelakhand with diamond mines in the neighbourhood. In the same map Baland is suggested as the representative of Balantipyrgon.

72. Farther east than the Adeisathroi towards the Ganges are the Mandalai with this city:—

Asthagoura	142°	25°

73. And on the river itself these towns:—

Sambalaka	141°	29° 30′
Sigalla	142°	28°
Palimbothra, the Royal residence	143°	27°
Tamalitês	144° 30′	26° 30′
Oreophanta	146° 30′	24° 30′

74. In like manner the parts under Mount Bêttigô are occupied by the Brakhmanai Magoi as far as the Batai with this city:—

Brakhmê	128°	19°

75. The parts under the range of Adeisathros as far as the Arouraioi are occupied by the Badiamaioi with this city:—

Tathilba	134°	18° 50′

76. The parts under the Ouxentos range are occupied by the Drilophyllitai, with these cities:—

Sibrion	139°	22° 20′
Opotoura	137° 30′	21° 40′
Ozoana	138° 15′	20° 30′

Mandalai:—The territory of the Mandalai lay in that upland region where the Sôn and the Narmadâ have their sources. Here a town situated on the latter river still bears the name Mandalâ. It is about 50 miles distant from Jabalpûr to the south-east, and is of some historic note. Ptolemy has, however, assigned to the Mandalai dominions far beyond their proper limits, for to judge from the towns which he gives them they must have occupied all the right bank of the Ganges from its confluence with the Jamnâ downwards to the Bay of Bengal. But that this is improbable may be inferred from the fact that Palimbothra (Pâṭnâ) which the table makes to be one of their cities, did not

belong to them, but was the capital of Prasiakê, which, as has already been remarked, is pushed far too high up the river. Tamalitês, moreover, which has been satisfactorily identified with Tamluk, a river port about 35 miles S. W. from Calcutta possessed, according to Wilford, a large territory of its own. The table also places it only half a degree more to the southward than Palimbothra, while in reality it is more than 3 or 4 deg. Cunningham inclines to identify with the Mundalai the Mundas of Chutia Nâgpur, whose language and country, he says, are called Mundala, and also with the Malli of Pliny (lib. VI. c. xxi.) *Anc. Geog. of Ind*, pp. 508, 509.

Sambalaka:—A city of the same name attributed to Prasiakê (sec. 53) has been already identified with Sambhal in Rohilkhand. The Sambalaka of the Mandalai may perhaps be Sambhalpur on the Upper Mahânadî, the capital of a district which produces the finest diamonds in the world.

Sigalla:—This name has a suspicious likeness to Sagala, the name of the city to the west of Lâhor, which was besieged and taken by Alexander, and which Ptolemy has erroneously placed in Prasiakê (sec 53).

Palimbothra:—The more usual form of the name is Palibothra, a transcription of Pâliputra, the spoken form of Pâtaliputra, the ancient capital of Magadha, and a name still frequently applied to the city of Pâṭnâ which is its modern representative. In the times of Chandragupta (the Sandrokottos of the Greeks) and the kings of his dynasty, Palibothra was the capital of a great empire which extended from the mouths of the Ganges to the regions beyond the Indus. Remains of the wooden wall by which the city, as we learn from Strabo, was defended, were discovered a few years ago in Pâtnâ (by workmen engaged in digging a tank) at a depth of from 12 to 15 feet below the surface of the ground. Palimbothra, as we have noticed, did not belong to the Mandalai but to the Prasii

Tamalitês represents the Sanskrit Tâmralipti, the modern Tamluk, a town lying in a low and damp situation on a broad reach or bay of the Rûpnârâyaṇ River, 12 miles above its junction with the Hughlî mouth of the Ganges. The Pâli form of the name was Tâmalitti, and this accounts for the form in Greek. Pliny mentions a people called Taluctae belonging to this part of India, and the similarity of the name leaves little doubt of their identity with the people whose capital was Tamluk. This place, in ancient times, was the great emporium of the trade between the Ganges and Ceylon. We have already pointed out how wide Ptolemy was of the mark in fixing its situation relatively to Palimbothra.

Brakhmanai Magoi:—Mr. J. Campbell has suggested to me that by Brakhmanai Magoi may be meant 'sons of the Brâhmans,' that is, Canarese Brâhmans, whose forefathers married women of the country, the word *magoi* representing the Canarese *maga*, 'a son.' The term, he says, is still in common use, added to the name of castes, as Haiga-Makalu (*Makalu*—plural of *maga*) *i.e.* Haiga Brâhmans. Lassen supposed that Ptolemy, by adding *Magoi* to the name of these Brâhmans, meant to imply either that they were a colony of Persian priests settled in India, or that they were Brâhmans who had adopted the tenets of the Magi, and expresses his surprise that Ptolemy should have been led into making such an unwarrantable supposition. The country occupied by these Brâhmans was about the upper Kâvêrî, and extended from Mount Bêttigô eastward as far as the Batai.

Brakhmê:—"Can this," asks Caldwell, "be Brahmadêśam, an ancient town on the Tâmraparṇî, not far from the foot of the Podigei Mount (Mt. Bêttigô) which I have found referred to in several ancient inscriptions?"

Badiamaioi:—There is in the district of Belgaum a town and hill-fort on the route from Kalâdgi to Balâri, not far from the Mâlprabhâ, a tributary of the Krishṇâ, called Badâmi, and here we may locate the Badiamaioi. Tathilba, their capital, cannot be recognized.

Drilophyllitai:—These are placed by Ptolemy at the foot of the Ouxentos, and probably had their seats to the south-west of that range. Their name indicates them to have been a branch of the Phyllitai, the Bhills, or perhaps Pulindas. Lassen would explain the first part of their name from the Sanskrit *dṛiḍha* (strong) by the change of the *ḍh* into the liquid. Ozoana, one of their three towns is, perhaps, Seoni, a place about 60 miles N. E. from Nâgpur.

77. Further east than these towards the Ganges are the Kokkonagai with this city:—

Dôsara	142° 30′	22° 30′

78. And on the river farther west:—

Kartinaga	146°	23°
Kartasina	146°	21° 40′

79. Under the Maisôloi the Salakênoi towards the Oroudian (or Arouraian) Mountains with these cities:—

Bênagouron	140°	20° 15′
Kastra	138°	19° 30′
Magaris	137° 30′	18° 20′

80. Towards the Ganges River the **S a b a r a i**, in whose country the diamond is found in great abundance, their towns are :—

Tasopion	140° 30′	22°
Karikardama	141°	20° 15′

81. All the country about the mouths of the Ganges is occupied by the **G a n g a r i d a i** with this city :—

Gangê, the Royal residence	146°	19° 15′

K o k k o n a g a i :—Lassen locates this tribe in Chutia Nâgpur, identifying Dosara with Doesâ in the hill country, between the upper courses of the Vaitaraṇî and Suvarṇarêkha. He explains their name to mean the people of the mountains where the *kôka* grows, *kôka* being the name of a kind of palm-tree. Yule suggests that the name may represent the Sanskrit Kâkamukha, which means 'crow-faced,' and was the name of a mythical race. He places them on the Upper Mahânadî and farther west than Lassen. The table gives them two towns near the Ganges.

K a r t i n a g a and **K a r t a s i n a** :—The former, Yule thinks, may be Karṇagaṛh near Bhâgalpur, perhaps an ancient site, regarding which he refers to the *Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. XVIII, p. 395; Kartasina he takes to be Karṇasôṇagaṛh, another ancient site near Berhampur (*J R. A. S.* N. S., vol. VI, p. 248 and *J. A. S. B*, vol. XXII, p. 281).

S a l a k ê n o i :—This people may be located to the west of the Gôdâvarî, inland on the northwestern borders of Maisôlia. Their name, Lassen thought (*Ind. Alt.*, vol. III, p 176) might be connected with the Sanskrit word *Sála*, the Sâl tree. Yule suggests that it may represent the Sanskrit Saurikîrṇa. None of their towns can be recognized.

S a b a r a i :—The Sabarai of Ptolemy Cunningham takes to be the Suari of Pliny, and he would identify both with the aboriginal Śavaras or Suars, a wild race who live in the woods and jungles without any fixed habitations, and whose country extended as far southward as the Pennâr River. These Śavaras or Suars are only a single branch of a widely spread race found in large numbers to the S. W. of Gwalior and Narwar and S. Râjputâna, where they are known as Surrius. Yule places them farther north in **D ô s a r ê n ê**, towards the territory of Sambhalpur, which, as we have already remarked, produced the finest diamonds in the world. Their towns have not been identified.

G a n g a r i d a i :—This great people occupied all the country about the mouths of the Ganges. Their capital was **G a n g ê**, described in the *Periplûs* as an important seat of commerce on the Ganges. They are mentioned by Virgil (*Georg.* III, l. 27), by Valerius Flaccus (*Argon.* lib. VI, l. 66), and by Curtius (lib. IX, c. ii) who places them along with the Pharrasii (Prasii) on the eastern bank of the Ganges. They are called by Pliny (lib. VI, c. lxv) the Gangaridae Calingae, and placed by him at the furthest extremity of the Ganges region, as is indicated by the expression *gens novissima*, which he applies to them. They must have been a powerful people, to judge from the military force which Pliny reports them to have maintained, and their territory could scarcely have been restricted to the marshy jungles at the mouth of the river now known as the Sundarbans, but must have comprised a considerable portion of the province of Bengal. This is the view taken by Saint-Martin Bengal, he says, represents, at least in a general way, the country of the Gangaridae, and the city which Pliny speaks of as their capital, Parthalis can only be Vardhana, a place which flourished in ancient times and is now known as Bardhwân. The name of the Gangaridai has nothing in Sanskrit to correspond with it, nor can it be a word, as Lassen supposed, of purely Greek formation, for the people were mentioned under this name to Alexander by one of the princes in the North-west of India. The synonymous term which Sanskrit fails to supply is found among the aboriginal tribes belonging to the region occupied by the Gangaridai, the name being preserved almost identically in that of the Gonghris of S. Bahâr, with whom were connected the Gangayis of North-western, and the Gangrâr of Eastern Bengal, these designations being but variations of the name which was originally common to them all.

G a n g ê :—Various sites have been proposed for Gangê. Heeren placed it near Duliapur, a village about 40 miles S E of Calcutta on a branch of the Isamatî River; Wilford at the confluence of the Ganges and Brahmaputra, where, he says, there was a town called in Sanskrit Hastimalla, and in the spoken dialect Hâthimalla. from elephants being picquetted there; Murray at Chittagong; Taylor on the site of the ancient Hindu Capital of Banga (Bengal) which lies in the neighbourhood of Soṇargâon (Suvarṇagrâma), a place 12 miles to the S E. of Ḍhâkkâ; Cunningham at Jêsor; and others further west, near Calcutta, or about 30 miles higher up the Hughlî, somewhere near Chinsurâ. Another **G a n g ê** is mentioned by Artemidoros above or to the N. W. of Palibothra, and this Wilford identifies with Prayâg, *i.e*, Allahâbâd, but Groskurd with Anupshahr.

Ptolemy now leaves the Gangetic regions and

describes the inland parts of the territories along the Western Coast of the Peninsula.

82. In the parts of Ariakê which still remain to be described are the following inland cities and villages: to the west of the Bênda these cities:—

Malippala	119° 30′	20° 15′
Sarisabis	119° 30′	20°
Tagara	118°	19° 20′
Baithana (the royal seat of [Siro] Ptolemaios or Polemaios)	117°	18° 30′
Deopali or Deopala	115° 40′	17° 50′
Gamaliba	115° 15′	17° 20′
Omênogara	114°	16° 20′

83. Between the Bênda and Pseudostomos:

Nagarouris (or Nagarouraris)	120°	20° 15′
Tabasô	121° 30′	20° 40′
Indê	123°	20° 45′
Tiripangalida	121° 15′	19° 40′
Hippokoura, the royal seat of Baleokouros	119° 45′	19° 10′
Soubouttou	120° 15′	19° 10′
Sirimalaga	119° 20′	18° 30′
Kalligeris	118°	18°
Modogoulla	119°	18°
Petirgala	117° 45′	17° 15′
Banaouasei	116°	16° 45′

Seven cities are enumerated in Ariakê, as lying to the west of the Bênda, and regarding four of these, Malippala, Sarisabis, Gamaliba and Omênogara, nothing is known. The *Periplûs* (sec. 51) notices Tagara and Baithana in a passage which may be quoted: "In Dakhinabades itself there are two very important seats of commerce, Paithana towards the south of Barygaza, from which it is distant a twenty days' journey, and eastward from this about a ten days' journey is another very large city, Tagara. From these marts goods are transported on waggons to Barygaza through difficult regions that have no road worth calling such. From Paithana great quantities of onyx-stones and from Tagara large supplies of common cotton-cloth, muslins of all kinds, mallow-tinted cottons and various other articles of local production imported into it from the maritime districts."

Baithana is the Paithana of the above extract, and the Paiṭhân of the present day, a town of Haidarâbâd, or the territory of the Nizam, on the left bank of the river Gôdâvarî, in latitude 19° 29′ or about a degree further north than it is placed by Ptolemy. Paithana is the Prâkit form of the Sanskrit Pratishṭhâna, the name of the capital of Śâlivâhana. Ptolemy calls it the capital of Siroptolemaios or Siropolemaios, a name which represents the Sanskrit Śrî-Pulômâvit, the Puḷumâyi of the Nasik Cave and Amarâvati Stûpa Inscriptions, a king of the great Andhra dynasty.

Tagara:—The name is found in inscriptions under the form Tagarapura (*J. R. A. S.* vol. IV, p. 34). Ptolemy places it to the north-east of Baithana, and the *Periplûs*, as we see from the extract, to the east of it at the distance of a ten days' journey. Wilford, Vincent, Mannert, Ritter and others take it to be Dêvagaḍh, now Daulatâbâd, which was the seat of a sovereign even in 1293, and is situated not far from Êlura, so famous for its excavated temples. But if Baithana be Paiṭhan, Tagara cannot be Dêvagaḍh, unless the distance is wrongly given. There is, moreover, nothing to show that Dêvagaḍh was connected with the Tagarapura of the inscriptions. Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl identified Tagara with Junnar, a place of considerable importance, situated to the north of Pûṇâ. He pointed out that the Sanskrit name of Tagara was Trigiri, a compound meaning 'three hills,' and that as Junnar stood on a high site between three hills this identification was probably correct. Junnar however lies to the westward of Paiṭhan. Yule places Tagara at Kulburga, which lies to the south-east of Paiṭhan, at a distance of about 150 miles, which would fairly represent a ten days' journey, the distance given in the *Periplûs*. Grant Duff would identify it with a place near Bhîr on the Gôdâvarî, and Fleet with Kolhâpur. The Silahâra princes or chiefs who formed three distinct branches of a dynasty that ruled over two parts of the Koṅkaṇ and the country about Kolhâpur style themselves, 'The Lords of the excellent city of Tagara.' If, says Prof. Bhaṇḍârkar, the name of Tagara has undergone corruption, it would take the form, according to the laws of Prâkrit speech, of Târur or Têrur, and he therefore asks 'can it be the modern Dârur or Dhârur in the Nizam's dominions, 25 miles east of Grant Duff's Bhîr, and 70 miles S. E. of Paiṭhan?' (see Muller's *Geog. Græc. Minor.* vol. I, p. 294, n.; Elphinstone's *History of India*, p. 223; Burgess, *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, vol. III, p. 54; and *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. XIII, pt ii, p. 423, n.). Mr. Campbell is of opinion that the maritime districts from which local products were brought to Tagara and thence exported to Barygaza, lay on the coast of Bengal, and not on the Koṅkaṇ coast, from which there was easy transit by sea to the great northern emporium in the Gulf of Khambât, while the transit by land through Tagara could not be accomplished without encountering the most formidable obstacles.

Deopali:—This name means 'the city of

God,' and Deopali may therefore perhaps be Dêvagaḍh, the two names having the same meaning.

Tabasô:—This would seem to be a city of the Tabasoi, already mentioned as a large community of Brâhmaṇ ascetics.

Hippokoura:—A town of this name has already been mentioned as a seaport to the south of Simylla. This Hippokoura lay inland, and was the capital of the southern parts of Ariakê, as Paithana was the capital of the northern. Its position is uncertain. Yule places it doubtfully at Kalyâṇ, a place about half a degree to the west of Bidar, and at some distance south from the river Mañjirâ. Ptolemy calls it the capital of Baleokouros. Bhândârkar conjectures this to have been the Viḷivâyakura, a name found upon two other Andhra coins discovered at Kôlhâpur. There is no other clue to its identification, but see Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* vol. III, pp. 179, 185.

Sirimalaga may perhaps be Mâlkhêḍ, a town in Haidarâbâd, situated on a tributary of the Bhîmâ, in lat. 17° 8′ and long. 77° 12′. The first part of the word *Siri* probably represents the Sanskrit honorific prefix *śrî*.

Kalligeris:—Perhaps Kaṇhagiri, a place about ½ a degree to the south of Mûdgal.

Modogoulla:—There can be little doubt that this is Mûdgal, a town in the Haidarâbâd districts,—Lat. 16° 2′, long. 76° 26′,—N. W. from Balâri. Petirgala cannot be identified.

Banaouasei:—This place is mentioned in the *Mahâvaṁso*, in the Pâli form Wanawâsi, by which a city or district is designated. Banavasei must beyond doubt have been the capital of this country, and is identical with the modern Banavâsî, situated on the upper Varadâ, a tributary of the Tuṅgabhadrâ. Saint-Martin thinks that it was the city visited by Hiuen Tsiang, and called by him Kon-kin-na-pu-lo, *i.e.*, Koṅkaṇapura, but Cunningham is of opinion that both the bearing and the distance point to Ânagundi.

84. The inland cities of the Pirates are these:—

Olokhoira	114°	15°
Mousopallê, the metropolis	115° 30′	15° 45′

85. Inland cities of Limyrikê, to the west of the Pseudostomos are these:—

Naroulla	117° 45′	15° 50′
Kouba	117°	15°
Paloura	117° ′51	14° 40′

86. Between the Pseudostomos and the Baris, these cities:—

Pasagê	124° 50′	19° 50′
Mastanour	121° 30′	18° 40′
Kourellour	119°	17° 30′
Pounnata, where is beryl	121° 20′	17° 30′
Aloê	120° 20′	17°
Karoura, the royal seat of Kêrobothros	119°	16° 20
Arembour	121°	16° 20′
Bideris	119°	15° 50′
Pantipolis	118	15° 20′
Adarima	119° 30′	15° 40′
Koreour	120°	15°

87. Inland town of the Aïoi:—

Morounda	121° 20′	14° 20′

The dominion of the sea appears to have satisfied the ambition of the pirates, as they possessed on shore only a narrow strip of territory enclosed between the line of coast and the western declivities of the Ghâṭs. Their capital, Mousopallê, Yule places at Miraj, a town near the Kṛishṇâ, but doubtfully. Their other town, Olokhoira, is probably Khêḍâ, a town in the district of Ratnagiri in lat. 17° 44′ long. 73° 30′. As Khêḍâ is the name of several other places in this part of the country, *Olo*, whatever it may mean, may have been in old times prefixed to this particular Khêḍâ for the sake of distinction.

Kouba:—This is generally taken to be Goa or Govâ, the capital of the Portuguese possessions in India, and there can be little doubt of the correctness of the identification. The two towns Naroulla and Paloura, which Ptolemy places with Kouba to the west of the Pseudostomos, cannot be identified. To judge from his figures of longitude, Paloura lay 15′ farther east than Kouba, but as he makes the coast run eastward instead of southward, it must be considered to have lain south of Kouba. The name is Tamiḷ, and means, according to Caldwell (*Introd.* p. 104) 'Milk town.' It is remarkable, he observes, how many names of places in Southern India mentioned by Ptolemy end in *ουρ* or *ουρα* = 'a town.' There are 23 such places in all.

Pasagê:—According to Yule's map this represents Palsagi, the old name of a place now called Halsi, south-east of Goa, from which it is distant somewhat under a degree.

Mastanour and Kourellour cannot be identified.

Pounnata has not yet been identified, though Ptolemy gives a sort of clue in stating that it produced the beryl. Yule places it in his map near Seringapatam.

Aloê:—This may be Yellapur, a small town in North Canara, in lat. 14° 56′ long. 74° 43′.

Karoura:—"Karoura," says Caldwell, "is mentioned in Tamiḷ traditions as the ancient

capital of the Chêra, Kêra, or Kêrala kings, and is generally identified with Karûr, an important town in the Koimbatur district, originally included in the Chêra kingdom. It is situated on the left bank of the river Amarâvati, a tributary of the Kâvêrî, near a large fort now in ruins. Ptolemy notes that Karoura was the capital of Kêrobothros, *i.e.*, Kêralaputra (Cherapati ?) Karû means 'the black town,' and I consider it identical with Kâragam, and Kaḍâram, names of places which I have frequently found in the Tamiḻ country, and which are evidently the poetical equivalents of Karûr. The meaning of each of the names is the same. Ptolemy's word Karoura represents the Tamiḻ name of the place with perfect accuracy." (*Introd.* pp. 96, 97).

Arembour:—Lassen compares this name with Oorumparum, but the situation of the place so called (lat. 11° 12′ long. 76° 16′) does not suit well the position of Arembour as given by Ptolemy.

Bideris:—Perhaps Erod or Yirodu in the district of Koimbatur (lat. 11° 20′ long. 77° 46′) near the Kâvêrî.

Pantipolis, according to Yule, represents the obsolete name Pantiyapura, which he places at Hangal, in the Dhârwâḍ district.

Morounda:—This is the only inland city of the Aïoi named by Ptolemy. It has not been identified.

The concluding tables enumerate the inland towns belonging to the districts lying along the Eastern Coast of the Peninsula.

88. Inland cities of the Kareoi:—

Mendêla	123°	17° 40′
Sêlour	121° 45′	16° 30′
Tittoua	122°	15° 20′
Mantittour	123°	15° 10′

89. Inland cities of the Pandionoi:—

Tainour	124° 45′	18° 40′
Periṅgkarei	123° 20′	18°
Korindiour	125°	17° 40′
Tangala or Taga	123° 30′	16° 50′
Modoura, the royal city of Pandion	125°	16° 20′
Akour	124° 45′	15° 20′

90. Inland cities of the Batoi:—

Kalindoia	127° 40′	17° 30′
Bata	126° 30′	17°
Talara	128°	16° 45′

Inland cities of the Kareoi:—none of the four named in the table can be identified.

Peringkarei:—This town has preserved its name almost without change, being now known as Peruṅgari, on the river Vaigaï, about 40 miles lower down its course than Madurâ. With regard to this name, Caldwell remarks that if it had been written Peruṅgkarei it would have been perfectly accurate Tamiḻ, letter for letter. The meaning is 'great shore,' and *perum* 'great' becomes *peruṅg* before *k*, by rule. Ptolemy places a town called Tainour at the distance of less than a degree to the north-east of Peringkarei. The direction would suit Tanjor, but the distance is more than a degree. Ptolemy has however placed his Peringkarei quite in a wrong position with regard to Madurâ.

Tangala or Taga:—There can be little doubt that this is now represented by Diṇḍugal, an important and flourishing town lying at a distance of 32 miles north by west from Madurâ.

Modoura:—This is now called Madurâ or Madurai—on the banks of the River Vaigai. It was the second capital of the Southern Pâṇḍyas; we have already noticed it in the description of the territory of this people.

Bata:—This may perhaps be Paṭṭukôṭṭa, a small town not very far inland from the northern end of the Argolic Gulf (Palk's Passage). The other two towns of the Batoi cannot be recognized. As Pudukôṭṭa is the capital of the Tondiman Râja, Lassen has suggested its identity with Bata. It is upwards of 20 miles farther inland than Paṭṭukôṭṭa.

91. Inland cities of the Paralia of the Sôrêtai:—

Kaliour	129°	17° 20′
Tennagora	132°	17°
Eikour	129°	16° 40′
Orthoura, the royal city of Sôrnagos	130°	16° 20′
Berê	130° 20′	16° 15′
Abour	129°	16°
Karmara	130° 20′	15° 40′
Magour	130°	15° 15′

92. The inland cities of the Arvarnoi are these:—

Kerauge	133°	16° 15′
Phrourion	132°	15°
Karigê	132° 40′	15°
Poleour	131° 30′	14° 40′
Pikendaka	131° 30′	14°
Iatour	132° 30′	14°
Skopoloura	134° 15′	14° 35′
Ikarta	133° 30′	13° 40′
Malanga, the royal city of Basaronagos	133°	13°
Kandipatna	133° 30°	12° 20′

93. The inland cities of the Maisôloi:—

Kalliga	138°	17°
Bardamana	136° 15′	15° 15′
Koroungkala	135°	15°
Pharytra or Pharetra	134° 20′	13° 20′
Pityndra the metropolis	135° 20′	12° 30′

Orthoura:—Of the eight inland cities named as belonging to the maritime territory of the Sôrêtai, only two—Abour and the capital, have been identified. Abour is Âmbûrdurg in N. Arkaṭ, lat. 12° 47′, long. 78° 42′. Regarding Orthoura Cunningham says: "Chôḻa is noticed by Ptolemy, whose *Orthura regia Sornati* must be Uriûr, the capital of Soranâtha, or the king of the Soringae, that is the Sôras, Chôras or Chôlas. Uṛaiyûr is a few miles south-south-east of Tiruchhinâpalli. The Soringae are most probably the Syrieni of Pliny, with their 300 cities, as they occupied the coast between the Pandae and the Derangae or Dravidians." *Anc. Geog. of Ind.*, p. 551.

Phrourion:—This is a Greek word signifying 'a garrisoned fort,' and may perhaps be meant as a translation of an indigenous name having that signification, as Durga, 'a hill-fort,' a common affix to names of places in the Peninsula.

Karigê:—This should no doubt be read Karipê under which form it can be at once identified with Kaḍapâ, a place lying 5 miles from the right bank of the Northern Pennâr on a small tributary of that river.

Pikendaka:—*Konda* is a frequent termination in the names of towns in this part of India. The letters of Pikendaka may have been transposed in copying, and its proper form may have been Pennakonda, the name of a town in the district of Balâri (lat. 14°5′ long. 77° 39′).

Iatour:—From Yule's map it would appear there is a place lying a degree westward from Kaḍapâ which still bears this name, Yêtûr.

Malanga:—In our notice of Melangê it was pointed out that Cunningham had fixed the locality of Malanga near Êlur, a place some distance inland about half way between the Kṛishṇâ and the Gôdâvarî towards their embouchures, and in the neighbourhood of which are the remains of an old capital named Veṅgî. With regard to the king's name Bassaronaga, he thinks that this may be identified with the Pali Majêrika-nâga of the *Mahâwaṅso* and thus Ptolemy's Malanga would become the capital of the Nâgas of Majerika, *Anc. Geo. of Ind.*, (pp. 539, 540). In Yule's map Malanga is placed conjecturally about two degrees farther south at Velur, near the mouth of the Pennâr.

Of the five cities attributed to the Maisôloi, only Koroungkala can be recognized. It appears to be the place now known as Woraṅkal, the mediæval capital of Telingana. It has but few tokens remaining to attest its former grandeur.

Pityndra, the capital of Maisôlia, was probably Dhanakaṭaka now Dharaṇikôṭa, about 20 miles above Bêjwâḍâ on the Kṛishṇâ.

94. Islands lying near the part of India which projects *into the ocean* in the Gulf of Kanthi:—

Barakê	111°	18°

95. And along the line of coast as far as the Kolkhic Gulf:—

Milizêgyris (or Milizigêris)	110°	12° 30′
Heptanêsia	113°	13°
Trikadiba	113° 30′	11°
Peperinê	115°	12° 40′
Trinêsia	116° 20′	12°.
Leukê	118°	12°
Nanigêris	122°	12°

96. And in the Argaric Gulf:—

Kôry	126° 30′—13°

Barakê:—This is the name given in the *Periplûs* to the Gulf of Kachh, called by our author the Gulf of Kanthi, a name which to this day is applied to the south coast of Kachh. The *Periplûs* does not mention Barakê as an island, but says that the Gulf had 7 islands. Regarding Barakê, Dr. Burgess says: "Yule places Barakê at Jaggat or Dwârakâ; Lassen also identifies it with Dwârakâ, which he places on the coast between Purbandar and Miyânî, near Śrînagar. Mula-Dwârakâ, the original site, was further east than this, but is variously placed near Mâdhupur, thirty-six miles north-west from Sômanâth-Paṭṭan, or three miles south-west from Kôḍinâr, and nineteen miles east of Sômanâth. This last spot is called Mula-Dwârakâ to this day." (*Târîkh-i-Sôrath*, Introd. p. 7).

Milizêgyris occurs in the *Periplûs* as Melizeigara, which may be identified with Jayagaḍ or Sîdi-Jayagaḍ, which would appear to be the Sigerus of Pliny (lib. vi, c. 26).

Heptanêsia (*or group of* 7 *islands*) probably corresponded to the Sesikrienai of the *Periplûs*, which may be the Burnt Islands of the present day, among which the Viṅgôrlâ rocks are conspicuous.

Trikadiba or 'the island Trika',—*diba* being the Sanskrit word *dvîpa*, 'an island.'

Peperinê:—This, to judge from the name, should be an island somewhere off the coast of Cottonara, the great pepper district, as stated by Pliny (lib. VI, c. xxvi).

Trinêsia (*or group of* 3 *islands*):—Ptolemy places it off the coast of Limyrikê between Tyndis and Mouziris but nearer the former.

Leukê:—This is a Greek word meaning 'white.' The island is placed in the *Periplûs* off the coast where Limyrikê begins and in Ptolemy near where it ends.

Nanigêris:—To judge from Ptolemy's figures he has taken this to be an island lying between Cape Kumârî (Comorin) and Taprobanê (Ceylon).

Kôry:—It has already been noticed that Kôry was both the name of the Island of Râmêsvaram and of the promontory in which it terminated.

CAP. 2.

Position of India beyond the Ganges.

1. India beyond the Ganges is bounded on the west by the river Ganges; on the north by the parts of Skythia and Sêrikê already described, on the east by the Sinai along the Meridian, which extends from the furthest limits of Sêrikê to the Great Gulf, and also by this gulf itself, on the south by the Indian Ocean and part of the Green Sea which stretches from the island of Menouthias in a line parallel to the equator, as far as the regions which lie opposite to the Great Gulf.

India beyond the Ganges comprised with Ptolemy not only the great plain between that river and the Himâlayas, but also all south-eastern Asia, as far as the country of the Sinai (China). Concerning these vast regions Ptolemy is our only ancient authority. Strabo's knowledge of the east was limited in this direction by the Ganges, and the author of the *Periplûs*, who was a later and intermediate writer, though he was aware that inhabited countries stretched far beyond that limit even onwards to the eastern end of the world, appears to have learned little more about them than the mere fact of their existence. Ptolemy, on the other hand, supplies us with much information regarding them. He traces the line of coast as far as the Gulf of Siam (his great gulf) enumerating the tribes, the trading marts, the river mouths and the islands that would be passed on the way. He has also a copious nomenclature for the interior, which embraces its inhabitants, its towns, its rivers, and its mountain ranges. His conceptions were no doubt extremely confused and erroneous, and his data, in many instances, as inconsistent with each other as with the erality. Still, his description contains important elements of truth, and must have been based upon authentic information. At the same time an attentive study of his nomenclature and the accompanying indications has led to the satisfactory identification of a few of his towns, and a more considerable number of the rivers and mountains and tribes which he has specified.

His most notable error consisted in the supposition that the eastern parts of Asia were connected by continuous land with the east coast of Africa, so that, like Hipparkhos, he conceived the Indian Ocean to resemble the Mediterranean in being surrounded on all sides by land. He makes accordingly the coast of the Sinai, beyond the Gulf of Siam, turn toward the south instead of curving up towards the north. Again he represents the Malay Peninsula (his Golden Khersonese) which does not project so far as to reach the equator, extend to 4 degrees southward from it, and he mentions neither the Straits of Malacca nor the great island of Sumatra, unless indeed his Iabadios be this island, and not Java, as is generally supposed. By the Green Sea (Πρασώδης θάλασσα) which formed a part of the southern boundary is meant the southern part of the Indian Ocean which stretched eastward from Cape Prasum (Cape Delgado) the most southern point on the east coast of Africa known to Ptolemy. The island of Menouthias was either Zanzibar or one of the islands adjacent to it. It is mentioned by the author of the *Periplûs*.

In his description of India beyond the Ganges Ptolemy adheres to the method which he had followed in his account of India within the Ganges. He therefore begins with the coast which he describes from the Eastern Mouth of the Ganges to the Great Promontory where India becomes conterminous with the country of the Sinai. The mountains follow, then the rivers, then the towns in the interior, and last of all the islands.

2. The seacoast of this division is thus described. In the Gangetic Gulf beyond the Mouth of the Ganges called Antibolei:—

The coast of the **Airrhadoi**:—

Pentapolis	150°	18°
Mouth of River Katabêda...	151° 20′	17°
Barakoura, a mart	152° 30′	16°
Mouth of the River Tokosanna	153°	14° 30′

Wilford, probably misled by a corrupt reading, took the name of the **Airrhadai** to be another form of Antibole. He says (*Asiat. Research.*, Vol. XIV, p. 444) "Ptolemy says that the easternmost branch of the Ganges was called Antibolê or Airradon. This last is from the Sanskrit Hradâna; and is the name of the Brahmaputra. Antibole was the name of a town situated at the confluence of several large rivers to the S. E. of Ḍhakkâ and now called Feringibazar." By the

Airrhadai, however, are undoubtedly meant the Kirâta. With regard to the position here assigned to them Lassen thus writes (*Ind. Alt.*, vol. III, pp. 235-237):—"By the name K i r r a d i a Ptolemy designates the land on the coast of further India from the city of Pentapolis, perhaps the present Mirkanserai in the north, as far as the mouth of the Tokosanna or Arakan river. The name of this land indicates that it was inhabited by the Kirâta, a people which we find in the great Epic settled in the neighbourhood of the Lauhitya, or Brahmaputra, consequently somewhat further to the north than where Ptolemy locates them. Hence arises the question whether the Kirâta who, as we know, belong to thė Bhoṭa, and are still found in Nêpâl, had spread themselves to such a distance in earlier times, or whether their name has been erroneously applied to a different people. The last assumption is favoured by the account in the *Periplûs*, according to which ships sailing northward from Dôsarênê, or the country on both sides of the Vaitaraṇi, arrived at the land of the wild flatnosed Kirradai, who like the other savage tribes were men-eaters. Since the author of that work did not proceed beyond Cape Comorin, and applied the name of Kirâta to a people which lived on the coast to the S. W. of the Ganges, it is certain that he had erroneously used this name to denote the wild and fabulous races. Ptolemy must have followed him or other writers of the kind, and to the name Kirâta has given a signification which did not originate with himself. Although the Kirâta, long before the time in which he lived, had wandered from their northern Fatherland to the Himâlaya and thence spread themselves to the regions on the Brahmaputra, still it is not to be believed that they should have possessed themselves of territory so far south as Chaturgrâma (Chittagong) and a part of Arakan. We can therefore scarcely be mistaken if we consider the inhabitants of this territory at that time as a people belonging to further India, and in fact as tribal relatives of the Tamerai, who possessed the mountain region that lay back in the interior, as I shall hereafter show. I here remark that between the name of the city P e n t a p o l i s, *i.e. five cities*, and the name of the most northern part of Kirradia, Chaturgrâma, *i.e. four cities*, there is a connexion that can scarcely be mistaken, since Chaturgrâma could not originally have denoted a country, but only a place which later on became the capital, though it was originally only the capital of four village communities over which a common headship was possessed, while Pentapolis was the seat of a headship over five towns or rather villages, as it can scarcely be believed that the rude tribes of Kirradia were civilized enough to possess towns. A confirmation of this view is offered by the circumstance that the Bunzu, who must have been descendants of a branch of the Tamerai, live in villages under headships. We must further state that according to the treatises used by Ptolemy the best *Malabathrum* was got from Kirradia. I see no reason to doubt the correctness of this statement, although the trees from which this precious oil and spice were prepared and which are different kinds of the laurel, do not appear at the present day to be found in this country, since, according to the testimony of the most recent writers the botanical productions of Arakan at least have not as yet been sufficiently investigated. It can, however, be asserted that in Silhet, which is not very remote from Chaturgrâma, *Malabathrum* is produced at this very day." Saint-Martin expresses similar views. He writes (*Étude*, pp. 343, 344). "The Kirrhadia of Ptolemy, a country mentioned also in the *Periplûs* as lying west from the mouths of the Ganges and the Skyritai of Megasthenes are cantons of Kirâta, one of the branches of the aboriginal race the widest spread in Gangetic India, and the most anciently known. In different passages of the *Purâṇas* and of the epics their name is applied in a general manner to the barbarous tribes of the eastern frontiers of Âryavarta, and it has preserved itself in several quarters, notably in the eastern districts of Nêpâl. There is a still surviving tradition in Tripurî (Tipperah), precisely where Ptolemy places his Kirrhadia, that the first name of the country was Kirât (*J. A. S. Ben.*, Vol. XIX., Long, *Chronicles of Tripurá*, p. 536.) The Tamerai were a tribe of the same family."

Mouth of the River K a t a b ê d a:—This may be the river of Chittagong called the Karmaphulî. The northern point of land at its mouth is, according to Wilford (*Asiat. Research.* vol. XIV, p. 445) called Paṭṭana, and hence he thinks that Chaṭgrâm or Chaturgrâm (Chittagong) is the Pentapolis of Ptolemy for Paṭṭanphulli, which means 'flourishing seat.' The same author has proposed a different identification for the Katabêda River. "In the district of Sandowê," he says, "is a river and a town called in modern maps Sedoa for Saindwa (for Sandwîpa)" and in Ptolemy S a d u s and S a d a. Between this river and Arakan there is another large one concealed behind the island of Cheduba, and the name of which is Kâtâbaidâ or Kâtâbaiza. This is the river Katâbêda of Ptolemy, which, it is true, he has placed erroneously to the north of Arakan, but as it retains its name to this day among the natives, and as it is an uncommon one in that country, we can hardly be mistaken. As that part of the country is very little frequented by seafaring

people the Kâttâbaidâ is not noticed in any map or sea chart whatever. It was first brought to light by the late Mr. Burrows, an able astronomer, who visited that part of the coast by order of Government. In the language of that country *kâtû* is a fort and Byeitzâ or Baidzâ is the name of a tribe in that country." (*Asiat. Res.*, vol. XIV, pp. 452, 453).

Barakoura:—This mart is placed in Yule's map at Râmâi, called otherwise Râmu, a town lying 68 miles S.S.E. of Chittagong.

Mouth of the Tokosanna:—This river Wilford and Lassen (*Ind. Alt.*, vol. III, p. 237) identified with the Arakan river. Yule prefers the Nâf, which is generally called the Teke-nâf, from the name of a tribe inhabiting its banks.

3. That of the Silver country (Argyra).

Sambra, a city	153° 30′	13° 45′
Sada, a city	154° 20°	11° 20′
Mouth of the River Sados	153° 30′	12° 30′
Bêrabonna, a mart	155° 30′	10° 20′
The mouth of the River Têmala	157° 30′	10°
Têmala, a city	157° 30′	9°
The Cape beyond it	157° 20′	8°

4. That of the Bêsyngeitai Cannibals on the Sarabakic Gulf where are—

Sabara, a city	159° 30′	8° 30′
Mouth of the River Bêsynga	162° 20′	8° 25′
Bêsynga, a mart	162°	9°
Bêrabai, a city	162° 20′	6°
The Cape beyond it	159°	4° 40′

Arakan is no doubt the Silver Country, but the reason why it should have been so designated is not apparent, since silver has never so far as is known, been one of its products. It appears to have included part of the province of Pegu, which lies immediately to the south of it.

Sada:—This town is mentioned in that part of Ptolemy's introductory book (ch. xiii, § 7) of which a translation has been given, as the first port on the eastern side of the Gangetic Gulf at which ships from Paloura on the opposite coast touched before proceeding to the more distant ports of the Golden Khersonese and the Great Gulf. It cannot be with certainty identified. "It may perhaps have been Ezata, which appears in Pegu legend as the name of a port between Pegu and Bengal."—Yule, quoting *J. A. S. Beng.*, vol. XXVIII, p. 476.

Bêrabonna:—The same authority suggests that this may be Sandowê, which Wilford proposed to identify with Sada.

Têmala is the name of a town, a river, and a cape. In the introductory book (c. xiii, § 8) it is called Tamala, and said to lie to the south-east of Sada, at a distance of 3500 stadia. Yule would identify it, though doubtfully, with Gwa. Lassen again places it at Cape Negrais, which is without doubt the promontory which Ptolemy says comes after Têmala.

The Sarabakic Gulf is now called the Gulf of Martaban:—The name (Bêsyngytai) of the cannibals is partly preserved in that of Bassein, which designates both a town and the river which is the western arm of the Irâwadi. Ptolemy calls this river the Bêsynga. The emporium of the same name Lassen takes to be Rangûn, but the similarity of name points to its identification with Bassein, an important place as a military position, from its commanding the river.

Bêrabai:—Beyond this Ptolemy has a promontory of the same name, which may be Barago Point. The names at least are somewhat similar and the position answers fairly to the requirements. Lassen took Bêrabai, the town, to be Martaban.

5. That of the Golden Khersonese (Χρυσῆς. Χερσονήσου)

Takôla, a mart	160°	4° 15′
The Cape beyond it	158° 40′	2° 40′
Mouth of the River Khrysoanas	159°	1°
Sabana, a mart	160°	3°S.L.
Mouth of the River Palandos	161°	2°S.L.
Cape Maleou Kôlon	163°	2°S.L.
Mouth of the River Attaba	164°	1°S.L.
Kôli, a town	164° 20′	on the equator
Perimoula	163° 15′	2° 20′
Perimoulik Gulf	168° 30′	4° 15′

The Golden Khersonese denotes generally the Malay Peninsula, but more specially the Delta of the Irâwadi, which forms the province of Pegu, the Suvarnabhumi (Pali form,—*Sovannabhumi*) of ancient times. The Golden Region which lies beyond this, in the interior, is Burmâ, the oldest province of which, above Ava, is still, as Yule informs us, formally styled in State documents Sonaparânta, *i. e.* 'Golden Frontier.'[36]

Takôla:—Rangûn, as Yule points out, or a port in that vicinity, best suits Ptolemy's position

[36] Thornton notices in his *Gazetteer of India* (s. v. *Burmah*) that when Colonel Burney was the resident in Ava, official communications were addressed to him under the authority of the "Founder of the great golden city of precious stones; the possessor of mines of gold, silver, rubies, amber and noble serpentine."

with respect to rivers, &c.,[37] while at the same time Thakalai is the legendary name of the founder of Rangûn Pagoda. There was, however, he says, down to late mediæval times, a place of note in this quarter called Takkhala, Takola, or Tagala, the exact site of which he cannot trace, though it was apparently on the Martaban side of the Sitang estuary.

Mouth of the Khrysoana River:—This must be the Eastern or Rangûn mouth of the Irâwadî, for, as Yule states on the authority of Dr. F. Mason, Hmâbi immediately north of Rangûn was anciently called Suvarṇanadî, *i. e.* 'Golden River,' and this is the meaning of Khryseana.

Sabana:—This may be a somewhat distorted form of Suvarṇa, 'golden-coloured,' and the mart so called may have been situated near the mouth of the Saluen River. Yule therefore identifies it with Satung or Thatung. Lassen assigns it quite a different position, placing it in one of the small islands lying off the southern extremity of the Peninsula.

Cape Maleou Kôlon:—Regarding this Yule says, "Probably the Cape at Amherst. Mr. Crawford has noticed the singular circumstance that this name is pure Javanese, signifying "Western Malays." Whether the name Malay can be so old is a question; but I observe that in Bastian's *Siamese Extracts*, the foundation of Takkhala is ascribed to the Malays." Lassen places it much further south and on the eastern coast of the Peninsula, identifying it with Cape Romania (*Ind. Alt.*, vol. III, p. 232).

Kôli:—In the *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, vol. IV, p. 639 ff, Colonel Yule has thrown much light on Ptolemy's description of the coast from this place to Kattigara by comparing the glimpse which it gives us of the navigation to China in the 1st or 2nd century of our era with the accounts of the same navigation as made by the Arabs seven or eight centuries later. While allowing that it would be rash to dogmatize on the details of the transgangetic geography, he at the same time points out that the safest guide to the true interpretation of Ptolemy's data here lies in the probability that *the nautical tradition was never lost.* He calls attention also to the fact that the names on the route to the Sinae are many of them Indian, specifying as instances Sabana, Pagrasa, R. Sôbanos, Tipônobastê, Zaba, Tagora, Balonga, Sinda, Aganagara, Brama, Ambastas, Rabana, River Kottiaris, Kokkonagara, &c. At Kôli the Greek and Arab routes first coincide, for, to quote his words, "I take this Kôli to be the Kalah of the Arabs, which was a month's sail from Kaulam (Quilon) in Malabar, and was a place dependent on the Mahârâja of Zâbaj (Java or the Great Islands) and near which were the mountains producing tin. Ko-lo is also mentioned in the Chinese history of the T'ang dynasty in terms indicating its position somewhere in the region of Malaka. Kalah lay on the sea of Shalâhiṭ (which we call Straits of Malaka), but was not very far from the entrance to the sea of Kadranj, a sea which embraced the Gulf of Siam, therefore I presume that Kalah was pretty far down the Malay Peninsula. It may, however, have been Kadah, or Quedda as we write it, for it was 10 days' voyage from Kalah to Tiyûmah (Batûmah, Ḳoyûmah). Now the Sea of Kadranj was entered, the Perimulic Gulf of Ptolemy."

Perimulic Gulf:—Pliny mentions an Indian promontory called Perimula where there were very productive pearl fisheries (lib. VI, c. 54), and where also was a very busy mart of commerce distant from Patala, 620 Roman miles (lib. VI, c. 20). Lassen, in utter disregard of Pliny's figures indicating its position to be somewhere near Bombay, placed it on the coast of the Island of Manâr. In a note to my translation of the *Indika* of Megasthenes I suggested that Perimula may have been in the Island of Salsette. Mr. Campbell's subsequent identification of it however with Simylla (Tiamula) where there was both a cape and a great mart of trade I think preferable, and indeed quite satisfactory. But, it may be asked, how came it to pass that a place on the west coast of India should have the same name as another on the far distant Malay coast. It has been supposed by way of explanation that in very remote times a stream of emigration from the south-eastern shores of Asia flowed onward to India and other western countries, and that the names of places familiar to the emigrants in the homes they had left were given to their new settlements. There is evidence to show that such an emigration actually took place. Yule places the Malay Perimula at Pahang. The Perimulic Gulf is the Gulf of Siam, called by the Arabs, as already stated, the Sea of Kadranj. Lassen takes it to be only an indentation of the Peninsular coast by the waters of this Gulf, which in common with most other writers he identifies with Ptolemy's Great Gulf.

[37] Dr. Forchammer in his paper on *the First Buddhist Mission to Suvannabhûmi*, pp. 7, 16, identifies Takôla with the Burman Kola or Kula-taik and the Talaing Taikkulâ, the ruins of which are still extant between the present Ayetthima and Kinyua, now 12 miles from the sea-shore, though it was an important seaport till the 16th century.—J. B.

6. That of the Lêstai (Robber's country).

Samaradê	163°	4° 50′
Pagrasa	165°	4° 50′
Mouth of the River Sôbanos	165° 40′	4° 45′
(Fontes Fluvii)[23]	162° 30′	13°
Pithônobastê, a mart	166° 20′	4° 45′
Akadra	167°	4° 45′
Zabai, the city	168° 40′	40° 45′

7. That of the Great Gulf.

The Great Cape where the Gulf begins	169° 30′	4° 15′
Thagora	168°	6°
Balonga, a Metropolis	167° 30′	7°
Throana	167°	8° 30′
Mouth of the River Doanas	167°	10°
(Sources of a river)[23]	163°	27°
Kortatha, a metropolis	167°	12° 30′
Sinda, a town	167° 15′	16° 40′
Pagrasa	167° 30′	14° 30′
Mouth of the River Dôrias.	168°	15° 30′
(Sources of a river)[23]	163°	27°
	or 162° 20′	28 (Tab. Geog.)
Aganagara	169°	16° 20′
Mouth of the River Sêros	171° 30′	17° 20′
(Sources of a river)[23]	170° (½ add. Tab.)	32°
(Another source)[23]	173° (½ add. Tab.)	30°
(The confluence)[23]	171°	27°
The end of the Great Gulf towards the Sinai	173°	17° 20′

Samaradê:—This coincides with Samarat, the Buddhistic classical name of the place commonly called Ligor (*i.e. Nagara*, 'the city'), situated on the eastern coast of thé Malay Peninsula and subject to Siam.

Mouth of the River Sôbanos:—Sôbanos is the Sanskrit Suvarṇa, in its Pali form Sobaṇṇa, which means 'golden.' One of the old cities of Siam, in the Meinam basin was called Sobanapuri, *i.e.* 'Gold-town.'

Pithônabastê Yule thinks may correspond to the Bungpasoi of our maps at the mouth of the large navigable river Bangpa-Kong. It is at the head of the Gulf of Siam eastward of Bankok.

Akadra:—Yule would identify this with the Kadranj of the Arabs, which he places at Chantibon on the eastern coast of the gulf.

Zabai:—This city, according to Ptolemy, lay to the west of the Doanas, or Mekong river, and Yule therefore identifies it with the seaport called Ṣanf or Chanf by the Arab navigators. Ṣanf or Chanf under the limitations of the Arabic alphabet represents Champâ, by which the southern extrémity of Cochin-China is designated. But Champâ lies to the south of the Mekong river, and this circumstance would seem to vitiate the identification. Yule shows, however, that in former times Champâ was a powerful state, possessed of a territory that extended far beyond its present limits. In the travels of Hiuen Tsiang (about A. D. 629) it is called Mahâchampâ. The locality of the ancient port of Zabai or Champâ is probably therefore to be sought on the west coast of Kambôja, near the Kampot, or the Kang-kao of our maps. (See *Ind. Ant.*, vol. VI, pp. 228-230).

By the Great Gulf is meant the Gulf of Siam, together with the sea that stretches beyond it towards China. The great promontory where this sea begins is that now called Cape Kamboja.

Sinda was situated on the coast near Pulo Condor, a group of islands called by the Arabs Sandar-Fulât and by Marco Polo Sondur and Condur. Yule suggests that these may be the Satyrs' Islands of Ptolemy, or that they may be his Sinda.

8. The mountains in this division are thus named:—

Bêpyrrhos, whose extremities lie in	148°	34°
and	154°	26°
and Maiandros, whose extremities lie in	152°	24°
and	160°	16°
and Damassa (or Dobassa), whose extremities lie in	162°	23°
and	166°	33°
and the western part of Sêmanthinos, whose extremities lie in	170°	33°
and	180°	26°

Bêpyrrhos:—The authorities are pretty well agreed as to the identification of this range. "Bêpyrrhos," says Lassen (*Ind. Alt.*, vol I., pp. 549-50) "answers certainly to the Himâlaya from the sources of the Sarayû to those of the Tista." "Ptolemy," says Saint-Martin (*Etude*, p. 337) "applies to a portion of the Himâlayan chain the name of Bêpyrrhos, but with a direction to the south-east which does not exist in the axis of this grand system of mountains. In general, his notions about the Eastern Himâlayas are vague and confused. It is the rivers which he indicates as flowing from each group, and not the position which he assigns to the group itself that can serve us for the purpose of identification. He makes two descend from Bêpyrrhos and run to join the Ganges. These rivers are not named, but one is certainly the Kauśikî and the other ought to be either the Gandakî or the Tîsta." Yule

[23] Additions of the Latin Translator.

remarks, "Ptolemy shows no conception of the great Brahmaputra valley. His Bêpyrrhos shuts in Bengal down to Maeandrus. The latter is the spinal range of Arakan (Yuma), Bêpyrrhos, so far as it corresponds to facts, must include the Sikkim Himâlaya and the Gâro Hills. The name is perhaps Vipula—'vast,' the name of one of the mythical cosmic ranges but also a specific title of the Himâlaya."

Mount Maiandros:—From this range descend all the rivers beyond the Ganges as far as the Bêsynga or Bassein river, the western branch of the Irâwadî. It must therefore be the Yuma chain which forms the eastern boundary of Arakan, of which the three principal rivers are the Mayu, the Kula-dan and the Lê-myo. According to Lassen Maiandros is the graecized form of Mandara, a sacred mountain in Indian mythology.

Dobassa or Damassa range:—This range contributes one of the streams which form the great river Doanas, Bêpyrrhos which is further to the west, contributing the other confluent. A single glance at the map, Saint-Martin remarks (*Etude*, p. 338), clearly shows that the reference here is to the Brahmaputra river, whose indigenous name, the Dihong, accounts readily for the word Doanas. It would be idle, he adds, to explain where errors so abound, what made Ptolemy commit the particular error of making his Doanas run into the Great Gulf instead of joining the eastern estuary of the Ganges. The Dobassa Mountains, I therefore conclude, can only be the eastern extremity of the Himâlaya, which goes to force itself like an immense promontory into the grand elbow which the Dihong or Brahmaputra forms, when it bends to the south-east to enter Asâm. If the word Dobassa is of Sanskrit origin, like other geographical appellations applied to these eastern regions, it ought to signify the 'mountains that are obscure,'—Tâmasa Parvata. Yule (quoting *J. A. S. Beng.* vol. XXXVII, pt. ii, p. 192) points out that the Dimasas are mentioned in a modern paper on Asâm, as a race driven down into that valley by the immigration of the Bhôtiyas. This also points to the Bhôtân Himâlayas as being the Damassa range, and shows that of the two readings, Dobassa and Damassa, the latter is preferable.

Mount Sêmanthinos is placed 10 degrees further to the east than Maiandros, and was regarded as the limit of the world in that direction. Regarding these two Sanskrit designations, Saint-Martin, after remarking that they are more mythic than real, proceeds to observe: "These Oriental countries formed one of the horizons of the Hindu world, one of the extreme regions, where positive notions transform themselves gradually into the creations of mere fancy. This disposition was common to all the peoples of old. It is found among the nations of the east no less than in the country of Homer. Udayagiri,—the mountain of the east where the sun rises, was also placed by the Brahmanik poets very far beyond the mouths of the Ganges. The Sêmanthinôs is a mountain of the same family. It is the extreme limit of the world, it is its very girdle (*Samanta* in Sanskrit). In fine, Purânik legends without number are connected with Mandara, a great mountain of the East. The fabulous character of some of these designations possesses this interest with respect to our subject, that they indicate even better than notions of a more positive kind the primary source of the information which Ptolemy employed. The Maiandros, however, it must be observed, has a definite locality assigned it, and designates in Ptolemy the chain of heights which cover Arakan on the east."

9. From Bêpyrrhos two rivers discharge into the Ganges, of which the more northern has

its sources in	148°	33°
and its point of junction with the Ganges in	140° 15′	30° 20′
The sources of the other river are in	142°	27°
and its point of junction with the Ganges in	144°	26°

10. From Maiandros descend the rivers beyond the Ganges as far as the Bêsynga River, but the river Sêros flows from the range of Sêmanthinos from two sources, of which the

most western lies in	170° 30′	32°
and the most eastern in......	173° 30′	30°
and their confluence is in ...	171°	27°

11. From the Damassa range flow the Daonas and Dôrias (the Doanas runs as far as to Bêpyrrhos)

and the Dôrias rises in	164° 30′	28°

Of the two streams which unite to form the Doanas that from the Damassa range rises

in	162°	27° 30′
that from Bêpyrrhos rises in	153°	27° 30′
The two streams unite in ...	160° 20′	19°

The river Sôbanas which flows from Maiandros

rises in	163° 30′	13°

12. The rivers which having previously united flow through the Golden Khersonese from the mountain ridges, without name, which overhang the Khersonese—the one flowing into the Khersonese first detaches from it

the Attabas in about	161°	2° 20′

and then the Khrysoanas in about 161° 1° 20′ and the other river is the Palandas.

Nearly all the rivers in the foregoing table have already been noticed, and we need here do little more than remind the reader how they have been identified. The two which flow from Bêpyrrhos into the Ganges are the Kauśikî and the Tîsta. The Bêsynga is the Bassein River or Western branch of the Irâwaḍî. The Sêros enters the sea further eastward than any of the other rivers, probably in Champâ, the Zaba of Ptolemy, while Lassen identifies it with the Mekong. The Daonas is no doubt the Brahmaputra, though Ptolemy, taking the estuary of the Mekong or Kamboja river to be its mouth, represents it as falling into the Great Gulf. It was very probably also, to judge from the close resemblance of the names when the first two letters are transposed, the Oidanes of Artemidôros, who, according to Strabo (lib. XV, c. i, 72), describes it as a river that bred crocodiles and dolphins, and that flowed into the Ganges. Curtius (lib. VIII, c. 9) mentions a river called the Dyardanes that bred the same creatures, and that was not so often heard of as the Ganges, because of its flowing through the remotest parts of India. This must have been the same river as the Oidanes or Doanas, and therefore the Brahmaputra. The Dôrias is a river that entered the Chinese Sea between the Mekong Estuary and the Sêros. The Sobanas is perhaps the river Meinam on which Bangkok, the Siamese capital, stands. The Attabas is very probably the Tavoy river which, though its course is comparatively very short, is more than a mile wide at its mouth, and would therefore be reckoned a stream of importance. The similarity of the names favours this identification. The Khrysoana is the eastern or Rangûn arm of the Irâwaḍî. The Palandas is probably the Salyuen River.

Ptolemy now proceeds to describe the interior of Transgangetic India, and begins with the tribes or nations that were located along the banks of the Ganges on its eastern side.

13. The regions of this Division lying along the course of the Ganges on its eastern side and furthest to the north are inhabited by the Ganganoi, through whose dominions flows the river Sarabos, and who have the following towns :—

Sapolos	139° 20′	35°
Storna	138° 40′	34° 40′
Heorta	138° 30′	34°
Rhappha	137° 40′	33° 40′

Ganganoi should undoubtedly be read Ṭanganoi, as Ṭaṅgaṇa was the name given in the heroic ages to one of the great races who occupied the regions along the eastern banks of the upper Ganges. Their territory probably stretched from the Râmgaṅgâ river to the upper Sarayû, which is the Sarabos of Ptolemy. Their situation cannot be more precisely defined, as none of their towns named in the table can with certainty be recognized. "Concerning the people themselves," says Saint-Martin (*Étude*, pp 327, 328) "we are better informed. They are represented in the *Mahâbhârata* as placed between the Kirâta and the Kulinda in the highlands which protected the plains of Kôsala on the north. They were one of the barbarous tribes, which the Brahmanic Âryans, in pushing their conquests to the east of the Ganges and Jamnâ, drove back into the Himâlayas or towards the Vindhyas. It is principally in the Vindhya regions that the descendants of the Taṅgaṇa of classic times are now to be found. One of the Râjput tribes, well-known in the present day under the name of Taṅk or Toṅk is settled in Rohilkhand, the very district where the *Mahâbhârata* locates the Taṅgaṇa and Ptolemy his Tanganoi. These Tank Râjputs extend westward to a part of the Doâb, and even as far as Gujarât, but it is in the race of the Daṅgayas, spread over the entire length of the Vindhya Mountains and the adjacent territory from the southern borders of the ancient Magadha to the heart of Mâlwa to the north of the lower Narmadâ, it is in this numerous race, subdivided into clans without number, and which is called according to the districts inhabited Dhaṅgis, Dhâṅgars, Doṅga, &c. that we must search for the point of departure of the family and its primordial type. This type, which the mixture of Âryan blood has modified and ennobled in the tribes called Râjput, preserves its aboriginal type in the mass of mountain tribes, and this type is purely Mongolian, a living commentary on the appellation of Mlechha, or Barbarian, which the ancient Brahmanic books apply to the Taṅgaṇa." (Conf. *Bṛih. Saṁh.* IX, 17; X, 12; XIV, 12, 29; XVI, 6; XVII, 25; XXXI, 15 *Râmâyaṇa* IV, 44, 20).

The towns, we have said, cannot be identified with certainty, but we may quote Wilford's views as to what places now represent them. He says (*Asiat. Research.* vol. XIV, p. 457): "The Bân or Śaraban river was formerly the bed of the Ganges, and the present bed to the eastward was also once the Bân or Śaraban river. This Ptolemy mistook for the Râmagaṅgâ, called also the Bân, Śaraban and Śarâvatî river, for the four towns which he places on its banks, are either on the old or the new bed of the Ganges. Storna and Sapolos are Hastnaura, or Hastina-nagara on the old bed, and Sabal, now in ruins, on the eastern bank of

the new bed, and is commonly called Sabalgarh. Hastinâpur is 24 miles S. W. of Dârânagar, and 11 to the west of the present Ganges; and it is called Hastnawer in the *Ayin Akbari*. Heorta is Awartta or Hardwâr. It is called Arate in the *Peutinger* tables, and by the Anonymous of Ravenna."

14. To the south of these are the Maroundai who reach the Gangarîdai, and have the following towns on the east of the Ganges:—

Boraita	142° 20′	29°
Kôrygaza	143° 30′	27° 15′
Kondôta	145°	26°
Kelydna	146°	25° 30′
Aganagora	146° 30′	22° 30′
Talarga	146° 40′	21° 40′

The Maroundai occupied an extensive territory, which comprised Tirhut and the country southward on the east of the Ganges, as far as the head of its delta, where they bordered with the Gangarîdai. Their name is preserved to this day in that of the Mûudas, a race which originally belonged to the Hill-men of the North, and is now under various tribal designations diffused through Western Bengal and Central India, "the nucleus of the nation being the Ho or Hor tribe of Singhbhûm."[29] They are probably the Monedes of whom Pliny speaks, in conjunction with the Suari. That they were connected originally with the Muranda, a people of Lampâka (Lamghân) at the foot of the Hindu-Kôh mentioned in the inscription on the Allâhâbâd pillar, along with the Śaka, as one of the nations that brought tributary gifts to the sovereign of India, is sufficiently probable[30]; but the theory that these Muranda on being expelled from the valleys of the Kôphês by the invasion of the Yetha, had crossed the Indus and advanced southwards into India till they established themselves on the Ganges, in the kingdom mentioned by Ptolemy, is, as Saint-Martin has clearly proved (*Etude*, pp. 329, 330) utterly untenable, since the sovereign to whom the Muranda of the north sent their gifts was Samudragupta, who reigned subsequently to the time of Ptolemy, and they could not therefore have left their ancestral seats before he wrote. Saint-Martin further observes that not only in the case before us but in a host of analogous instances, it is certain that tribes of like name with tribes in India are met with throughout the whole extent of the region north of the Indus, from the eastern extremity of the Himâlaya as far as the Indus and the Hindu-Kôh, but this he points out is attributable to causes more general than the partial migration of certain tribes. The *Vayu Purâna* mentions the Muranda among the Mlechha tribes which gave kings to India during the period of subversion which followed the extinction of the two great Aryan dynasties. See Cunningham, *Anc. Geog. of Ind.*, pp. 505-509, also Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, vol. III, pp. 136f. 155—157, and vol. II, p. 877n.

Regarding the towns of the Maroundai, we may quote the following general observations of Saint-Martin (*Etude*, pp. 331, 332). "The list of towns attributed to the Maroundai would, it might be expected, enable us to determine precisely what extent of country acknowledged in Ptolemy's time the authority of the Marunda dynasty, but the corruption of many of the names in the Greek text, the inexactitude or insufficiency of the indications and, in fine, the disappearance or change of name of old localities, render recognition often doubtful, and at times impossible." He then goes on to say: "The figures indicating the position of these towns form a series almost without any deviation of importance, and betoken therefore that we have an itinerary route which cuts obliquely all the lower half of the Gangetic region. From Boraita to Kelydna this line follows with sufficient regularity an inclination to S. E. to the extent of about 6 degrees of a great circle. On leaving Kelydna it turns sharply to the south and continues in this direction to Talarga, the last place on the list, over a distance a little under four degrees. This sudden change of direction is striking, and when we consider that the Ganges near Râjmahal alters its course just as sharply, we have here a coincidence which suggests the enquiry whether near the point where the Ganges so suddenly bends, there is a place having a name something like Kelydna, which it may be safely assumed is a bad transcription into Greek of the Sanskrit Kâlinadî ('black river') of which the vulgar form is Kâlindî. Well then, Kâlindî is found to be a name applied to an arm of the Ganges which communicates with the Mahânandâ, and which surrounds on the north the large island formed by the Mahânandâ and Ganges, where once stood the famous city of Gâuda or Gaur, now in ruins. Gauda was not in existence in Ptolemy's time, but there may have been there a station with which if not with the river itself the indication of the table would

[29] *J. A. S. B.*, vol. XXXV, p. 168. The Mûnda tribes as enumerated by Dalton, *id.* p. 158, are the Kuars of Ilichpur, the Korewas of Sirguja and Jaspur, the Kherias of Chutia Nâgpur, the Hor of Singhbhum, the Bhumij of Mânbhûm Dhalbhûm, and the Sântals of Mânbhûm Singhbhum, Katak, Hâzâribâgh and the Bhâgalrpu hills. The western branches are the Bhills of Mâlwa and Kânhdês and the Kôlis of Gujarât.

[30] *Mahâbh.* vii, 4847; Reinaud, *Mém. sur l'Inde*, p. 353; Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, vol. II, p. 877.—J. B.

agree. At all events, considering the double accordance of the name and the position, it seems to me there is little room to doubt that we have there the locality of Kelydna. The existing town of Mâldâ, built quite near the site of Gauṛ, stands at the very confluence of the Kâlindî and Mahânandâ. This place appears to have preserved the name of the ancient Malada of the Purânik lists, very probably the Molindai of Megasthenês. This point being settled, we are able to refer thereto the towns in the list, both those which precede and those which follow after. We shall commence with the last, the determination of which rests on data that are less vague. These are Aganagara and Talarga. The table, as we have seen, places them on a line which descends towards the sea exactly to the south of Kelydna. If, as seems quite likely, these indications have been furnished to Ptolemy by the designating of a route of commerce towards the interior, it is natural to think that this route parted from the great emporium of the Ganges (the Gangê Regia of Ptolemy, the Ganges emporium of the Periplûs) which should be found, as we have already said, near where Hûghli now stands. From Kelydna to this point the route descends in fact exactly to the south, following the branch of the Ganges which forms the western side of the delta. The position of Aghadîp Agadvîpa) on the eastern bank of the river a little below Katwâ, can represent quite suitably Aganagora (Aganagara); while Talarga may be taken to be a place some leagues distant from Calcutta, in the neighbourhood of Hûghli. . . . . The towns which precede Kelydna are far from having the same degree of probability. We have nothing more here to serve for our guidance than the distances taken from the geographical notations, and we know how uncertain this indication is when it has no check to control it. The first position above Kelydna is Kondota or Tondota; the distance represented by an arc of two degrees of a great circle would conduct us to the lower Bagamatî (Bhagavatî). Korygaza or Sorygasa (distant ½ degree) would come to be placed perhaps on the Gandakî, perhaps between the Gandakî and the lower Sarayû; last of all Boraita, at two degrees from Korygaza, would conduct us to the very heart of ancient Kôsala, towards the position of the existing town of Bardâ. We need scarcely add, in spite of the connexion of the last two names, that we attach but a faint value to determinations which rest on data so vague." Boraita may be, however, Bharêch in Audh, as Yule has suggested, and with regard to Korygaza, it may be observed that the last part of the name may represent the Sanskrit *kachha*, which means *a marsh* or *place near a marsh*, and hence Korygaza may be Gorakhpur, the situation of which is notably marshy.

15. Between the Imaös and Bêpyrrhos ranges the Takoraioi are farthest north, and below them are the Korangkaloi, then the Passalai, after whom to the north of Maiandros are the Tiladai, such being the name applied to the Bêseidai, for they are short of stature and broad and shaggy and broad-faced, but of a fair complexion.

Takoraioi:—This tribe occupied the valleys at the foot of the mountains above Eastern Kôsala and adjoined the Tanganoi. The Tanganas are mentioned among the tribes of the north in the lists of the *Bṛihat Saṁhitâ* (IX, 17; X, 12; XIV, 29). They have left numerous descendants in different parts of Gangetic India. A particular clan in Rohilkhand not far from the seats of the Takoraioi preserves still the name under the form Dakhaura (Elliot's *Supplementary Glossary of Indian terms*, p. 360), and other branches are met with near the Jamnâ and in Râjputâna. Towards the east again the Dekra form a considerable part of the population of Western Asâm (*J. A. S. Beng.*, vol. XVIII, p. 712).

Korangkaloi;—These are probably of the same stock, if not actually the same people, as Korankâra of the *Purâṇas* (*Asiat. Research.*, vol. VIII), and the Kyaṅkdanis of Shêkavati. Their position is near the sources of the Gaṇḍak.

Passalai:—The Passalai here mentioned are not to be confounded with the Passalai of the Doâb. In the name is easily to be recognised the Vaiśâli of Hiuen Tsiang, which was a small kingdom stretching northward from the Ganges along the banks of the river Gaṇḍak. The capital had the same name as the kingdom, and was situated in the immediate neighbourhood of Hâjipur, a station near the junction of the Gaṇḍak and Ganges, where a great fair is annually held, distant from Pâtna about 20 miles. "Here we find the village of Besârh, with an old ruined fort, which is still called Raja Bisal-ka-garh, or the fort of Raja Visala, who was the reputed founder of the ancient Vaiśâli." (Cunningham, *Anc. Geog. of Ind.*, p. 443).

Tiladai:—We here leave the regions adjoining the Ganges, and enter the valleys of the Brahmaputra. The Tiladai are called also Bêsadai or Basadai. Ptolemy places them above the Maiandros, and from this as well as his other indications, we must take them to be the hill-people in the vicinity of Silhet, where, as Yule remarks, the plains break into an infinity of hillocks, which are specially known as *tila*. It is possible, he thinks, that the

Tiladai, occupied these *tîlas*, and also that the Tiladri hills (mentioned in the *Kshetra Samâsa*) were the same Tîlas. The same people is mentioned in the *Periplûs*, but under the corrupt form of Sêsatai. The picture drawn of them by the author of that work corresponds so closely with Ptolemy's, that both authors may be supposed to have drawn their information from the same source. We may quote (in the original) what each says of them :—

Periplûs : *ἔθνος τι, τῷ μεν σώματι κολοβοὶ καὶ σφόδρα πλατυπρόσωποι, ἐννοίαις δὲ λῷστοι αὐτοὺς [δὲ] λέγεσθαί [φασι] Σησάτας, παρομοίους ἀνημέροις.*

Ptolemy : *εἰσὶ γὰρ κολοβοὶ, καὶ πλατεῖς, καὶ, δασεῖς, και πλατυπρόσωποι, λευκοὶ μέντοι τὰς χρόας.*

Description of the regions which extend from the Brahmaputra to the Great Gulf.

16. Beyond Kirrhadia, in which they say the best *Malabathrum* is produced, the Zamîrai, a race of cannibals, are located near Mount Maiandros.

17. Beyond the Silver Country, in which there are said to be very many silver mines, (*μέταλλα ἀσήμου*), is situated in juxtapostion to the Bêsyngeitai, the Gold Country (*Χρυσῆ χώρα*), in which are very many gold mines, and whose inhabitants resemble the Zamîrai, in being fair-complexioned, shaggy, of squat figure, and flat-nosed.

Kirrhadia :—This has been already noticed. With reference to its product *Malabathrum*, which is not betel, but consists of the leaves of one or more kinds of the cinnamon or cassia-tree. I may quote the following passage from the *J. A. S. Beng.*, vol. XVI, pp. 38-9 :—" *Cinnamomum albiflorum* is designated *taj*, *tejpat* in Hindustani, the former name being generally applied to the leaf and the latter to the bark of the tree; *taj, tejpala, or tejapatra*, by all which names this leaf is known, is used as a condiment in all parts of India. It is indigenous in Silhet, Asâm, Rungpur (the Kirrhadia of Ptolemy), and in the valleys of the mountain-range as far as Masuri. The dry branches and leaves are brought annually in large quantities from the former place, and sold at a fair, which is held at Vikramapura. *Taj*, however, is a name that is also given in the eastern part of Bengal to the bark of a variety of *Cinnamomum Zeylanicum* or *Cassia lignea*, which abounds in the valleys of Kachâr, Jyntiya and Asâm." The word *Malabathrum* is a compound of *tamala* (the Sanskrit name of *Cinnamomum albiflorum*) and *pâtra*, 'a leaf.' Another derivation has been suggested *mâlâ*, 'a garland,' and *pâtra* 'a leaf.' (Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, vol. I, p. 283 seq., and conf. Dymock's *Veget. Mat. Med.*, p. 553).

The following interesting passage describes the mode in which the Bêsadai trade in this article with the Chinese. I translate from the *Periplûs*, cap. 65:—" On the confines of Thina is held an annual fair attended by a race of men called the Sêsatai, who are of a squat figure, broad-faced, and in appearance like wild beasts, though all the same they are quite mild and gentle in their disposition. They resort to this fair with their wives and children, taking great loads of produce packed in mats like the young leaves of the vine. The fair is held where their country borders on that of the Thinai. Here, spreading out the mats they use them for lying on, and devote several days to festivity. This being over, they withdraw into their own country and the Thinai, when they see they have gone, come forward and collecting the mats, which had been purposely left behind, extract first from the Calami (called Petroi), of which they were woven, the sinews and fibres, and then taking the leaves fold them double and roll them up into balls through which they pass the fibres of the Calami. The balls are of three kinds, and are designated according to the size of the leaf from which they are made, *hadro, meso* and *mikrosphairon*. Hence there are three kinds of *Malabathrum*, and these are then carried into India by the manufacturers.

Zamîrai :—A various reading is Zamerai. It has been already stated that this was a tribe of the same family as the Kirâta, beside whom they are named in the great geographical catalogue of the *Mahâbhârata*. Ramifications of the Zamîrai still exist under the names of Zamarias, Tomara, &c., in the midst of the savage districts which extend to the S. and S.E. of Magadha, and to the west of the Sôn.

The silver country, it has already been noticed, is Arakan, and the gold country and copper country, Yule remarks, correspond curiously even in approximate position with the Sonaparânta (golden frontier land), and Zampadîpa of Burmese state-documents. The Malay peninsula, taken generally, has still many mines both of the precious and the useful metals.

18. And, again, between the ranges of Bêpyrrhus and Damassa, the country furthest north is inhabited by the Aninakhai (or Aminakhai), south of these the Indaprathai, after these the Ibêringai, then the Dabasai (or Damassai ?), and up to Maiandros the Nangalogai, which means "the World of the Naked" (*γυμνῶν κόσμος*).

19. Between the Damassa range and the frontiers of the Sinai are located furthest

north the Kakobai; and below them the Basanârai.

20. Next comes the country of Khalkîtis, in which are very many copper mines. South of this, extending to the Great Gulf the Koudoutai, and the Barrhai, and after them the Indoi, then the Doânai, along the river of the same name.

21. To these succeeds a mountainous country adjoining the country of Robbers (Ληστῶν), wherein are found elephants and tigers. The inhabitants of the Robber country are reported to be savages (θηριώδεις), dwelling in caves, and that have skins like the hide of the hippopotamus, which darts cannot pierce through.

Aninakhai:—The position Ptolemy assigns to them is the mountain region to the north of the Brahmaputra, corresponding to a portion of Lower Asâm.

Indaprathai:—This is a purely Hindu name. In Sanskrit documents and in inscriptions mention is made of several towns in the provinces of the Ganges, which had taken the name of the old and famous Indraprastha (the modern Dehli), and we may conclude that the Indaprâthai of the East were a Brahmanic settlement. In subsequent times Sanskrit designations spread further down into the Dekhan with the cultus, either of the Brahmans or the Buddhists. Instances in point are Modura and Kosamba, which have been already noticed. The Indaprâthai appear to have established themselves in the districts S. of the Brahmaputra, and of the Aninakhai.

Ibêringai and Dabasai or Damassai:—The Damassai (now the Dimasas as already noticed), occupied the region extending from their homonymous mountains to the Brahmaputra, but further to the east than the Aninakhai and Ibêringai.

Nangalogai:—Many tribes still existing on the hills, east and north-east of Silhet, are called Nâgas. This name, which is given correctly in Ptolemy as Nanga, is the Indian word for *naked*, and according to Yule it is written *Nanga* in the Musalman History of Asâm. The absolute nakedness of both sexes, he says, continues in these parts to the present day. The latter half of the name *lôg* (Sanskrit *lôk*), is the Indian term for *people, mankind*, or *the world*, as Ptolemy has it.

With regard to the other tribes enumerated, Saint Martin remarks (*Étude*, pp. 345-6):—"The Ibêringai are still a tribe of the north just as the Dabassaê, perhaps on the mountains of the same name. There is still a tribe of Dhobas in Dinajpur, one of the districts of the north-east of Bengal, on the confines of the ancient Kâmarûpa. To the east of the Dobassa mountains, towards the frontiers of the Sinae, the tribe of the Kakobai is found to a surety in that of the Khokus, who occupy the same districts. The Basannarae, in a locality more southern, are very probably the Bhanzas, a tribe of the mountains to the south of Tippera, east of the mouth of the Brahmaputra. In the Kondorttai and the Barrhai, it is easy to recognize, though Ptolemy carries them too far into the south, the Kolitas and the Bhars or Bhors, two of the most notable parts of the population of Western Asâm, and of the districts of Bengal that belong to Kâmarûpa. The Doânai or Daonai are perpetuated in the Zaên of Eastern Asâm; and the name of the Lêstae, the last of the list, corresponds to all appearance to that of the Lepchhas, a well-known mountain race on the confines of Sikkîm to the west of the Tîsta." For notices of the tribes which he has thus identified with those of Ptolemy, he refers to the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vols. VI, IX, XIV, and XVIII. His identification of the Lêstai with the Lepchhas is in every way unfortunate. That the name Ληστaὶ is not a transcript of any indigenous name, but the Greek name for *robbers* or *pirates*, is apparent from the fact alone that the η has the iôta subscribed. The Lepchhas, moreover, live among mountains, far in the interior, while Ptolemy locates his Lêstai along the shores of the Gulf of Siam.

Ptolemy gives next a list of 33 towns in the interior by way of supplement to those already mentioned as situated along the course of the Ganges, followed by a list of the towns in the Golden Khersonese:—

22. The inland towns and villages of this division (Transgangetic India), in addition to those mentioned along the Ganges are called:—

Sêlampoura	148° 30′	33° 20′
Kanogiza	143°	32°
Kassida	146°	31° 10′
Eldana	152°	31°
Asanabara	155°	31° 30′
Arkhinara	163°	31°
Ourathênai	170°	31° 20′
Souanagoura	145° 30′	29° 30′
Sagôda or Sadôga	155° 20′	29° 20′
Anina	162°	29°
Salatha	165° 40′	28° 20′

23. Rhadamarkotta, in which is much *nard*...	172°	28′
Athênagouron	146° 20′	27°
Maniaina (or Maniataia)	147° 15′	24° 40′
Tôsalei, a metropolis ...	150°	23° 20′
Alosanga	152°	24° 15′
Adeisaga	159° 30′	23°
Kimara.....................	170°	23° 15′
Parisara	179°	21° 30′
Tougma, a metropolis...	152° 30′	22° 15′
Arisabion..................	158° 30′	22° 30′
Posinara	162° 15′	22° 50′
Pandasa	165°	21° 20′
Sipibêris (or Sittêbêris).	170°	23° 15′
Triglypton, called also Trilingon, capital of the kingdom	154°	18°

In this part the cocks are said to be bearded, and the crows and parrots white.

24. Lariagara	162° 30′	18° 15′
Rhingibêri	166°	18°
Agimoitha	170° 40′	18° 40′
Tomara	172°	18°
Dasana or Doana	165°	15° 20′
Mareoura a metropolis, called also Malthoura	158°	12° 30°
Lasippa (or Lasyppa)...	161°	12° 30′
Bareukora (or Bareuathra	164° 30′	12° 50′
25. In the Golden Khersonese—		
Balongka..................	162°	4° 40′
Kokkonagara	160°	2°
Tharrha	162°	1° 20′ S.
Palanda	161°	1° 20′ S.

Regarding the foregoing long list of inland towns, the following general observations by Saint-Martin are instructive: "With Ptolemy, unfortunately," he says (*Étude*, pp. 348-9) "the correspondence of names of towns in many instances, is less easy to discover than in the case of the names of peoples or tribes. This is shown once again in the long-enough list which he adds to the names of places already mentioned under the names of the people to which they respectively belonged. To judge from the repetitions in it and the want of connexion, this list appears to have been supplied to him by a document different from the documents he had previously used, and it is precisely because he has not known how to combine its contents with the previous details that he has thus given it separately and as an appendix, although thereby obliged to go again over the same ground he had already traversed. For a country where Ptolemy had not the knowledge of it as a whole to guide him, it would be unjust to reproach him with this want of connexion in his materials, and the confusion therefrom resulting; but this absence, almost absolute, of connexion does only render the task of the critic all the more laborious and unwelcome and there results from it strange mistakes for those who without sufficiently taking into account the composition of this part of the Tables, have believed they could find in the relative positions which the places have there taken a sufficient means of identification. It would only throw one into the risk of error to seek for correspondences to these obscure names, (of which there is nothing to guarantee the correctness, and where there is not a single name that is assigned to a definite territory,) in the resemblances, more or less close, which could be furnished by a topographical dictionary of India."

Sêlampoura:—This suggests Sêlempur, a place situated at some distance north of the Dêva or lower Sarayû. The identity of the names is our only warrant for taking them as applying to one and the same town; but as the two places which follow belong to the same part of the country, the identification is in some measure supported. Sêlempur is situated on a tributary of the Sarayû, the little Gandak.

Kanogiza:—This is beyond doubt the famous city of Kanyakubja or Kanauj, which has already been noticed under the list of towns attributed to Prasiakê, where the name is given as Kanagora. Ptolemy, while giving here the name more correctly has put the city hopelessly out of its position with reference to the Ganges, from which he has removed it several degrees, though it stood upon its banks. Among Indian cities it ranks next in point of antiquity to Ayôdhyâ in Audh, and it was for many centuries the Capital of North-Western India. It was then a stately city, full of incredible wealth, and its king, who was sometimes styled the Emperor of India, kept a very splendid court. Its remains are 65 miles W.N.W. from Lakhnau. The place was visited by Hiuen Tsiang in 634 A.D. Pliny (*H. N.* lib. VI, c. 21) has Calinipaxa. Conf. Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* vol. I, p. 158; *Mahâbh.* III, 8313; *Râmâyaṇa*, I, 34, 37.

Kassida:—Here we have another case of a recurrence of the same name in an altered form. In Sanskrit and in inscriptions Kâśî is the ordinary name of Bânâras. How Ptolemy came to lengthen the name by affixing *da* to it has not been explained. Ptolemy has mutilated Vâranâśî into Erarasa, which he calls a metropolis, and assigns to the Kaspeiraioi. Such is the view taken by Saint-Martin, but Yule, as we have seen, identifies Erarasa with Govardhan (Girirâja). He also points out, on the authority of Dr. F. Hall,

that Vâranâsî was never used as a name for Bânâras.

Souanagoura:—Saint-Martin (*Étude*, p. 351) thinks this is a transcript of the vulgar form of Suvarṇanagara, and in this name recognizes that of one of the ancient capitals of Eastern Bengal, Suvarṇagrâma (now Sonargâon, about 12 miles from Ḍhâkkâ), near the right bank of the Lower Brahmaputra.

Sagôda:—There can be no doubt of the identity of this place with Ayôdhyâ, the capital of Kôśala, under the name of Sâkêta or Sagêda. Sâkyamuni spent the last days of his life in this city, and during his sojourn the ancient name of Ayôdhyâ gave place to that of Sâkêta, the only one current. Hindu lexicographers give Sâkêta and Kôsala (or Kôśala) as synonyms of Ayôdhyâ. The place is now called Audh, and is on the right bank of the Sarayû or Ghâghrâ, near Faizâbâd, a modern town, built from its ruins. At some distance north from Audh is the site of Śrâvastî, one of the most celebrated cities in the annals of Buddhism. For the identity of Sâkêta with Ayôdhyâ and also Viśakha. See Cunningham, *Geog. of Anc. Ind.*, pp. 401 sqq.

Rhadamarkotta (v. l. Rhandamarkotta). Saint-Martin has identified this with Raṅgâmatî, an ancient capital situated on the western bank of the lower Brahmaputra, and now called Udêpur (Udayapura,—*city of sunrise*). Yule, who agrees with this identification, gives as the Sanskrit form of the name of the place, Raṅgamṛitika. The passage about *Nard* which follows the mention of Rhadamarkotta in the majority of editions is, according to Saint-Martin (*Étude*, p. 352 and note), manifestly corrupt. Some editors, correct πολλὴ, *much*, into πόλεις, *cities*, and thus Nardos becomes the name of a town, and Rhadamarkotta the name of a district, to which Nardos and the towns that come after it in the Table belong. On this point we may quote a passage from Wilford, whose views regarding Rhadamarkotta were different. He says (*Asiat. Research.* vol. XIV., p. 441), Ptolemy has delineated tolerably well the two branches of the river of Âvâ and the relative situation of two towns upon them, which still retain their ancient name, only they are transposed. These two towns are Urathêna, and Nardos or Nardon; Urathena is Rhâdana, the ancient name of Amarapur, and Nardon is Nartenh on the Kayn-dween. . . ." He says that "Nartenh was situated in the country of Rhandamarkoṭa, literally, the Fort of Randamar, after which the whole country was designated."

Tôsalei, called Metropolis, has become of great importance since recent archæological discoveries have led to the finding of the name in the Aśôka Inscriptions on the Dhauli rock. The inscription begins thus: "By the orders of Dêvanampiya (beloved of the gods) it is enjoined to the public officers charged with the administration of the city of Tôsali," &c. Vestiges of a larger city have been discovered not far from the site of this monument, and there can be no doubt that the Tôsali of the inscription was the capital in Aśôka's time of the province of Orissa, and continued to be so till at least the time of Ptolemy. The city was situated on the margin of a pool called Kôsalâ-Gangâ, which was an object of great religious veneration throughout all the country. It is pretty certain that relative to this circumstance is the name of Tosala-Kôsâlakas, which is found in the *Brahmâṇḍa Purâṇa*, which Wilford had already connected with the Tôsalê of Ptolemy. He had however been misled by the 2nd part of the word to locate the city in N. Kôsalâ, that is Audh. An obvious objection to the locating of Tôsalê in Orissa is that Ptolemy assigns its position to the eastern side of the Ganges, and Lassen and Burnouf have thus been led to conclude that there must have been two cities of the name. Lassen accordingly finds for Ptolemy's Tôsalê a place somewhere in the Province of Ḍhâkkâ. But there is no necessity for this. If we take into account that the name of Tôsalê is among those that are marked as having been added to our actual Greek texts by the old Latin translators (on what authority we know not) we shall be the less surprised to find it out of its real place. (Saint-Martin, *Étude*, pp. 353-4, citing *J. A. S. Beng.*, vol. VII, pp. 435 and 442; Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, vol. II, p. 256, and vol. III, p. 158; and *Asiat. Research.* vol. VIII, p. 344).

Alosanga:—The geographical position of Alosanga places it a quarter degree to the north of the upper extremity of Mount Maiandros. "By a strange fatality," says Wilford (*Asiat. Res. ut s.*, p. 390) "the northern extremity of Mount Maindros in Ptolemy's maps is brought close to the town of Alosanga, now Ellasing on the Lojung river, to the north-west of Ḍhâkkâ. This mistake is entirely owing to his tables of longitude and latitude."

Tougma:—In Yule's map this is identified, but doubtfully, with Tagaung, a place in Khrysê (Burma) east from the Irâwadî and near the tropics.

Triglypton or Trilingon:—Opinions vary much as to where this capital was situated. Wilford says (*Asiat. Research.* vol. XIV, p. 450-2): "Ptolemy places on the Tokosanna, the Metropolis of the country, and calls it Trilingon, a true Sanskrit appellation. Another name for it, says our author, was Triglypton, which is an attempt to render into Greek the meaning of Trilinga or

Trai-linga, the three 'lingas' of Mahâdêva; and this in Arakan is part of an extensive district in the *Purâṇas*, called Tri-pura, or the three towns and townships first inhabited by three Daityas. These three districts were Kamilâ, Chattala and Burmânaka, or Rasâng, to be pronounced Ra-shâṅh, or nearly so; it is now Arâkan. Kamilla alone retains the name of Tripura, the two other districts having been wrested from the head Râja. Ptolemy says that in the country of the Trilinga, there were white ravens, white parrots, and bearded cocks. The white parrot is the *kâkâtwâ*; white ravens are to be seen occasionally in India . . . Some say that this white colour might have been artificial . . . . The bearded cocks have, as it were, a collar of reversed feathers round the neck and throat, and there only, which gives it the appearance of a beard. These are found only in the houses of native princes, from whom I procured three or four; and am told that they came originally from the hills in the N. W. of India." Lassen has adopted a somewhat similar view. He says (*Ind. Alt.*, vol. IIi, p. 238-9): "Triglyphon was probably the capital of the Silver country, Arâkan of the present day. It lies, according to Ptolemy's determination, one degree further east and 3½ degrees further north than the mouths of the Arâkan river. The mouths are placed in the right direction, only the numbers are too great. It may be added that the foundation of this city, which was originally called Vaiśâlî, belongs to earlier times than those of Ptolemy, and no other capital in known to us in this country. The Greek name which means 'thrice cloven,' *i.e.*, 'three-forked' or 'a trident' suits likewise with Arakan, because it lies at the projections of the delta, and the Arâkan river, in the lower part of its course, splits into several arms, three of which are of superior importance. Ptolemy's remark that the cocks there are bearded and the ravens and parrots white, favours this view, for according to Blyth (*J. A. S. Beng.*, vol. XV, p. 26) there is found in Arâkan a species of the Bucconidae, which on account of their beards are called by the English 'barbets,' and on the same authority we learn that what is said of the ravens and parrots is likewise correct." Cunningham again, says (*Anc. Geog. of Ind.*, pp. 518-9): "In the inscriptions of the Kalachuri, or Haihaya dynasty of Chêdi, the Râjas assume the titles of "Lords of Kâliñjarapura, and of Trikaliṅga." Trikaliṅga, or the three Kaliṅgas, must be the three kingdoms Dhanakaṭaka, or Amarâvatî, on the Kṛishṇâ, Andhra or Warangol, and Kalinga, or Râjamahêndri. "The name of Trikaliṅga is probably old, as Pliny mentions the Macco-Calingae and the Gangarides-Calingae as separate peoples from the Calingae, while the *Mahâbhârata* names the Kaliṅgas three separate times, and each time in conjunction with different peoples. As Trikaliṅga thus corresponds with the great province of Têlingana, it seems probable that the name of Têlingana may be only a slightly contracted form of Trikalingâna, or the three Kaliṅgas. I am aware that the name is usually derived from Tri-linga, or the three *phalli* of Mahâdêva. But the mention of Macco-Calingae and Gangarides-Calingae by Pliny would seem to show that the three Kaliṅgas were known as early as the time of Megasthenês, from whom Pliny has chiefly copied his Indian Geography. The name must therefore be older than the Phallic worship of Mahâdêva in Southern India." Caldwell observes (*Dravid. Gram.*, Introd., p. 32) that though Triliṅgon is said to be on the Ganges, it may have been considerably to the south of it, and on the Gôdâvarî, which was always regarded by the Hindus as a branch of the Ganges, and is mythologically identical with it. The Andhras and Kaliṅgas, the two ancient divisions of the Telugu people are represented by the Greeks as Gangetic nations. It may be taken as certain that Triglyphon, Trilinga or Modogalinga was identical with Telingâna or Trilingam, which signifies the country of the *three liṅgas*. The Telugu name and language are fixed by Pliny and Ptolemy as near the mouths of the Ganges or between the Ganges and the Gôdâvarî. Modo or Modoga is equivalent to *mûdu* of modern Telugu. It "means *three*." Yule again places Trilingon on the left bank of the Brahmaputrâ, identifying it with Tripurâ (Tippera), a town in the district of the same name, 48 miles E.S.E. of Dhâkkâ.

Rhingibêri:—Saint-Martin and Yule, as we have seen, place Rangâmati on the Brahmaputrâ at Udipur. Wilford, however, had placed it near Chitagaoṅ, and identified it with Ptolemy's Rhinggibêri. "Ptolemy," he says (*Asiat. Res.*, vol. XIV, p. 439); "has placed the source of the Dorias" (which in Wilford's opinion is the Dumurâ or Dumriyâ, called in the lower part of its course the Karmaphuli)" in some country to the south of Salhata or Silhet, and he mentions two towns on its banks: Pandassa in the upper part of its course, but unknown; in the lower part Rhingibêri, now Rangâmatî near Châtgâv (Chitagaoṅ), and Reang is the name of the country on its banks. On the lesser Dumurâ, the river Chingri of the *Bengal Atlas*, and near its source, is a town called there Reang. Rangâmati and Rangâ-bâṭi, to be pronounced Rangabari, imply nearly the same thing."

Tomara was no doubt a place belonging to

the Zamîrai or Tamarai, who were located inland from Kirrhadia, and inhabited the Garô Hills.

Mareoura or Malthoura:—In Yule's map this metropolis is located, but doubtfully, to the west of Tougma (Tagauṅ) near the western bank of the Khyendwen, the largest confluent of the Irâwaḍî.

Bareukora (or Bareuathra) is in Yule's map identified with Ramû, a place in the district of Chitagaoṅ, from which it is 68 miles distant to the S.S.E. Wilford identified it with Phalgun, another name for which, according to the *Kshetra Samaśa* was Pharuïgâra, and this he took to be Ptolemy's *Bareukora*. Phalgun he explains to be the Palong of the maps.

Kokkonagara:—Yule suggests for this Pegu. "It appears," he says, "from Târanâtha's history of Buddhism (ch. xxxix.) that the Indo-Chinese countries were in old times known collectively as Koki. In a Ceylonese account of an expedition against Râmaniyâ, supposed to be Pegu, the army captures the city of Ukkaka, and in it the Lord of Râmaniyâ. Kokkonagara again, is perhaps the Kâḳula of Ibn Batuta, which was certainly a city on the Gulf of Siam, and probably an ancient foundation from Kaliṅga, called after Śrî-kâkola there."

Tharra:—The same authority identifies this with Tharâwati at the head of the delta of the Irâwaḍî. It is one of the divisions of the Province of Pegu.

Ptolemy's description of Transgangetic India now closes with the Islands.

26. The islands of the division of India we have been describing are said to be these:

Bazakata	149° 30′	9° 30′
[Khalinê........................	146°	9° 20′]

In this island some say there is found in abundance the murex shell-fish (κόχλος) and that the inhabitants go naked, and are called Aginnatai.

27. There are three islands called Sindai, inhabited by Cannibals, of which the centre lies in .... 152° 8° 40′ S.

Agathu daimonos ...... 145° 15′ on the equator.

28. A group of five islands, the Barousai, whose inhabitants are said to be cannibals, and the centre of which lies in 152° 20′ 5° 20′ S.

A group of three islands, the Sabadeibai, inhabited by cannibals, of which the centre lies in .... 160° 8° 30′ S.

Bazakata may perhaps be the island of Cheduba, as Wilford has suggested. Lassen takes it to be an island at the mouth of the Bassein river, near Cape Negrais, called Diamond Island. Its inhabitants are called by Ptolemy the Aginnatai, and represented as going naked. Lassen, for Aginnatai would therefore read Apinnatai, "because *apinaddha* in Sanskrit means unclothed;" but *apinaddha* means 'tied on,' clothed. Yule thinks it may perhaps be the greater of the two Andâmân islands. He says (*Proc. Roy. Geog. Soc.* vol. IV, 1882, p. 654); "Proceeding further the (Greek) navigator reaches the city of Kôli or Kôlis, leaving behind him the island of Bazakota, 'Good Fortune' ('Αγαθοῦ Δαίμονος) and the group of the Barusæ. Here, at Kôli, which I take to be a part of the Malay peninsula, the course of the first century Greek, and of the ninth century Arab, come together." Bazakota and the Island of Good Fortune may be taken as the Great and the Little Andâmân respectively. The Arab relation mentions in an unconnected notice an island called Malhân between Serendib and Kalah, *i.e.*, between Ceylon and the Malay Peninsula, which was inhabited by black and naked cannibals. "This may be another indication of the Andâmân group, and the name may have been taken from Ptolemy's Maniolae, which in his map occupy the position in question." And again: "Still further out of the way (than the Andâmâns) and difficult of access was a region of mountains containing mines of silver. The landmarks (of the Arab navigator) to reach these was a mountain called Alkhushnâmi ('the Auspicious'). "This land of silver mines is both by position and by this description identified with the Argyrê of Ptolemy. As no silver is known to exist in that region (Arakan) it seems probable that the Arab indications to that effect were adopted from the Ptolemaic charts. And this leads me to suggest that the Jibal Khushnâmi also was but a translation of the Αγαθοῦ δαίμονος νῆσος, or isle of Good Fortune, in those maps, whilst I have thought also that the name Andâmân might have been adopted from a transcript of the same name in Greek as Αγ. δαίμον."

Khalinê in Yule's map is read as Saline, and identified with the Island of Salang, close to the coast in the latitude of the Nikobar Islands.

The Sindai Islands are placed by Ptolemy about as far south as his island of Iabadios (Java) but many degrees west of them. Lassen says (*Ind. Alt.*, vol. III, pp. 250-1) that the northmost of the three islands must be Pulo-Rapat, on the coast of Sumatra, the middle one the more southern, Pulo Pangor, and the island of Agatho-Daimon, one of the Salat Mankala group. The name of Sindai might imply, he thinks, that Indian traders had formed a settlement there. He seems to have

regarded the Island of Agatho-Daimon as belonging to the Sindai group, but this does not appear to me to be sanctioned by the text. Yule says: "Possibly Sundar-Fulât, in which the latter word seems to be an Arabized plural of the Malay *Pulo* 'island' is also to be traced in Sindae Insulae, but I have not adopted this in the map."

The Barousai Islands:—"The (Arab) navigators," says Yule in his notes already referred to, "crossing the sea of Horkand with the west monsoon, made land at the islands of Lanja-Lanka, or Lika-Bâlûs, where the naked inhabitants came off in their canoes bringing ambergris and cocoanuts for barter, a description which with the position identifies these islands with the Nikobars, Nekaveram of Marco Polo, Lâka-Vâram of Rashîdu'd-dîn, and, I can hardly hesitate to say, with the Barusae Islands of Ptolemy.

Sabadeibai Islands:—The latter part of this name represents the Sanskrit *dwîpa*, 'an island.' The three islands of this name are probably those lying east from the more southern parts of Sumatra.

29. The island of Iabadios (or Sabadios) which means the island of Barley. It is said to be of extraordinary fertility, and to produce very much gold, and to have its capital called Argyrê (Silver-town) in the extreme west of it.

It lies in .... 167° 8° 30′ S.

and the eastern limit lies in ...169° 8° 10′ S.

30. The Islands of the Satyrs, three in number, of which the centre is in 171° 2° 30′ S. The inhabitants are said to have tails like those with which Satyrs are depicted.

31. There are said to be also ten other islands forming a continuous group called Maniolai, from which ships fastened with iron nails are said to be unable to move away, (perhaps on account of the magnetic iron in the islands) and hence they are built with wooden bolts. The inhabitants are called Maniolai, and are reputed to be cannibals.

The island of Iabadios:—*Iaba*, the first part of this name, is the Sanskrit word for 'barley,' and the second part like *deiba*, *diba*, *diva*, and *div* or *diu*, represents *dvîpa*, 'an island.' We have here therefore the Island of Java, which answers in most respects to Ptolemy's description of it. The following note regarding it I take from Bunbury's *History of Ancient Geography* (pp. 643-4): "The name of Java has certainly some resemblance with Iabadius, supposing that to be the correct form of the name, and, what is of more consequence, Ptolemy adds that it signifies 'the island of barley,' which is really the meaning of the name of Java. The position in latitude assigned by him to the island in question ($8\frac{1}{2}$ degrees of south latitude) also agrees very well with that of Java: but his geographical notions of these countries are in general so vague and erroneous that little or no value can be attached to this coincidence. On the other hand, the abundance of gold would suit well with Sumatra, which has always been noted on that account, while there is little or no gold found in Java. The metropolis at its western extremity would thus correspond with Achîn, a place that must always have been one of the principal cities of the island. In either case he had a very imperfect idea of its size, assigning it a length of only about 100 Geog. miles, while Java is 9° or 540 G. miles in length, and Sumatra more than 900 G. miles. It seems not improbable that in this case, as in several others, he mixed up particulars which really referred to the two different islands, and applied them to one only: but it is strange that if he had any information concerning such islands as Sumatra and Java, he should have no notion that they were of very large size, at the same time that he had such greatly exaggerated ideas of the dimensions of Ceylon." Mannert took Iabadios to be the small island of Banka on the S.E. of Sumatra. For the application of the name of Java to the Island of Sumatra, see Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. II, p. 266, note 1.

Regarding the Islands of the Satyrs, Lassen says (*Ind. Alt.*, vol. III, p. 252): The three islands, called after the Satyrs, mark the extreme limits of the knowledge attained by Ptolemy of the Indian Archipelago. The inhabitants were called Satyrs because, according to the fabulous accounts of mariners, they had tails like the demi-gods of that name in Greek mythology. Two of these must be Madura and Bali, the largest islands on the north and east coasts of Java, and of which the first figures prominently in the oldest legends of Java; the second, on the contrary, not till later times. The third island is probably Lombok, lying near Bali in the east. A writer in Smith's *Dictionary of Classical Geography* thinks these islands were perhaps the Anamba group, and the Satyrs who inhabited them apes resembling men. Yule says in the notes:—"Sandar-Fulât we cannot hesitate to identify with Pulo Condor, Marco Polo's Sondur and Condur. These may also be the Satyrs' islands of Ptolemy, but they may be his Sindai, for he has a Sinda city on the coast close to this position, though his Sindai islands are dropped far way. But it would not be difficult to show that Ptolemy's islands have been located almost at random, or as from a pepper-castor."

Ptolemy locates the Maniolai Islands, of

which he reckons ten, about 10 degrees eastward from Ceylon. There is no such group however to be found in that position, or near it, and we may safely conclude that the Maniolai isles are as mythical as the magnetic rocks they were said to contain. In an account of India, written at the close of the 4th or beginning of the 5th century, at the request either of Palladius or of Lausius, to whom Palladius inscribed his *Historia Lausiaca*, mention is made of these rocks: "At Muziris," says Priaulx, in his notice of this account[31] "our traveller stayed some time, and occupied himself in studying the soil and climate of the place and the customs and manners of its inhabitants. He also made enquiries about Ceylon, and the best mode of getting there, but did not care to undertake the voyage when he heard of the dangers of the Sinhalese channel, of the thousand isles, the Maniolai which impede its navigation, and the loadstone rocks which bring disaster and wreck on all iron-bound ships." And Masûdi, who had traversed this sea, says that ships sailing on it were not fastened with iron nails, its waters so wasted them. (*The Indian Travels of Apollonius of Tyana, &c.*, p. 197). After Ptolemy's time a different position was now and again assigned to these rocks, the direction in which they were moved being more and more to westward. Priaulx (p. 247), uses this as an argument in support of his contention that the Roman traffic in the eastern seas gradually declined after 273 A.D., and finally disappeared. How, otherwise, he asks, can we account for the fact that the loadstone rocks, those myths of Roman geography, which, in Ptolemy's time, the flourishing days of Roman commerce, lay some degrees eastward of Ceylon, appear A.D. 400 barring its western approach, and A.D. 560 have advanced up to the very mouth of the Arabian Gulf. But on the Terrestrial Globe of Martin Behem, Nuremberg A.D. 1492, they are called Manillas, and are placed immediately to the north of Java Major. Aristotle speaks of a magnetic mountain on the coast of India, and Pliny repeats the story. Klaproth states that the ancient Chinese authors also speak of magnetic mountains in the southern sea on the coasts of Tonquin and Cochin-China, and allege regarding them that if foreign ships which are bound with plates of iron approach them, such ships are there detained, and can in no case pass these places. (Tennant's *Ceylon*, vol. I, p. 444 n.) The origin of the fable, which represents the magnetic rocks as fatal to vessels fastened with iron nails, is to be traced to the peculiar mode in which the Ceylonese and Malays have at all times constructed their boats and canoes, these being put together without the use of iron nails; the planks instead being secured by wooden bolts, and stitched together with cords spun from the fibre of the cocoanut. "The Third Calender," in the *Arabian Nights Entertainment*, gives a lively account of his shipwreck upon the Loadstone Mountain, which he tells us was entirely covered towards the sea with the nails that belonged to the immense number of ships which it had destroyed.

CAP. 3.

POSITION OF THE SINAI.

1. The Sinai are bounded on the north by the part of Sêrikê already indicated, on the east and south by the unknown land, on the west by India beyond the Ganges, along the line defined as far as the Great Gulf and by the Great Gulf itself, and the parts immediately adjacent thereto, and by the Wild Beast Gulf, and by that frontier of the Sinai around which are placed the Ikhthyophagoi Aithiopes, according to the following outline:—

2. After the boundary of the Gulf on the side of India the mouth of

the river Aspithra	170°	16°
Sources of the river on the eastern side of the Sêmanthinos range	180°	26°
Bramma, a town...............	177°	12° 30′
The mouth of the river Ambastes.....................	176°	10°
The sources of the river......	179° 30′	15°
Rhabana, a town...............	177°	8° 30′
Mouth of the river Sainos ...	176° 20′	6° 30′
The Southern Cape	175° 15′	4°
The head of Wild Beast Gulf	176°	2°
The Cape of Satyrs	175°	on the line
Gulf of the Sinai[32]	178°	2° 20′

3. Around the Gulf of the Sinai dwell the fish-eating Aithiopians.

Mouth of the river Kottiaris.......................	177° 20′	7° S.
Sources of the river	180° 40′	2° S.
Where it falls into the river Sainos...............	180°	on the line.
Kattigara, the port of the Sinai.......................	177°	8° 30′ S.

4. The most northern parts are possessed by the Sêmanthinci, who are situated above

[31] Wilford (*As. Res.* vol. XIV, pp. 429-30), gives the fable regarding these rocks from the *Chaturvarga Chintâmani*, and identifies them with those near Pârindra or the lion's place in the lion's mouth or Straits of Singapur.

[32] Latin Translator.

the range that bears their name. Below them, and below the range are the Akadrai, after whom are the Aspithrai, then along the Great Gulf the Ambastai, and around the gulfs immediately adjoining the Ikhthyophagoi Sinai.

5. The interior towns of the Sinai are named thus: —

Akadra	178° 20′	21° 15′	
Aspithra	175°	16°	
Kokkonagara	179° 50′	2°	S.
Sarata	180° 30′	4°	S.

6. And the Metropolis

Sinai or Thînai	180° 40′	3°	S.

which they say has neither brazen walls nor anything else worthy of note. It is encompassed on the side of Kattigara towards the west by the unknown land, which encircles the Green Sea as far as Cape Prason, from which begins, as has been said, the Gulf of the Batrakheian Sea, connecting the land with Cape Rhapton, and the southern parts of Azania.

It has been pointed out how egregiously Ptolemy misconceived the configuration of the coast of Asia beyond the Great Gulf, making it run southward and then turn westward, and proceed in that direction till it reached the coast of Africa below the latitude of Zanzibar. The position, therefore of the places he names, cannot be determined with any certainty. By the Wild Beast Gulf may perhaps be meant the Gulf of Tonquin, and by the Gulf of the Sinai that part of the Chinese Sea which is beyond Hai-nan Island. The river Kottiaris may perhaps be the river of Canton. Thinai, or Sinai, may have been Nankin, or better perhaps Si-gnan-fu, in the province of Shen-si, called by Marco Polo, by whom it was visited, Ken-jan-fu. "It was probably," says Yule (Marco Polo, vol. II, p. 21) "the most celebrated city in Chinese history and the capital of several of the most potent dynasties. In the days of its greatest fame it was called Chaggan." It appears to have been an ancient tradition that the city was surrounded by brazen walls, but this Ptolemy regarded as a mere fable. The author of the *Periplûs* (c. 64), has the following notice of the place :—"There lies somewhere in the interior of Thina, a very great city, from which silk, either raw or spun or woven into cloth is carried overland to Barygaza through Baktria or by the Ganges to Limyrikê . . . Its situation is under the Lesser Bear." Ptolemy has placed it 3 degrees south of the equator!

I here subjoin, for comparison, a passage from Ammianus Marcellinus which traverses the ground covered by Ptolemy's description of Central and Eastern Asia. Ammianus wrote about the middle of the fourth century of our æra, and was a well informed writer, and careful in his statement of facts The extract is from the 23rd Book of his *History*:—

"If you advance from Karmania into the interior (*of Asia*) you reach the Hyrkanians, who border on the sea which bears their name. Here, as the poorness of the soil kills the seeds committed to it, the inhabitants care but little for agriculture. They live by hunting game, which is beyond measure varied and abundant. Tigers show themselves here in thousands, and many other wild beasts besides. I bear in mind that I have already described the nature of the contrivances by which these animals are caught. It must not be supposed, however, that the people never put hands to the plough, for where the soil is found richer than usual the fields are covered with crops. In places, moreover, that are adapted for being planted-out, gardens of fruit-trees are not wanting, and the sea also supplies many with the means of livelihood. Two rivers flow through the country whose names are familiar to all, the Oxus and Maxera. Tigers at times, when pressed by hunger on their own side of these rivers, swim over to the opposite side and, before the alarm can be raised, ravage all the neighbourhood where they land. Amidst the smaller townships there exist also cities of great power, two on the sea-board, Socunda and Saramanna, and the others inland— Azmorna and Solen, and Hyrkana, which rank above the others. The country next to this people on the north is said to be inhabited by the Abii, a most pious race of men, accustomed to despise all things mortal, and whom Jupiter (as Homer with his over-fondness for fable sings) looks down upon from the summits of Mount Ida. The seats immediately beyond the Hyrkanians form the dominions of the Margiani, who are nearly on all sides round hemmed in by high hills, and consequently shut out from the sea. Though their territory is for the most part sterile, from the deficiency of water, they have nevertheless some towns, and of these the more notable are Jasonion and Antiochia and Nisæa. The adjoining region belongs to the Baktriani, a nation hitherto addicted to war and very powerful, and always troublesome to their neighbours, the Persians, before that people had reduced all the surrounding states to submission, and absorbed them into their own name and nationality. In old times, however, even Arsakes himself found the kings who ruled in Baktriana formidable foes to contend with. Most parts of the country are, like Margiana, far distant from the sea, but the soil is productive, and the cattle that are pastured on the plains and hill-sides, are compact of structure, with limbs

both stout and strong, as may be judged from the camels which were brought from thence by Mithridates and seen by the Romans during the siege of Cyzicus, when they saw this species of animal for the first time. A great many tribes, among which the Tochari are the most distinguished, obey the Baktrians. Their country is watered, like Italy, by numerous rivers, and of these the Artemis and Zariaspes after their union, and in like manner the combined Ochus and Orchomanes, swell with their confluent waters the vast stream of the Oxus. Here also cities are to be found, and these are laved by different rivers. The more important of them are Chatra and Charte and Alicodra and Astacia and Menapila, and Baktra itself, which is both the capital and the name of the nation. The people, who live at the very foot of the mountains, are called the Sogdii, through whose country flow two rivers of great navigable capacity, the Araxates and Dymas, which rushing impetuously down from the mountains and passing into a level plain, form a lake of vast extent, called the Oxian. Here, among other towns, Alexandria, and Kyreschata, and Drepsa the Metropolis, are well known to fame. Contiguous to the Sogdians are the Sacae, an uncivilized people, inhabiting rugged tracts that yield nothing beyond pasture for cattle, and that are, therefore, unadorned with cities. They lie under Mounts Askanimia and Komedus. Beyond the valleys at the foot of these mountains and the village which they call Lithinon Pyrgon (Stone Tower) lies the very long road by which traders pursue their journey who start from this point to reach the Sêres. In the parts around are the declivities by which the mountains called Imaus and the Tapourian range, sink down to the level of the plains. The Skythians are located within the Persian territories, being conterminous with the Asiatic Sarmatians, and touching the furthest frontier of the Alani. They live, as it were, a sort of secluded life, and are reared in solitude, being scattered over districts that lie far apart, and that yield for the sustenance of life a mean and scanty fare. The tribes which inhabit these tracts are various, but it would be superfluous for me to enumerate them, hastening as I am to a different subject. One fact must, however, be stated, that there are in these communities which are almost shut out from the rest of mankind by the inhospitable nature of their country, some men gentle and pious, as for instance, the Jaxartes and the Galaktophagi, mentioned by the poet Homer in this verse:

Γλακτοφάγων ἀβίωντε δικαιοτάτων ἀνθρώπων.

"Among the many rivers of Skythia which either fall naturally into larger ones, or glide onward to reach at last the sea, the Roemnus is of renown, and the Jaxartes and the Talicus, but of cities they are not known to have more than but three, Aspabota and Chauriana and Saga.

"Beyond these places in the two Skythias and on their eastern side lie the Sêres, who are girt in by a continuous circle of lofty mountain-peaks, and whose territory is noted for its vast extent and fertility. On the west they have the Skythians for their next neighbours, and on the north and east they adjoin solitudes covered over with snow, and on the south extend as far as India and the Ganges. The mountains referred to are called Anniva and Nazavicium and Asmira and Emodon and Opurocara. Through this plain which, as we have said, is cinctured on all sides by steep declivities, and through regions of vast extent, flow two famous rivers, the Œchardes and the Bautisus, with a slower current. The country is diversified in its character, here expanding into open plains, and there rising in gentle undulations. Hence it is marvellously fruitful and well-wooded, and teeming with cattle. Various tribes inhabit the most fertile districts, and of these the Alitrophagi and Annibi and Sizyges and Chardi are exposed to blasts from the north and to frosts, while the Rabannae and Asmirae and Essedones, who outshine all the other tribes, look towards the rising sun. Next to these, on their western side, are the Athagorae and the Aspacarae. The Betae, again, are situated towards the lofty mountains fringing the south, and are famed for their cities which, though few in number are distinguished for their size and wealth; the largest of them being Asmira, and Essedon and Asparata and Sera, which are beautiful cities and of great celebrity. The Sêres themselves lead tranquil lives, and are averse to arms and war, and since people whose temper is thus sedate and peaceful relish their ease, they give no trouble to any of their neighbours. They enjoy a climate at once agreeable and salubrious; the sky is clear and the prevailing winds are wonderfully mild and genial. The country is well-shaded with woods, and from the trees the inhabitants gather a product which they make into what may be called fleeces by repeatedly besprinkling it with water. The material thus formed by saturating the soft down with moisture is exquisitely fine, and when combed out and spun into woof is woven into silk, an article of dress formerly worn only by the great, but now without any distinction even by the very poorest.[33]

[33] It was a notion long prevalent that silk was combed from the leaves of trees. Thus Virgil (*Georg.* II, 121) "Velleraque ut foliis depectant tenuia Seres." Strabo (XV, i, 20) describes silk as carded off the bark of certain

The Sêres themselves live in the most frugal manner, more so indeed than any other people in the world. They seek after a life as free as possible from all disquiet, and shun intercourse with the rest of mankind. So when strangers cross the river into their country to buy their silks or other commodities, they exchange no words with them, but merely intimate by their looks the value of the goods offered for sale; and so abstemious are they that they buy not any foreign products. Beyond the Sêres live the Ariani, exposed to the blasts of the north wind. Through their country flows a navigable river called the Arias, which forms a vast lake bearing the same name. This same Aria has numerous towns, among which Bitana Sarmatina, and Sotera and Nisibis and Alexandria are the most notable. If you sail from Alexandria *down the river* to the Caspian Sea the distance is 1,500 stadia.

Immediately adjoining these places are the Paropanisatae, who look on the east towards the Indians and on the west towards Caucasus, lying themselves towards the slopes of the mountains. The River Ortogordomaris, which is larger than any of the others, and rises among the Baktriani, flows through their territory. They too, have some towns, of which the more celebrated are Agazaca and Naulibus and Ortopana, from which the navigation along the coast to the borders of Media in the immediate neighbourhood of the Caspian Gates extends to 2,200 stadia. Contiguous to the Paropanisatae just named are the Drangiani, seated quite close to the hills and watered by a river called the Arabian, because it rises in Arabia. Among their other towns they have two to boast of in particular, Prophthasia and Ariaspe, which are both opulent and famous. After these, and directly confronting them, Arachosia comes into view, which on its right side faces the Indians. It is watered by a stream of copious volume derived from the Indus, that greatest of rivers, after which the adjacent regions have been named. This stream, which is less than the Indus, forms the lake called Arachotoscrene. The province, among other important cities, has Alexandria and Arbaca and Choaspa. In the very interior of Persia is Gedrosia, which on the right touches the Indian frontier. It is watered by several streams, of which the Artabius is the most considerable. Where it is inhabited by the Barbitani the mountains sink down to the plains. A number of rivers issue from their very base to join the Indus, and these all lose their names when absorbed into that mightier stream. Here too, besides the islands there are cities, of which Sedratyra and Gunaikon Limen (Women's haven) are considered to be superior to the others. But we must bring this description here to an end, lest in entering into a minute account of the seaboard on the extremities of Persia we should stray too far from the proper argument."

trees. Pausanias, who wrote about 180 A.D. is the first classical author who writes with some degree of correctness about silk and the silk-worm. Conf. P. Mela, i, 2, 3; iii, 7, 1; Pliny, VI, 17, 20; Prop. i, 14, 22; Sol. 50; Isid. Orig. xix, 17, 6; ib. 27, 5.

Cap. 4.

Position of the Island of Taprobane.

1. Opposite Cape Kôry, which is in India, is the projecting point of the Island of Taprobanê, which was called formerly Simoundou, and now Salikê. The inhabitants are commonly called Salai. Their heads are quite encircled with long luxuriant locks, like those of women. The country produces rice, honey, ginger, beryl, hyacinth[33] and has mines of every sort—of gold and of silver and other metals. It breeds at the same time elephants and tigers.

2. The point already referred to as lying opposite to Kôry is called North Cape (Boreion Akron) and lies ...... 126° 12° 30′

3. The descriptive outline of the rest of the island is as follows:—

After the North Cape which is situated in	126°	12° 30′
comes Cape Galiba............	124°	11° 30′
Margana, a town	123° 30′	10° 20′
Iôgana, a town	123° 20′	8° 50′
Anarismoundon, a cape......	122°	7° 45′
Mouth of the River Soana...	122° 20′	6° 15′
Sources of the river	124° 30′	3°
Sindokanda, a town	122°	5°
Haven of Priapis	122°	3° 40′
4. Anoubingara	121°	2° 40′
Headland of Zeus	120° 30′	1°
Prasôdês Bay	121°	2°
Noubartha, a town...........	121° 40′	on the line.
Mouth of the river Azanos...	123° 20′	1° S.
The sources of the river......	126°	1° N.
Odôka, a town.................	123°	2° S.
Orneôn, (Birds' Point) a headland	125°	2° 30′

[33] In one of the temples, says Kosmas, is the great hyacinth, as large as a pine-cone, the colour of fire and flashing from a distance, especially when catching the beams of the sun, a matchless sight.

5. Dagana, a town sacred to the Moon	126°	2° S.
Korkobara, a town	127° 20′	2° 20′ S.
Cape of Dionysos	130°	1° 30′ S.
Kêtaion Cape	132° 30′	2° 20′ S.
Mouth of the river Barakês	131° 30′	1° N.
Sources of the river	128°	2° N.
Bôkana, a town	131°	1° 20′ N.
The haven of Mardos or Mardoulamnê	131°	2° 20′ N.
6. Abaratha, a town ...	131°	3° 15′ N.
Haven of the Sun (Helion limên)	130°	4°
Great Coast (Aigialos Megas)	130°	4° 20′
Prokouri, a town	131°	5° 20′
The haven of Rizala	130° 20′	6° 30′
Oxeia, a headland	130°	7° 30′
Mouth of the river Gangês	129°	7° 20′
The sources of the river...	127°	7° 15′
Spatana Haven	129°	8°
7. Nagadiba or Nagadina, a town	129°	8° 30′
Pati Bay	128° 30′	9° 30′
Anoubingara, a town......	128° 20′	9° 40′
Modouttou, a mart.........	128°	11° 20′
Mouth of the river Phasis	127°	11° 20′
The sources of the river...	126°	8°
Talakôry (or Aakotê,) a mart	126° 20′	11° 20′

After which the North Cape.

8. The notable mountains of the island are those called Galiba, from which flow the Phasis and the Ganges, and that called Malaia, from which flow the Soanas and the Azanos and the Barakês, and at the base of this range, towards the sea, are the feeding grounds of the elephants.

9. The most northern parts of the Island are possessed by the Galiboi and the Moudouttoi, and below these the Anourogrammoi and the Nagadiboi, and below the Anourogrammoi the Soanoi, and below the Nagadiboi the Sennoi, and below these the Sandokandai, towards the west, and below these towards the feeding grounds of the elephants the Boumasanoi, and the Tarakhoi, who are towards the east, below whom are the Bôkanoi and Diordouloi, and furthest south the Rhogandanoi, and the Nageiroi.

10. The inland towns in the island are these :—

Anourogrammon, the royal residence	124° 10′	8° 40′
Maagrammon, the metropolis	127°	7° 20′
Adeisamon	129°	5°
Podoukê	124°	3° 40′
Oulispada	126° 20′	40′
Nakadouba	128° 30′	on the Line.

11. In front of Taprobanê lies a group of islands which they say number 1378. Those whose names are mentioned are the following:—

Ouangalia (or Ouangana)	120° 15′	11° 20′
Kanathra	121° 40′	11° 15′
Aigidiôn	118°	8° 30′
Ornêon	119°	8° 30′
Monakhê......................	116°	4° 15′
Amminê	117°	4° 30′
12. Karkos..............	118°	40′ S.
Philêkos	116° 30′	2° 40′ S.
Eirênê	120°	2° 30′ S.
Kalandadroua	121°	5° 30′ S.
Abrana	125°	4° 20′ S.
Bassa	126°	6° 30′ S.
Balaka........................	129°	5° 30′ S.
Alaba	131°	4° S.
Goumara	133°	1° 40′ S.
13. Zaba..................	135°	on the Line.
Zibala	135°	4° 15′ N.
Nagadiba......................	135°	8° 30′
Sousouara	135°	11° 15′

14. Let such then be the mode of describing in detail the complete circuit of all the provinces and satrapies of the known world, and since we indicated in the outset of this compendium how the known portion of the earth should be delineated both on the sphere and in a projection on a plane surface exactly in the same manner and proportion as what is traced on the solid sphere, and since it is convenient to accompany such descriptions of the world with a summary sketch, exhibiting the whole in one comprehensive view, let me now therefore give such a sketch with due observance of the proper proportion.

This island of Taprobanê has changed its name with notable frequency. In the *Râmâyaṇa* and other Sanskrit works it is called Laṅkâ, but this was an appellation unknown to the Greeks. They called it at first Antichthonos, being under the belief that it was a region belonging to the

opposite portion of the world (Pliny, lib. VI, c. xxii). In the time of Alexander, when its situation was better understood, it was called Taprobanê. Megasthenês mentions it under this name, and remarks that it was divided (*into two*) by a river, that its inhabitants were called Palaeogoni and that it produced more gold and pearls of large size than India. From our author we learn that the old name of the island was Simoundou, and that Taprobanê, its next name, was obsolete in his time, being replaced by Salikê. The author of the *Periplûs* states, on the other hand, that Taprobanê was the old name of the island, and that in his time it was called Palai Simoundou. The section of his work however in which this statement occurs (§ 61) is allowed to be hopelessly corrupt. According to Pliny, Palaesimundus was the name of the capital town, and also of the river on whose banks it stood. How long the island continued to be called Salikê does not appear, but it was subsequently known under such names as Serendivus, Sirlediba, Serendib, Zeilan, and Sailan, from which the transition is easy to the name which it now bears, Ceylon.

With regard to the origin or derivation of the majority of these names the most competent scholars have been divided in their opinions. According to Lassen the term Palaiogonoi was selected by Megasthenês to designate the inhabitants of the island, as it conveyed the idea entertained of them by the Indians that they were Râkshasas, or giants, 'the sons of the progenitors of the world.' To this it may be objected that Megasthenês did not intend by the term to describe the inhabitants, but merely to give the name by which they were known, which was different from that of the island. Schwanbeck again suggested that the term might be a transliteration of Pâli-janâs, a Sanskrit compound, which he took to mean "men of the sacred doctrine" (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. VI, p. 129, n.) But, as Priaulx has pointed out (*Apollon. of Tyana*, p. 110), this is an appellation which could scarcely have been given to others than learned votaries of Buddhism, and which could scarcely be applicable to a people who were not even Buddhist till the reign of Aśôka, who was subsequent to Chandragupta, at whose court Megasthenês acquired his knowledge of India. Besides, it has been pointed out by Goldstücker (*l.c.* n. 59) that *Pali* has not the meaning here attributed to it. He adds that the nearest approach he could find to Palaiogonoi is—*pâra* 'on the other side of the river' and *janâs* 'a people'; Pârajanâs, therefore, 'a people on the other side of the river.' Tennent, in conclusion, takes the word to be a Hellenized form of *Pali-putra*, 'the sons of the Pâli,' the first Prasian colonists of the island. A satisfactory explanation of Palai-Simoundou has not yet been hit on. That given by Lassen, Pâli-Simanta, or Head of the Sacred Law, has been discredited. We come now to Taprobanê. This is generally regarded as a transliteration of Tâmraparṇî, the name which Vijaya, who, according to tradition, led the first Indian colony into Ceylon, gave to the place where he first landed, and which name was afterwards extended to the whole island. It is also the name of a river in Tinneveli, and it has, in consequence, been supposed that the colonists, already referred to, had been, for some time, settled on its banks before they removed to Ceylon. The word means 'Copper-coloured leaf.' Its Pâli form is Tambapaṇṇi (see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 33f.) and is found, as has been before noticed, in the inscription of Aśôka on the Girnâr rock. Another name, applied to it by Brahmanical writers, is Dwîpa-Râvaṇa, *i.e.*, 'the island of Râvaṇa, whence perhaps Taprobanê.' Salikê, Serendivas, and other subsequent names, are all considered to be connected etymologically with Siṁhala (colloquially Sîlam), the Pâli form of Sîhala, a derivative from *siṁha*, 'a lion,' *i.e.* 'a hero'—the hero Vijaya. According to a different view these names are to be referred to the Javanese *sela*, 'a precious stone,' but this explanation is rejected by Yule (*Marco Polo*, vol. II, p. 296, n. 6). For Salikê, Tennent suggests an Egyptian origin, Siela-keh, *i.e.*, 'the land of Siela.'

Little more was known in the west respecting the island beyond what Megasthenês had communicated until the reign of the Emperor Claudius, when an embassy was sent to Rome by the Sinhalese monarch, who had received such astonishing accounts of the power and justice of the Roman people that he became desirous of entering into alliance with them. He had derived his knowledge of them from a castaway upon his island, the freedman of a Roman called Annius Plocamus. The embassy consisted of 4 members, of whom the chief was called Rachia, an appellation from which we may infer that he held the rank of a Râjâ. They gave an interesting, if not a very accurate, account of their country, which has been preserved by Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* lib. VI). Their friendly visit, operating conjointly with the discovery of the quick passage to and from the East by means of the monsoon, gave a great impetus to commercial enterprise, and the rich marts, to which access had thus been opened, soon began to be frequented by the galleys of the West. Ptolemy, living in Alexandria, the great entrepôt in those days of the Eastern traffic, very probably acquired from traders arriving from Ceylon, his knowledge concerning it, which is both wonderfully copious, and at the

same time, fairly accurate, if we except his views of its magnitude, which like all his predecessors he vastly over-estimated. On the other hand, he has the merit of having determined properly its general form and outline, as well as its actual position with reference to the adjoining continent, points on which the most vague and erroneous notions had prevailed up to his time, the author of the *Periplûs* for instance describing the island as extending so far westward that it almost adjoined Azania in Africa. The actual position of Ceylon is between 5° 55′ and 9° 51′ N. lat., and 79° 42′ and 81° 55′ E. long. Its extreme length from north to south is 271½ miles, its greatest width 137½ miles, and its area about one-sixth smaller than that of Ireland. Ptolemy however made it extend through no less than 15 degrees of latitude and 12 of longitude. He thus brought it down more than two degrees south of the equator, while he carried its northern extremity up to 12½° N. lat., nearly 3 degrees north of its true position. He has thus represented it as being 20 times larger than it really is. This extravagant over-estimate, which had its origin in the Mythological Geography of the Indian Brâhmans, and which was adopted by the islanders themselves, as well as by the Greeks, was shared also by the Arab geographers Masû'di, Idrisi, and Abu'l-fidâ, and by such writers as Marco Polo. In consequence of these misrepresentations it came to be questioned at one time whether Ceylon or Sumatra was the Taprobanê of the Greeks, and Kant undertook to prove that it was Madagascar (Tennent's *Ceylon*, vol. I, p. 10 and n.). Ptolemy has so far departed from his usual practice that he gives some particulars respecting it, which lie out of the sphere of Geography, strictly so called. He is mistaken in stating that the tiger is found in Ceylon, but he has not fallen into error on any other point which he has noticed. It may be remarked that the natives still wear their hair in the effeminate manner which he has noticed. In describing the island geographically he begins at its northern extremity, proceeds southward down the western coast, and returns along the east coast to Point Pedro. "In his map he has laid down the position of eight promontories, the mouths of five rivers and four bays and harbours, and in the interior he had ascertained that there were thirteen provincial divisions, and nineteen towns, besides two emporia on the coast, five great estuaries, which he terms lakes, two bays and two chains of mountains, one of them surrounding Adam's Peak, which he designates as Malaia, the name by which the hills that environ it are known in the *Mahawânso*." Tennent, from whom the foregoing summary has been quoted, observes in a foot-note (vol. I, p. 535) that Ptolemy distinguishes those indentations in the coast which he describes as *bays* (κόλποι) from the estuaries, to which he gives the epithet of *lakes*, (λιμήν);[34] of the former he particularises two, Pati and Prasôdês, the position of which would nearly correspond with the Bay of Trinkônamalai and the harbour of Colombo—of the latter he enumerates five, and from their position they seem to represent the peculiar estuaries formed by the conjoint influence of the rivers and the current, and known to the Arabs by the name of "gobbs."

Ceylon is watered by numerous streams, some of which are of considerable size. The most important is the Mahâweligangâ, which has its sources in the vicinity of Adam's Peak, and which, after separating into several branches, enters the ocean near Trinkônamalai. Ptolemy calls it the Ganges. He mentions four other rivers, the Soana, Azanos, Barakês and Phasis, which Tennent identifies with the Dedera-Oya, the Bentote, the Kambukgam and the Kangarayen respectively. Lassen, however (*Ind. Alt.*, vol. III, p. 21), identifies the Azanos with the Kâlagangâ which enters the sea a little farther north than the river of Bentote, and is a larger stream.

The mountains named by Ptolemy are the Galiba in the north-west of the island, and the Malaia, by which he designates the mountain groups which occupy the interior of the island towards the south. He has correctly located the plains or feeding grounds of the elephants to the south-east of these mountains; *malai* is the Tamil word for "mountain."

The places which he has named along the coast and in the interior have been identified, though in most cases doubtfully, by Tennent in his map of Taprobanê according to Ptolemy and Pliny, in vol. I. of his work, as follows:—

On the West Coast beginning from the north:—

Margana with Mantote.

Iôgana with Aripo.

Anarismoundon Cape with Kudramali Point, but Mannert with Kalpantyn (further south).

Sindo Kanda with Chilau (Chilau from Salâbhana—the Diving, *i. e.* Pearl Fishery.)

Port of Priapis with Negombo.[35]

Cape of Zeus at Colombo.

Prasôdês Bay, with Colombo Bay.

Noubartha with Barberyn.

Odoka with Hikkode.

Cape Orneôn (of Birds) with Point de Galle.

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[34] Tennent here seems to have confounded λιμήν, a *haven* or creek, with λίμνη, *a lake*. The words are, however, etymologically connected.

[35] This was no doubt a name given by the Greeks.

On the South Coast:—

Dagana with Dondra Head.

Korkobara with Tangalle.

On the East Coast:

Cape of Dionysos, with Hambangtote.

Cape Kêtaion (Whale cape) with Elephant Rock, (Bokana Yule identifies with Kambugam).

Haven of Mardos with Arukgam Bay.

Abaratha with Karativoe (but Yule with Aparatote, which is better).

Haven of the Sun with Batticalao.

Rizala Haven with Vendeloos Bay.

Oxeia Cape (Sharp point) with Foul Point.

Spatana Haven with an indentation in Trinkônamalai Bay.

Nagadiba or Nagadina with a site near the Bay.

Pati Bay with Trinkônamalai Bay.

Anoubingara with Kuchiavelli.

Modouttou with Kokelay.

On the North Coast:—

Mouth of the Phasis.

Talakôry or Aakotê, with Tondi Manaar. Yule places both Nagadiba and Modouttou on the north-west coast, identifying the latter with Mantote.

With respect to places in the interior of the island Tennent says (vol. I, p. 536, n. 2): "His (Ptolemy's) Maagrammum would appear on a first glance to be Mahâgâm, but as he calls it the metropolis, and places it beside the great river, it is evidently Bintenne, whose ancient name was "Mahâyangana" or "Mahâwelligâm." His Anurogrammum, which he calls βασίλειον "the royal residence," is obviously Anurâdhapura, the city founded by Anurâdha 500 years before Ptolemy (*Mahawánso*, pp. 50-65). The province of the Modutti in Ptolemy's list has a close resemblance in name, though not in position, to Mantote; the people of Reyagamkorle still occupy the country assigned by him to the Rhogonandanoi—his Nagadibii are identical with the Nâgadiva of the *Mahawánso*; and the islet to which he has given the name of Bassa, occupies nearly the position of the Basses, which it has been the custom to believe were so-called by the Portuguese,—"Baxos" or "Baixos" "Sunken Rocks." The Rhogandanoi were located in the south-west of the island. The sea, which stretched thence towards Malaka, appears to have at one time borne their name, as it was called by the Arab navigators "the sea of Horkand." The group of islands lying before Ceylon is no doubt that of the Maldives.

KLAUDIOS PTOLEMY'S GEOGRAPHY OF CENTRAL ASIA.

Having now examined in detail the whole of Ptolemy's Indian Geography, I annex as a suitable Appendix his description of the countries adjacent to India. The reader will thus be presented with his Geography in its entirety of Central and Eastern Asia. In the notes I have adverted only to the more salient points.

BOOK VI, CAP. 9.

POSITION OF HYRKANIA.

1. Hyrkania is bounded on the north by that part of the Hyrkanian sea which extends from the extreme point of the boundary line with Mêdia as far as the mouth of the river Oxus which lies in .... 100° 43° 5′

2. In which division occur these towns:—

Saramannê, a town...........	94° 15′	40° 30′
Mouth of the Maxêra.........	97° 20′	41° 30′
The sources of this river ...	98°	38° 20′
Mouth of the Sokanda	97° 20′	42°
Mouth of the river Oxus ...	100°	43° 5′

3. On the west by the part of Mêdia already mentioned as far as Mount Korônos [in which part of Mêdia is Saramannê..................... 94° 15′ 40° 30′]

4. on the south by Parthia, along the side of it described as passing through the range of Korônos, and on the east by Margianê through the mountainous region which connects the extremities referred to.

5. The maritime ports of Hyrkania are inhabited by the Maxêrai, and the Astabênoi and below the Maxêrai by the Khrêndoi, after whom comes the country adjacent to the Korônos range, Arsîtis, and below the Astabênoi is the country called Sirakênê.

6. The cities in the interior are said to be these:—

Barangê	99°	42°
Adrapsa	98° 30′	41° 30′
Kasapê..........................	99° 30′	40° 30′
Abarbina	97°	40° 10′
Sorba	98°	40° 30′
7. Sinaka	100°	39° 40′
Amarousa	96°	39° 55′
Hyrkania, the metropolis....	98° 50′	40°
Sakê (or Salê).................	94° 15′	39° 30′
Asmourna	97° 30′	39° 30′
Maisoka (or Mausoka)	99°	39° 30′
8. And an island in the sea near it called Talka......	95°	42°

The name of Hyrkania is preserved to this day in that of Gurkan or Jorjan, a town lying to the east of Asterâbâd. Its boundaries have varied at different periods of history. Speaking

generally, it corresponds with the modern Mazanderan and Asterâbâd. Its northern frontier was formed by the Kaspian, which was sometimes called after it—the Hyrkanian Sea. The river Ôxus, which is called by the natives on its banks the Amu-daryâ, and by Persian writers the Jihun, falls now into the Sea of Aral, but as we learn from our author as well as from other ancient writers it was in former times an affluent of the Kaspian, a fact confirmed by modern explorations. Mount Korônos was the eastern portion of the lofty mountain chain called the Elburz, which runs along the southern shores of the Kaspian. The River Maxêra is mentioned by Pliny (lib. VI, c. xiv, sec. 18) who calls it the Maxeras. It has been variously identified, as with the Tejin, the Gurgan, the Atrek and others. The metropolis of Hyrkania is called by Ammianus Marcellinus (c. xxiii, sec. 6) Hyrkana, which is probably the Gurkan already mentioned.

CAP. 10.

POSITION OF MARGIANÊ.

Margianê is bounded on the west by Hyrkania, along the side which has been already traced, and on the north by a part of Skythia extending from the mouths of the river Oxus as far as the division towards Baktrianê, which lies in 103°—43°, and on the south by part of Areia along the parallel of latitude running from the boundary towards Hyrkania and Parthia through the Sariphi range, as far as the extreme point lying 109°—39°, and on the east by Baktrianê along the mountainous region which connects the said extremities. A considerable stream, the Margos, flows through the country, and its sources lie in ....105°—39°
while it falls into the Oxus in 102°—43° 30′.

2. The parts of it towards the river Oxus are possessed by the Derbikkai, called also the Derkeboi, and below them the Massagetai, after whom the Parnoi and the Dāai, below whom occurs the desert of Margiana, and more to the east than are the Tapouroi.

3. The cities of it are—

Ariaka	103°	43°
Sina (or Sêna)..................	102° 30′	42° 20′
Aratha	103° 30′	42° 30′
Argadina	101° 20′	41° 40′
Iasonion	103° 30′	41° 30′

4. There unites with the River Margos, another stream flowing from the Sariphi range of which the sources lie...... 103° 39°

Rhêa...........................	102°	40° 50′
Antiokheia Margianê.........	106°	40° 20′
Gourianê	104°	40°
Nisaia or Nigaia	105°	39° 10′

"In early periods," says Wilson (*Ariana Antiqua*, p. 148), "Margiana seems to have been unknown as a distinct province, and was, no doubt, in part at least, comprised within the limits of Parthia. In the days of the later geographers, it had undergone the very reverse relation, and had, to all appearance, extended its boundaries so as to include great part of the original Parthia. It is evident from Strabo's notice of the latter (lib. XI, c ix) that there was left little of it except the name; and in Ptolemy no part of Parthia appears above the mountains." Strabo says of it (lib. XI, c. x) "Antiokhos Sôtêr admired its fertility, he enclosed a circle of 1,500 stadia with a wall, and founded a city, Antiokheia. The soil is well adapted to vines. They say that a vine stem has been frequently seen there which would require two men to girth it, and bunches of grapes two cubits in size." Pliny writes somewhat to the same effect. He says (lib. VI, c. xvi): "Next comes Margianê, noted for its sunny skies; it is the only vine-bearing district in all these parts, and it is shut in on all sides by pleasant hills. It has a circuit of 1,500 stadia, and is difficult of approach on account of sandy deserts, which extend for 120 miles. It lies confronting a tract of country in Parthia, in which Alexander had built Alexandria, a city, which after its destruction by the barbarians, Antiokhos, the son of Seleucus rebuilt on the same site. The river Margus which amalgamates with the Zothale, flows through its midst. It was named Syriana, but Antiokhos preferred to have it called Antiokheia. It is 80 stadia in circumference. To this place Orodes conducted the Romans who were taken prisoners when Crassus was defeated." This ancient city is represented now by Merv. The river Margus is that now called the Murgh-âb or Meru-rûd. It rises in the mountains of the Hazâras (which are a spur of the Paropanisos and the Sariphi montes of our author), and loses itself in the sands about 50 miles north-west of the city, though in ancient times it appears to have poured its waters into the Oxus.

The tribes that peopled Hyrkania and Margiana and the other regions that lay to the eastward of the Kaspian were for the most part of Skythian origin, and some of them were nomadic. They are described by the ancient writers as brave and hardy warriors, but of repulsive aspect and manners, and addicted to inhuman practices. Ptolemy

names five as belonging to Margiana—the Derbikkai, Massagetai, Parnoi, Däai and Tapouroi.

The Derbikes are mentioned by Strabo (lib. XI, c. xi, sec. 7), who gives this account of them. "The Derbikes worship the earth. They neither sacrifice nor eat the female of any animal. Persons who attain the age of above 70 years are put to death by them, and their nearest relations eat their flesh. Old women are strangled and then buried. Those who die under 70 years of age are not eaten, but are only buried."

The Massagetai are referred to afterwards (c. xiii, sec. 3) as a tribe of nomadic Sakai, belonging to the neighbourhood of the river Askatangkas. They are mentioned by Herodotos (lib. I, c. cciv.) who says that they inhabited a great portion of the vast plain that extended eastward from the Kaspian. He then relates how Cyrus lost his life in a bloody fight against them and their queen Tomyris. Alexander came into collision with their wandering hordes during the campaign of Sogdiana as Arrian relates (*Anab.* lib. IV, cc. xvi, xvii).

As regards the origin of their name it is referred by Beal (*J. R. A. S.*, N.S., vol. XVI, pp. 257, 279) to *maiza*—'greater' (in Moeso-Gothic) and Yue-ti (or chi). He thus reverts to the old theory of Rémusat and Klaproth, that the Yue-ti were Getae, and this notwithstanding the objection of Saint-Martin stated in *Les Huns Blancs*, p. 37, n. 1).

The Parnoi, according to Strabo, were a branch of the Dahai (lib. XI, c. vii, sec. 1) called by Herodotos (lib. I, c. lii) the Däoi, and by our author and Stephanos of Byzantium the Däai. Strabo (lib. XI, c. viii, 2) says of them: "Most of the Skythians beginning from the Kaspian Sea, are called Dahai Skythai, and those situated more towards the east, Massagetai and Sakai, the rest have the common appellation of Skythians, but each separate tribe has its peculiar name. All, or the greater part of them, are nomadic." Virgil (*Aen.* lib. VIII, l. 728) applies to the Dahae the epithet *indomiti*. It is all but certain that they have left traces of their name in the province of Dahestân, adjoining to Asterâbâd, as this position was within the limits of their migratory range. In the name Dâae, Dahae or Ta-hia (the Chinese form) it is commonly inferred that we have the term Tajik, that is Persian, for there is good reason to place Persians even in Transoxiana long before the barbarous tribes of the Kaspian plains were heard of (See Wilson's *Arian. Antiq.*, p. 141).

The Tapouroi appear to be the same as the Tapyroi mentioned by Strabo as occupying the country between the Hyrkanoi and the Areioi. Their position, however, varied at various times.

Nisaia or Nigaia (the Nesaia of Strabo) has been identified by Wilson (*Arian. Antiq.*, pp. 142, 148) with the modern Nissa, a small town or village on the north of the Elburz mountains, between Asterâbâd and Meshd.

CAP. 11.

POSITION OF BAKTRIANÊ.

1. Baktrianê is bounded on the west by Margianê along the side already described, on the north and east by Sogdianê, along the rest of the course of the River Oxus, and on the south by the rest of Areia, extending from the extreme point towards Margianê—
the position of which is...... 109° 39°
and by the Paropanisadai along the parallel thence prolonged, through where the range of Paropanisos diverges towards the sources of the Oxus which lie in .... 119° 30′ 39°

2. The following rivers which fall into the Oxus flow through Baktrianê:—
The river Ôkhos, whose sources lie .... 110° 39°
and the Dargamenês, whose sources lie .... 116° 30′ 36° 20′
and the Zariaspis, whose sources lie .... 113° 39°
and the Artamis, whose sources lie .... 114° 39°
and the Dargoidos, whose sources lie .... 116° 39°
and the point where this joins the Oxus lies in...... 117° 30′ 44°

3. Of the other tributaries the Artamis and the Zariaspis unite in......... 113° 40° 40′
before falling into the Ôxos in .... 112° 30′ 44°

4. The Dargamenês and the Ôkhos also unite in .... 109° 40° 30′
before falling into the Ôxus in .... 109° 44°

5. Of the Paropanisos range, the western part is situated in .... 111° 30′ 39°
and [the Eastern] in .... 119° 30′ 39°

6. The parts of Baktrianê in the north and towards the River Ôxus are inhabited by the Salaterai and the Zariaspai, and to the south of these up towards the Salaterai the Khomaroi, and below these the Kômoi, then the Akinakai, then the Tambyzoi, and below the Zariaspai the Tokharoi, a

great people, and below them the Marykaioi, and the Skordai, and the Ouarnoi (Varnoi), and still below those the Sabadioi, and the Oreisitoi, and the Amareis.

7. The towns of Baktrianê towards the river Ôxos are the following :—

Kharakharta	111°	44°
Zari(a)spa or Kharispa	115°	44°
Khoana	117°	42°
Sourogana	117° 30′	40° 30′
Phratou	119°	39° 20′

8. And near the other rivers these :—

Alikhorda	107°	43° 30′
Khomara	106° 30′	43° 30′
Kouriandra	109° 30′	42° 10′
Kauaris	111° 20°	43°
Astakana	112°	42° 20′
Ebousmouanassa or Tosmouanassa	108° 30′	41° 20′
Menapia	113°	41° 20′
Eukratidia	115°	42°
Baktra, the king's residence (Balkh)	116°	41°
Estobara	109° 30′	45° 20′
Marakanda (Samarkand)	112°	39° 15′
Marakodra	115° 20′	39° 20′

The boundaries of Baktra or Baktriana varied at different periods of history, and were never perhaps at any time fixed with much precision. According to Strabo it was the principal part of Ariana, and was separated from Sogdiana on the east and north-east by the Oxus, from Areia on the south by the chain of Paropanisos, and on the west from Margiana by a desert region. A description of Baktriana, which Burnes, in his work on Bokhara, corroborates as very accurate, is given by Curtius (lib. VII, c. iv) and is to this effect: "The nature of the Baktrian territory is varied, and presents striking contrasts. In one place it is well-wooded, and bears vines which yield grapes of great size and sweetness. The soil is rich and well-watered—and where such a genial soil is found corn is grown, while lands with an inferior soil are used for the pasturage of cattle. To this fertile tract succeeds another much more extensive, which is nothing but a wild waste of sand parched with drought, alike without inhabitant and without herbage. The winds, moreover, which blow hither from the Pontic Sea, sweep before them the sand that covers the plain, and this, when it gathers into heaps, looks, when seen from a distance, like a collection of great hills; whereby all traces of the road that formerly existed are completely obliterated. Those, therefore, who cross these plains, watch the stars by night as sailors do at sea, and direct their course by their guidance. In fact they almost see better under the shadow of night than in the glare of sunshine. They are, consequently, unable to find their way in the day-time, since there is no track visible which they can follow, for the brightness of the luminaries above is shrouded in darkness. Should now the wind which rises from the sea overtake them, the sands with which it is laden would completely overwhelm them. Nevertheless in all the more favoured localities the number of men and of horses that are there generated is exceedingly great. Baktra itself, the capital city of that region, is situated under mount Paropanisos. The river Bactrus passes by its walls: and gave the city and the region their name." This description is in agreement with the general character of the country from Balkh to Bokhara, in which oases of the most productive soil alternate with wastes of sand.

Baktra figures very early in history. Its capital indeed, Baktra (now Balkh) is one of the oldest cities in the world. The Baktrian Walls is one of the places which Euripides (*Bakkhai*, l. 15) represents Dionysos to have visited in the course of his eastern peregrinations. Ninus, as we learn through Ktêsias, marched into Baktriana with a vast army and, with the assistance of Semiramis, took its capital. In the time of Darius it was a satrapy, of the Persian empire and paid a tribute of 360 talents. Alexander the Great, when marching in pursuit of Bessus, passed through Baktria and, crossing the Oxus, proceeded as far as Marakanda (Samarkand). Having subjugated the regions lying in that direction, he returned to Baktra and there spent the winter before starting to invade India. Some years after the conqueror's death Seleukos reduced Baktria, and annexed it to his other dominions. It was wrested, however, from the hands of the third prince of his line about the year 256 B.C. or perhaps later, by Antiokhos Theos or Theodotos, who made Baktria an independent kingdom. His successors were ambitious and enterprising, and appear to have extended their authority along the downward course of the Indus even to the ocean, and southward along the coast as far as the mouth of the Narmadâ. The names of these kings have been recovered from their coins found in great numbers both in India and in Afghanistan. This Graeko-Baktrian empire, after having subsisted for about two centuries and a half, was finally overthrown by the invasion of different hordes of the Sakai, named, as Strabo informs us, the Asioi, Pasianoi,

Tokharoi and Sakarauloi.[36] These Sakai yielded in their turn to barbarians of their own kindred or at least of their own type, the Skythians, who gave their name to the Indus valley and the regions adjoining the Gulf of Khambhât. Among the most notable Indo-Skythian kings were Kadphises and Kanerkes who reigned at the end of the first and the beginning of the second century of our æra and, therefore, not very long before the time of Ptolemy. Between the Indo-Skythian and Muhammadan periods was interposed the predominancy of Persia in the regions of which we have been speaking.

Ptolemy mentions five rivers which fall into the Ôxos: the Ôkhos, Dargamenês, Zariaspis, Artamis, and Dargoidos, of which the Zariaspes and Artamis unite before reaching the Ôxos. Ptolemy's account cannot he reconciled with the existing hydrography of the country. The D a r g a m e n ê s is called by Ammianus (lib. XXIII, c. vi) the Orgamenes. The A r t a m i s, Wilson thinks, may be the river now called the Dakash (*Ariana Antiqua*, p. 162) and the D a r g a m e n ê s, the present river of Ghori or Kunduz which is a tributary of the Ôkhos and not of the Ôxos as in Ptolemy. The Ô k h o s itself has not been identified with certainty. According to Kinneir it is the Tezen or Tejend which, rising in Sarâkhs, and receiving many confluents, falls into the Kaspian in N. L. 38° 41′. According to Elphinstone it is the river of Herat, either now lost in the sand or going to the Ôxos (*Ariana Antiqua*, p. 146). Bunbury (vol. II, p. 284) points out that in Strabo the Ôkhos is an independent river, emptying into the Kaspian. The Ôkhos of Artemidoros, he says, may be certainly identified with the Attrek, whose course, till lately, was very imperfectly known.

Ptolemy gives a list of thirteen tribes which inhabited Baktrianê. Their names are obscure, and are scarcely mentioned elsewhere.[37]

In the list of towns few known names occur. The most notable are Baktra, Marakanda, Eukratidia and Zariaspa. B a k t r a, as has been already stated, is the modern Balkh. Heeren (*Asiatic Nations*, 2nd edit., vol. I, p. 424), writes of it in these terms: "The city of Baktra must be regarded as the commercial entrepôt of Eastern Asia: its name belongs to a people who never cease to afford matter for historical details, from the time they are first mentioned. Not only does Baktra constantly appear as a city of wealth and importance in every age of the Persian empire, but it is continually interwoven in the traditions of the East with the accounts of Semiramis and other conquerors. It stood on the borders of the gold country, 'in the road of the confluence of nations,' according to an expression of the *Zend-avesta*; and the conjecture that in this part of the world the human race made its first advance in civilisation, seems highly probable." The name of B a l k h is from the Sanskrit name of the people of Baktra, the Bahlikas. M a r a k a n d a is Samarkand. It was the capital of Sogdiana, but Ptolemy places it in Baktrianê, and considerably to the south of Baktra, although its actual latitude is almost 3 degrees to the north. It was one of the cities of Sogdiana which Alexander destroyed. Its circumference was estimated at 64 stadia, or about 7 miles. The name has been interpreted to mean "warlike province." E u k r a t i d i a received its name from the Graeko-Baktrian king, Eukratidês, by whom it was founded. Its site cannot be identified. Pliny makes Z a r i a s p a the same as Baktra, but this must be a mistake. No satisfactory site has been as yet assigned to it.

CAP. 12.

POSITION OF THE SOGDIANOI.

The S o g d i a n o i are bounded on the west by that part of Skythia which extends from the section of the Ôxos which is towards Baktrianê and Margianê through the Oxeian mountains as far as the section of the river Iaxartes, which lies in 110° E. 49° N.; on the north likewise by a part of Skythia along the section of the Iaxartes extended thence as far as the limit where its course bends, which lies in 120° E. 48° 30′ N. On the east by the Sakai along the (bending) of the Iaxartes as far as the sources of the bending which lie in 125° E. 43° N., and by the line prolonged from the Sakai to an extreme point which lies in 125° E. 38° 30′ N., and on the east and the south and again on the west by Baktrianê along the section of the Ôxos already mentioned and by the Kaukasian mountains especially so-called, and the adjoining line and the limits as stated, and the sources of the Ôxos.

2. The mountains called the S o g d i a n extend between the two rivers, and have their

[36] The Wu-sun (of Chinese history) are apparently to be identified with the Asii or Asiani, who, according to Strabo occupied the upper waters of the Jaxartes, and who are classed as nomades with the Tochâri and Sacarauli (? Sara-Kauli, *i.e.*, Sarikulis).—Kingsmill, *J. R. A. S.*, N. S., vol. XIV, p. 79.

[37] Prof. Beal (*J. R. A. S.*, N. S., Vol. XVI, p. 253), connects the name of the Tokharoi with Tu-ho-lo the name of a country or kingdom Tukhârâ, frequently mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang. The middle symbol *ho*, he says, represents the rough aspirate, and we should thus get Tahra or Tuxra, from which would come the Greek Tocharoi.

extremities lying in	111°	47°
and	122°	46° 30′

3. From these mountains a good many nameless rivers flow in contrary directions to meet these *two rivers*, and of these nameless rivers one forms the Oxeian Lake, the middle of which lies in 111° E. 45° N., and other two streams descend from the same hilly regions as the Iaxartes—the regions in question are called the Highlands of the Kômêdai. Each of these streams falls into the Iaxartes; one of them is called Dêmos and

its sources lie in	124°	43°
Its junction with the river Iaxartes occurs in	123°	47°
The other is the Baskatis whose sources lie in	123°	43°
Its junction with the river Iaxartes occurs in	121°	47° 30′

4. The country towards the Oxeian mountains is possessed by the Paskai, and the parts towards the most northern section of the Iaxartes by the Iatioi, and the Tokharoi, below whom are the Augaloi; then along the Sogdian mountains the Oxydrângkai and the Drybaktai, and the Kandaroi, and below the mountains the Mardyênoi, and along the Ôxos the Ôxeianoi and the Khôrasmioi, and farther east than these the Drepsianoi, and adjoining both the rivers, and still further east than the above the Aniesæis along the Iaxartes, and the Kirrhâdai (or Kirrhodeeis) along the Ôxos, and between the Kaukasos Range and Imaos the country called Ouandabanda.

5. Towns of the Sogdianoi in the highlands along the Iaxartes are these:—

Kyreskhata	124°	43° 40′
Along the Ôxos:—		
Oxeiana	117° 30′	44° 20′
Marouka	117° 15′	43° 40′
Kholbêsina	121°	43°

6. Between the rivers and higher up—

Trybaktra.........................	112° 15′	
Alexandreia Oxeianê	113°	44° 20′
Indikomordana	115°	44° 20′
Drepsa (or Rhepsa) the Metropolis	120°	45°
Alexandreia Eskhatê (*i.e.* Ultima)	122°	41°

Sogdiana was divided from Baktriana by the river Ôxos and extended northward from thence to the river Iaxartes. The Sakai lay along the eastern frontier and Skythic tribes along the western. The name exists to this day, being preserved in Soghd which designates the country lying along the river Kohik from Bokhara eastward to Samarkand. The records of Alexander's expedition give much information regarding this country, for the Makedonian troops were engaged for the better part of three years in effecting its subjugation.

In connexion with Sogdiana, Ptolemy mentions four mountain ranges—the Kaukasian, the Sogdian, the mountain district of the Kômêdai, and Imaos. Kaukasos was the general name applied by the Makedonians to the great chain which extended along the northern frontiers of Afghanistan, and which was regarded as a prolongation of the real Kaukasos. Ptolemy uses it here in a specific sense to designate that part of the chain which formed the eastern continuation of the Paropanisos towards Imaos. Imaos is the meridian chain which intersects the Kaukasos, and is now called Bolor Tâgh. Ptolemy places it about 8 degrees too far eastward. The Sogdian Mountains, placed by Ptolemy between the Iaxartes and Ôxos, towards their sources, are the Pâmîr. The Kômêdai, who gave their name to the third range, were, according to Ptolemy, the inhabitants of the hill-country which lay to the east of Baktriana and up whose valley lay the route of the caravans from Baktra, bound for Sêrika across Imaus or the Thsunglung. Cunningham has identified them with the Kiu-mi-tho (Kumidha) of Hiuen Tsiang. Their mountain district is that called Muz-tâgh.

The rivers mentioned in connexion with Sogdiana are the Ôxos, and the Iaxartes, with its two tributaries, the Baskatis and the Dêmos. The Iaxartes is now called the Syr-darya or Yellow River. The ancients sometimes called it the Araxes, but, according to D'Anville, this is but an appellative common to it with the Amu or Ôxos, the Armenian Aras and the Rha or Volga. The Iaxartes was not properly a Greek word but was borrowed from the barbarians by whom, as Arrian states (*Anab.* lib. III, c. xxx), it was called the Orxantes. It rises in the high plateau south of Lake Issyk-kul in the Thian Shan. Its course is first to westward through the valley of Khokan, where it receives numerous tributaries. It then bifurcates, the more northern branch retaining the name of Syr-darya. This flows towards the north-west, and after a course of 1150 miles from its source enters the Sea of Aral. Ptolemy however, like all the other classical writers, makes it enter the Kaspian sea. Humboldt accounts for this apparent error by adducing facts which

go to show that the tract between the Aral and the Kaspian was once the bed of an united and continuous sea, and that the Kaspian of the present day is the small residue of a once mighty Aralo-Kaspian Sea. Ammianus Marcellinus (lib. XXIII, c. vi), describing Central Asia in the upper course of the Iaxartes which falls into the Kaspian, speaks of two rivers, the Araxates and Dymas (probably the Dêmos of Ptolemy) which, rushing impetuously down from the mountains and passing into a level plain, form therein what is called the Oxian lake, which is spread over a vast area. This is the earliest intimation of the Sea of Aral. (See Smith's *Dict. of Anc. Geog.* s. v). Bunbury, however, says (vol. II, pp. 641-2): "Nothing but the unwillingness of modern writers to admit that the ancients were unacquainted with so important a feature in the geography of Central Asia as the Sea of Aral could have led them to suppose it represented by the Oxiana Palus of Ptolemy. While that author distinctly describes both the Jaxartes and the Oxus as flowing into the Caspian Sea, he speaks of a range of mountains called the Sogdian Mountains, which extend between the two rivers, from which flow several nameless streams into those two, one of which forms the Oxian lake. This statement exactly tallies with the fact that the Polytimetos or river of Soghd, which rises in the mountains in question, does not flow into the Oxus, but forms a small stagnant lake called Kara-kul or Denghiz; and there seems no doubt this was the lake meant by Ptolemy. It is true that Ammianus Marcellinus, in his description of these regions, which is very vague and inaccurate, but is based for the most part upon Ptolemy, terms it a large and widespread lake, but this is probably nothing more than a rhetorical flourish." The Iaxartes was regarded as the boundary towards the east of the Persian Empire, which it separated from the nomadic Skythians. The soldiers of Alexander believed it to be the same as the Tanais or Don.

In the list of the tribes of Sogdiana the name of the Khorasmioi has been preserved to the present day in that of Khwârazm, one of the designations of the Khanate of Khiva. The position of the Khorasmioi may be therefore assigned to the regions south of the Sea of Aral, which is sometimes called after them the Sea of Khwârazm. The Drepsianoi had their seats on the borders of Baktria, as Drepsa, one of their cities and the capital of the country, may be identified with Andarâb, which was a Baktrian town. It is called by Strabo Adrapsa and Darapsa—(lib. XI, c. xi, 2, and lib. XV, c. ii, 10) and Drapsaka by Arrian—(*Anab.* lib. III, c. 39). Bunbury (vol. I, p. 427, n. 3) remarks: "The Drepsa of Ptolemy, though doubtless the same *name*, cannot be the same place (as the Drapsaka of Arrian, *Anab.* lib. III, c. xxix) as that author places it in Sogdiana, considerably to the north of Marakanda." Ptolemy, however, as I have already pointed out, places Marakanda to the south of Baktra. Kingsmill (*J. R. A. S.*, N. S., vol. XIV, p. 82) identifies Darapsa with the Lam-shi-ch'eng of the Chinese historians. It was the capital of their Ta-hia (Tokhâra—Baktria) which was situated about 2000 li south-west of Ta-wan (Yarkand), to the south of the Kwai-shui (Ôxos). The original form of the name was probably, he says, Darampsa. In Ta-wan he finds the Phrynoi of Strabo. The region between Kaukasos and Imaös, Ptolemy calls Vandabanda, a name of which, as Wilson conjectures, traces are to be found in the name of Badakshân.

With regard to the towns Mr. Vaux remarks, (Smith's *Dict.* s. v. Sogdiana): "The historians of Alexander's march leave us to suppose that Sogdiana abounded with large towns, but many of these, as Prof. Wilson has remarked, were probably little more than forts erected along the lines of the great rivers to defend the country from the incursions of the barbarous tribes to its N. and E. Yet these writers must have had good opportunity of estimating the force of these places, as Alexander appears to have been the best part of three years in this and the adjoining province of Baktriana. The principal towns, of which the names have been handed down to us, were Kyreschata or Kyropolis on the Iaxartes (Steph. Byz. *s. v.*; Curt. lib. VI, c. vi) Gaza (Ghaz or Ghazni, Ibn Haukal, p. 270); Alexandreia Ultima (Arrian, lib. III, c. xxx; Curt. *l. c.*; Am. Marc., lib. XXIII, c. vi) doubtless in the neighbourhood, if not on the site of the present Khojend; Alexandreia Oxiana (Steph. Byz. *s. v.*); Nautaka (Arrian, *An.* lib. III, c. xxviii; lib. IV, c. xviii) in the neighbourhood of Karshi or Naksheb. Brankhidae, a place traditionally said to have been colonised by a Greek population; and Marginia (Curt., lib. VII, c. x, 15) probably the present Marghinan."

Cap. 13.

Position of the Sakai.

1. The Sakai are bounded on the west by the Sogdianoi along their eastern side already described, on the north by Skythia along the line parallel to the river Iaxartes as far as the limit *of the country* which lies in 130° E. 49° N. on the east in like manner by Skythia along the meridian lines prolonged from thence and through the adjacent range of mountains called

Askatangkas as far as the station at Mount Imaos, whence traders start on their journey to Sêra which lies in 140° E. 43° N., and through Mount Imaos as it ascends to the north as far as the limit *of the country* which lies in 143° E. 35° N., and on the south by Imaos itself along the line adjoining the limits that have been stated.

2. The country of the S a k a i is inhabited by nomads. They have no towns, but dwell in woods and caves. Among the Sakai is the mountain district, already mentioned, of the K ô m ê d a i, of which the ascent from the Sogdianoi lies in .... 125° 43°
And the parts towards the valley of the Kômêdai lie in........ 130° 39°
And the so-called Stone Tower lies in .... 135° 43°

3. The tribes of the Sakai, along the Iaxartes, are the K a r a t a i and the K o m a r o i, and the people who have all the mountain region are the K ô m ê d a i, and the people along the range of Askatangka the M a s s a g e t a i; and the people between are the G r y n a i o i S k y t h a i and the T o ö r n a i, below whom, along Mount Imaos, are the B y l t a i.

In the name of the mountain range on the east of the Sakai, A s k a-t a n g k-a s, the middle syllable represents the Turkish word *tâgh*—'mountain.' The tribe of the K a r a t a i, which was seated along the banks of the Iaxartes, bears a name of common application, chiefly to members of the Mongol family—that of Karait. The name of the Massagetai, Latham has suggested, may have arisen out of the common name *Mustâgh*, but Beal, as already stated, refers it to the Moeso-gothic "*maiza*" and "Yue-chi—Getæ." The B y l t a i are the people of what is now called Little Tibet and also Baltistân.

CAP. 14.

POSITION OF SKYTHIA WITHIN IMAÖS.

1. S k y t h i a within Imaös is bounded on the west by Sarmatia in Asia along the side already traced, on the north by an unknown land, on the east by Mount Imaös ascending to the north pretty nearly along the meridian of the starting-place already mentioned as far as the unknown land .... 140° 63°,
on the south and also on the east by the Sakai and the Sogdianoi and by Margianê along their meridians already mentioned as far as the Hyrkanian Sea at the mouth of the Ôxos, and also by the part of the Hyrkanian Sea lying between the north of the Ôxos and the river Rhâ according to such an outline.

2. The bend of the River Rhâ which marks the boundary of Sarmatia and Skythia.......................... 85° 54°
with the mouth of the river Rhâ which lies in .... 87° 30′ 48° 50′
Mouth of the river Rhymmos .... 91° 48° 45′
Mouth of the river Daïx ... 94° 48° 45′
Mouth of the river Iaxartes 97° 48°
Mouth of the river Iästos ... 100° 47° 20′
Mouth of the river Polytimêtos .... 103° 45° 30′
Aspabôta, a town .... 102° 44°
after which comes the mouth of the Ôxos.

3. The mountains of Skythia within Imaos are the more eastern parts of the Hyperborean hills and the mountains called A l a n a, whose extremities lie .... 105° 59°
and .... 118° 59° 30′

4. And the Rymmik mountains whose extremities lie...................... 90° 54°
and .... 99° 47° 30′
from which flow the Rymmos and some other streams that discharge into the River Rhâ, uniting with the Daïx river.

5. And the Noresson range, of which the extremities lie.................. 97° 53° 30′
and .... 106° 52° 30′
and from this range flow the Daïx and some other tributaries of the Iaxartes.

6. And the range of mountains called Aspisia whose extremities lie 111° 55° 30′
and .... 117° 52° 30′
and from these some streams flow into the River Iaxartes.

7. And the mountains called Tapoura whose extremities lie .... 120° 56°
and .... 125° 49°
from which also some streams flow into the Iaxartes.

8. In addition to these in the depth of the region of the streams are the Syêba mountains whose extremities lie .... 121° 58°
and .... 132° 62°
and the mountains called the Anarea whose extremities lie .... 130° 56°
and .... 137° 50°
after which is the bend in the direction of Imaos continuing it towards the north.

9. All the territory of this Skythia in the north, adjoining the unknown regions, is inhabited by the people commonly called the Alanoi Skythai and the Sounobênoi and the Alanorsoi, and the country below these by the Saitianoi and the Massaioi and the Syêboi, and along Imaös on the outer side the Tektosakes, and near the most eastern sources of the river Rhâ the Rhoboskoi below whom the Asmanoi.

10. Then the Paniardoi, below whom, more towards the river, the country of Kanodipsa, and below it the Koraxoi, then the Orgasói, after whom as far as the sea the Erymmoi, to east of whom are the Asiôtai, then the Aorsoi, after whom are the Iaxartai, a great race seated along their homonymous river as far as to where it bends towards the Tapoura Mountains, and again below the Saitanioi are the Mologênoi, below whom, as far as the Rymmik range, are the Samnîtai.

11. And below the Massaioi and the Alana Mountains are the Zaratai and the Sasones, and further east than the Rymmik Mountains are the Tybiakai, after whom, below the Zaratai, are the Tabiênoi and the Iâstai and the Makhaitêgoi along the range of Norosson, after whom are the Norosbeis and the Norossoi, and below these the Kakhagai Skythai along *the country of* the Iaxartai.

12. Further west than the Aspisia range are the Aspisioi Skythai, and further east the Galaktophagoi Skythai, and in like manner the parts farther east than the Tapoura and Syêba ranges are inhabited by the Tapoureoi.

13. The slopes and summits of the Anarea Mountains and Mount Askatangkas are inhabited by the homonymous Anareoi Skythai below the Alanorsoi, and the Askatangkai Skythai further east than the Tapoureoi, and as far as Mount Imaos.

14. But the parts between the Tapoura Mountains and the slope towards the mouth of the Iaxartes and the seacoast between the two rivers are possessed by the Ariakai, along the Iaxartes and below these the Namostai, then the Sagaraukai, and along the river Ôxos the Rhibioi, who have a town

Dauaba ....104° 45°.

The country of the Skyths is spread over a vast area in the east of Europe and in Western and Central Asia. The knowledge of the Skyths by the Greeks dates from the earliest period of their literature, for in Homer (*Iliad*, lib. XIII, l. 4) we find mention made of the Galaktophagoi (milk-eaters) and the Hippemologoi (mare-milkers) which must have been Skythic tribes, since the milking of mares is a practice distinctive of the Skyths. Ptolemy's division of Skythia into within and beyond Imaös is peculiar to himself, and may have been suggested by his division of India into within and beyond the Ganges. Imaos, as has already been pointed out is the Bolor chain, which has been for ages the boundary between Turkistân and China. Ptolemy, however, placed Imaös too far to the east, 8° further than the meridian of the principal source of the Ganges. The cause of this mistake, as a writer in Smith's *Dictionary* points out, arose from the circumstance that the data upon which Ptolemy came to his conclusion were selected from two different sources. The Greeks first became acquainted with the Kômêdorum Montes when they passed the Indian Kaukasos between Kâbul and Balkh, and advanced over the plateau of Bâmiyân along the west slopes of Bolor, where Alexander found in the tribe of the Sibae the descendants of Hêraklês, just as Marco Polo and Burnes met with people who boasted that they had sprung from the Makedonian conquerors. The north of Bolor was known from the route of the traffic of the Sêres. The combination of notations obtained from such different sources was imperfectly made, and hence the error in longitude. This section of Skythia comprised Khiva, the country of the Kosaks. Ferghâna, Tashkend, and the parts about the Balkash.

The rivers mentioned in connexion with Skythia within Imaös are the Ôxos, Iaxartes, Rhâ, Rhymmos, Daïx, Iästos and Polytimêtos. The Rhâ is the Volga, which is sometimes called the Rhau by the Russians who live in its neighbourhood. Ptolemy appears to be the first Greek writer who mentions it. The Rhymmos is a small stream between the Rhâ and the Ural river called the Narynchara. The Daïx is the Isik or Ural river The Iästos was identified by Humboldt with the Kizil-darya, which disappeared in the course of last century, but the dry bed of which can be traced in the barren wastes of Kizil-koum in W. Turkestân. With regard to the Polytimêtos, Wilson says (*Arian. Antiq*. p. 168); "There can be no hesitation in recognizing the identity of the Polytimêtês and the Zarafshân, or river of Samarkand, called also the Kohik, or more correctly the river of *the* Kohak; being so termed from its passing by

a rising ground, a Koh-ak, a 'little hill' or 'hillock,' which lies to the east of the city. According to Strabo, this river traversed Sogdiana and was lost in the sands. Curtius describes it as entering a cavern and continuing its course underground. The river actually terminates in a small lake to the south of Bokhara, the Dangiz, but in the dry weather the supply of water is too scanty to force its way to the lake, and it is dispersed and evaporated in the sands. What the original appellation may have been does not appear, but the denominations given by the Greeks and Persians 'the much-honoured' or 'the gold-shedding' stream convey the same idea, and intimate the benefits it confers upon the region which it waters." Ptolemy is wide astray in making it enter the Kaspian.

The mountains enumerated are the Alana, Rhymmika, Norosson, Aspisia, Tapoura, Syêba, and Anarea. By the Alana Mountains, which lay to the east of the Hyperboreans, it has been supposed that Ptolemy designated the northern part of the Ural Chain. If so, he has erroneously given their direction as from west to east. The Rhymmik mountains were probably another branch of that great meridian chain which consists of several ranges which run nearly parallel. The Norosson may be taken as Ptolemy's designation for the southern portion of this chain. The Aspisia and Tapoura mountains lay to the north of the Iaxartes. The latter, which are placed three degrees further east than the Aspisia, may be the western part of the Altai. The Syêba stretched still farther eastward with an inclination northward. To the southward of them were the Anarea, which may be placed near the sources of the Obi and the Irtish, forming one of the western branches of the Altai. Ptolemy erroneously prolongs the chain of Imaos to these high latitudes.

Ptolemy has named no fewer than 38 tribes belonging to this division of Skythia. Of these the best known are the Alani, who belonged also to Europe, where they occupied a great portion of Southern Russia. At the time when Arrian the historian was Governor of Kappadokia under Hadrian, the Asiatic Alani attacked his province, but were repelled. He subsequently wrote a work on the tactics to be observed against the Alani (Ἔκταξις κατ' Ἀλανῶν) of which some fragments remain. The seats of the Alani were in the north of Skythia and adjacent to *the unknown land*, which may be taken to mean the regions stretching northward beyond Lake Balkash. The position of the different tribes is fixed with sufficient clearness in the text. These tribes were essentially nomadic, pastoral and migratory—hence in Ptolemy's description of their country towns are singularly conspicuous by their absence.

CAP. 15.

THE POSITION OF SKYTHIA BEYOND IMAUS.

1. Skythia beyond Mount Imaos is bounded on the west by Skythia within Imaos, and the Sakai along the whole curvature of the mountains towards the north, and on the north by the unknown land, and on the east by Serikê in a straight line whereof the extremities

lie in	150°	63°
and	160°	35°

and on the south by a part of India beyond the Ganges along the parallel of latitude which cuts the southern extremity of the line just mentioned.

2. In this division is situated the western part of the Auxakian Mountains, of which the

extremities lie	149°	49°
and	165°	54°
and the western part of the mountains called Kasia, whose extremities lie in	152°	41°
and	162°	44°
and also the western portion of Emôdos, whose extremities lie in	153°	36°
and	165°	36°
and towards the Auxakians, the source of the River Oikhardês lying in	153°	51°

3. The northern parts of this Skythia are possessed by the Abioi Skythai, and the parts below them by the Hippophagoi Skythai, after whom the territory of Auxakîtis extends onward, and below this again, at the starting place already mentioned, the Kasian land, below which are the Khatai Skythai, and then succeeds the Akhasa land, and below it along the Emôda the Kharaunaioi Skythai.

4. The towns in this division are these:—

Auxakia	143°	49° 40′
Issêdôn Skythikê	150°	49° 30′
Khaurana	150°	37° 15′
Soita	145°	35° 20′

Skythia beyond Imaos embraced Ladakh, Tibet, Chinese Tartary and Mongolia. Its mountains were the Auxakian and Kasian chains, both of which extended into Sêrikê, and Emôdos. The Auxakians may have formed a part of the Altai, and the Kasians which Ptolemy places five degrees further south are certainly the mountains of Kâshgar. The Emôdos are the Himalayas.

The only river named in this division is the

Oikhardês, which has its sources in three different ranges, the Auxakian, the Asmiraean and the Kasian. According to a writer in Smith's *Dictionary* the Oikhardês "may be considered to represent the river formed by the union of the streams of Khotan, Yarkand, Kashgar and Ushi, and which flows close to the hills at the base of the Thian-shan. Saint-Martin again inclines to think Œchardês may be a designation of the Indus, while still flowing northward from its sources among the Himalayas. "Skardo," he says, (*Étude*, p. 420) "the capital of the Balti, bears to the name of the Œikhardês (Chardi in Amm. Marc. 2) a resemblance with which one is struck. If the identification is well founded, the river Œchardês will be the portion of the Indus which traverses Balti and washes the walls of Skardo."

In the north of the division Ptolemy places the Abioi Skythai. Homer, along with the Galaktophagoi and Hippêmolgoi, mentions the Abioi. Some think that the term in the passage designates a distinct tribe of Skythians, but others take it to be a common adjective, characterizing the Skythians in general as very scantily supplied with the means of subsistence. On the latter supposition the general term must in the course of time have become a specific appellation. Of the four towns which Ptolemy assigns to the division, one bears a well-known name, Issêdôn, which he calls Skythikê, to distinguish it from Issêdôn in Serikê. The name of the Issêdônes occurs very early in Greek literature, as they are referred to by the Spartan poet Alkman, who flourished between 671 and 631 B. C. He calls them Assedones *Frag.* 94, ed. Welcker). They are mentioned also by Hekataios of Miletos. In very remote times they were driven from the steppes over which they wandered by the Arimaspians. They then drove out the Skythians, who in turn drove out the Kimmerians. Traces of these migrations are found in the poem of Aristeas of Prokonnesos, who is fabled to have made a pilgrimage to the land of the Issêdones. Their position has been assigned to the east of Ichin, in the steppe of the central horde of the Kirghiz, and that of the Arimaspee on the northern declivity of the Altai. (Smith's *Dict.* s. v.) This position is not in accordance with Ptolemy's indications. Herodotos, while rejecting the story of the Arimaspians and the griffins that guarded their gold, admits at the same time that by far the greatest quantity of gold came from the north of Europe, in which he included the tracts along the Ural, and Altai ranges. The abundance of gold among the Skythians on the Euxine is attested by the contents of their tombs, which have been opened in modern times. (See Bunbury, vol. I, p. 200.)

Regarding Ptolemy's Skythian geography, Bunbury says (vol. II, p. 597): "It must be admitted that Ptolemy's knowledge of the regions on either side of the Imaos was of the vaguest possible character. Eastward of the Rhâ (Volga), which he regarded as the limit between Asiatic Sarmatia and Skythia, and north of the Iaxartes, which he describes like all previous writers as falling into the Kaspian—he had, properly speaking, no geographical knowledge whatever. Nothing had reached him beyond the names of tribes reported at second-hand, and frequently derived from different authorities, who would apply different appellations to the same tribe, or extend the same name to one or more of the wandering hordes, who were thinly dispersed over this vast extent of territory. Among the names thus accumulated, a compilation that is probably as worthless as that of Pliny, notwithstanding its greater pretensions to geographical accuracy, we find some that undoubtedly represent populations really existing in Ptolemy's time, such as the Alani, the Aorsi, &c., associated with others that were merely poetical or traditional, such as the Abii, Galaktophagi and Hippophagi, while the Issêdones, who were placed by Herodotos immediately east of the Tanais, are strangely transferred by Ptolemy to the far East, on the very borders of Serika; and he has even the name of a *town* which he calls Issedon Serika, and to which he assigns a position in longitude 22° east of Mount Imaos, and not less than 46° east of Baktra. In one essential point, as has been already pointed out, Ptolemy's conception of Skythia differed from that of all preceding geographers, that instead of regarding it as bounded on the north and east by the sea, and consequently of comparatively limited extent, he considered it as extending without limit in both directions, and bounded only by 'the unknown land,' or in other words limited only by his own knowledge."

Cap. 16.

Position of Serikê.

Serikê is bounded on the west by Skythia, beyond Mount Imaos, along the line already mentioned, on the north by the unknown land along the same parallel as that through Thulê, and on the east, likewise by the unknown land along the meridian of which the extremities lie..180° 63°
and ....180° 55°
and on the south by the rest of India beyond the Ganges through the same parallel as far as the extremity lying ....173° 55°
and also by the Sinai, through the line prolonged

till it reaches the already mentioned extremity towards the unknown land.

2. Serikê is girdled by the mountains called Anniba, whose extremities lie ...153° 60°
and ....171° 56°
and by the eastern part of the Auxakians, of which the extremity lies ......165° 54°
and by the mountains called the Asmiraia whose extremities lie ....167° 47° 30′
and ....174° 47° 30′
and by the eastern part of the Kasia range, whose extremities lie ....162° 44°
and ....171° 40°
and by Mount Thagouron whose centre lies..............................170° 43°
and also by the eastern portion of the mountains called Emôda and Sêrika, whose extremity lies...................................165° 36°
and by the range called Ottorokorrhas, whose extremities lie ....169° 36°
and ....176° 38°

3. There flow through the far greatest portion of Sêrikê two rivers, the Oikhardês, one of whose sources is placed with the Auxakioi, and the other which is placed in the Asmiraian mountains lies in.....................174° 47° 30′
and where it bends towards the Kasia range ....160° 48° 30′
but the source in them lies ....161° 44° 15′
and the other river is called the Bautisos, and this has one of its sources in the Kasia range in ....160° 43°
another in Ottorokorrha............176° 39°
and it bends towards the Emôda in 168° 39°
and its source in these lies.........160° 37°

4. The most northern parts of Sêrike are inhabited by tribes of cannibals, below whom is the nation of the A n n i b o i, who occupy the slopes and summits of the homonymous mountains. Between these and the A u x a k i o i is the nation of the S y z y g e s, below whom are the D â m n a i, then as far as the river Oikhardes the P i a l a i (or Piaddai), and below the river the homonymous O i k h a r d a i.

5. And again farther east than the Anniboi are the G a r i n a i o i and the R h a b a n n a i or Rhabbanaioi, and below the country of A s m i r a i a, above the homonymous mountains. Beyond these mountains as far as the Kasia range the I s s ê d o n e s, a great race, and further east than these the T h r o a n o i, and below these the I t h a g o u r o i, to the east of the homonymous mountains, below the Issêdones, the A s p a k â r a i, and still below those the B â t a i, and furthest south along the Emôda and Sêrika ranges the O t t o r o k o r r h a i.

6. The cities in S ê r i k ê are thus named :—

Damna	156°	51° 20′
Piala (or Piadda)..............	160°	49° 40′
Asmiraia	170°	48°
Throana	174° 40′	47° 40′
7. Issêdôn Serikê	162°	45°
Aspakara (or Aspakaia)	162° 30′	41° 40′
Drôsakhê (or Rhosakla)	167° 40′	42° 30′
Paliana	162° 30′	41°
Abragana	163° 30′	39° 30′
8. Thogara	171° 20′	39° 40′
Daxata	174°	39° 30′
Orosana	162°	37° 30′
Ottorokorrha...	165°	37° 15′
Solana	169°	37° 30′
Sêra, metropolis	177°	38° 35′

The chapter which Ptolemy has devoted to S ê r i k ê has given rise to more abortive theories and unprofitable controversies than any other part of his work on Geography. The position of Serikê itself has been very variously determined, having been found by different writers in one or other of the many countries that intervene between Eastern Turkistan in the north and the province of Pegu in the south. It is now however generally admitted that by Sêrikê was meant the more northern parts of China, or those which travellers and traders reached by land. At the same time it is not to be supposed that the names which Ptolemy in his map has spread over that vast region were in reality names of places whose real positions were to be found so very far eastward. On the contrary, most of the names are traceable to Sanskrit sources and applicable to places either in Kaśmîr or in the regions immediately adjoining. This view was first advanced by Saint-Martin, in his dissertation on the Serikê of Ptolemy (*Étude*, pp. 411 ff.) where he has discussed the subject with all his wonted acuteness and fulness of learning. I may translate here his remarks on the points that are most prominent: "All the nomenclature," he says (p. 414), "except some names at the extreme points north and east, is certainly of Sanskrit origin. . . . . To the south of the mountains, in the Panjâb, Ptolemy indicates under the general name of Kaspiraei an extension genuinely historical of the Kaśmîrian empire, with a detailed nomenclature

which ought to rest upon informations of the 1st century of our æra; whilst to the north of the great chain we have nothing more than names thrown at hazard in an immense space where our means of actual comparison show us prodigious displacements. This difference is explained by the very nature of the case. The Brâhmans, who had alone been able to furnish the greater part of the information carried from India by the Greeks regarding this remotest of all countries, had not themselves, as one can see from their books, anything but the most imperfect notions. Some names of tribes, of rivers, and of mountains, without details or relative positions—this is all the Sanskrit poems contain respecting these high valleys of the North. It is also all that the tables of Ptolemy give, with the exception of the purely arbitrary addition of graduations. It is but recently that we ourselves have become a little better acquainted with these countries which are so difficult of access. We must not require from the ancients information which they could not have had, and it is of importance also that we should guard against a natural propensity which disposes us to attribute to all that antiquity has transmitted to us an authority that we do not accord without check to our best explorers. If the meagre nomenclature inscribed by Ptolemy on his map, of the countries situated beyond (that is to the east) of Imaos, cannot lead to a regular correspondence with our existing notions, that which one can recognize, suffices nevertheless to determine and circumscribe its general position. Without wishing to carry into this more precision than is consistent with the nature of the indications, we may say, that the indications, taken collectively, place us in the midst of the Alpine region, whence radiate in different directions the Himâlaya, the Hindu-Kôh and the Bolor chain—enormous elevations enveloped in an immense girdle of eternal snows, and whose cold valleys belong to different families of pastoral tribes. Kaśmîr, a privileged oasis amidst these rugged mountains, appertains itself to this region which traverses more to the north the Tibetan portion of the Indus (above the point where the ancients placed the sources of the Indus) and whence run to the west the Ôxos and Iaxartes. With Ptolemy the name of Imaos (the Greek transcription of the usual form of the name of Himâlaya) is applied to the central chain from the region of the sources of the Ganges (where rise also the Indus and its greatest affluent, the Śatadru or Satlaj) to beyond the sources of the Iaxartes. The general direction of this great axis is from south to north, saving a bend to the south-east from Kaśmîr to the sources of the Ganges; it is only on parting from this last point that the Himâlaya runs directly to the east, and it is there also that with Ptolemy the name of Emôdos begins, which designates the Eastern Himâlaya. Now it is on Imaos itself or in the vicinity of this grand system of mountains to the north of our Panjâb and to the east of the valleys of the Hindu-Kôh and of the upper Ôxos that there come to be placed, in a space from 6 to 7 degrees at most from south to north, and less perhaps than that in the matter of the longitudes, all the names which can be identified on the map where Ptolemy has wished to represent, in giving them an extension of nearly 40 degrees from west to east, the region which he calls Skythia beyond Imaos and Serika. One designation is there immediately recognizable among all the others—that of Kasia. Ptolemy indicates the situation of the country of Kasia towards the bending of Imaos to the east above the sources of the Ôxos, although he carries his Montes Kasii very far away from that towards the east; but we are sufficiently aware beforehand that here, more than in any other part of the Tables, we have only to attend to the nomenclature, and to leave the notations altogether out of account. The name of the Khaśa has been from time immemorial one of the appellations the most spread through all the Himâlayan range. To keep to the western parts of the chain, where the indication of Ptolemy places us, we there find Khaśa mentioned from the heroic ages of India, not only in the *Itihâsas* or legendary stories of the *Mahâbhârata*, but also in the law book of Manu, where their name is read by the side of that of the Darêda, another people well known, which borders in fact on the Khaśa of the north. The Khaśa figure also in the Buddhist Chronicles of Ceylon, among the people subdued by Aśôka in the upper Panjâb, and we find them mentioned in more than 40 places of the Kaśmîr *Chronicle* among the chief mountain tribes that border on Kaśmîr. Baber knows also that a people of the name of Khas is indigenous to the high valleys in the neighbourhood of the Eastern Hindu-Kôh; and, with every reason, we attach to this indigenous people the origin of the name of Kâshgar, which is twice reproduced in the geography of these high regions. Khaśagiri in Sanskrit, where, according to a form more approaching the Zend Khaśaghaïri, signifies properly the mountains of the Khaśa. The Akhasa Khôra, near the Kasia regio, is surely connected with the same nationality. The Aspakarai, with a place of the same name (Aspakara) near the Kasii Montes, have no correspondence actually known in these high valleys, but the form of the name connects

it with the Sanskrit or Iranian nomenclature. Beside the Aspakarai, the Batai are found in the Bâutta of the *Râjataraṅgiṇi*. . . . . . . In the 10th century of our æra, the Chief of Ghilghit took the title of Bhâtshâh or Shah of the Bhât. The Balti, that we next name, recall a people, mentioned by Ptolemy in this high region, the Byltai. The accounts possessed by Ptolemy had made him well acquainted with the general situation of the Byltai in the neighbourhood of the Imaos, but he is either ill informed or has ill applied his information as to their exact position, which he indicates as being to the west of the great chain of Bolor and not to the east of it, where they were really to be found. The Ramana and the Daśamana, two people of the north, which the *Mahâbhârata* and the Pauranik lists mention along with the Chîna, appear to us not to differ from the Rhabannae and the Damnai of Ptolemy's table." Saint-Martin gives in the sequel a few other identifications—that of the Throanoi (whose name should be read Phrounoi, or rather Phaunoi as in Strabo) with the Phuna of the *Lalitavistara* (p. 122)—of the Kharaunaioi with the Kajana, whose language proves them to be Daradas, and of the Ithagouroi with the Dangors, Dhagars or Dakhars, who must at one time have been the predominant tribe of the Daradas. The country called Asmiraia he takes, without hesitation, to be Kaśmîr itself. As regards the name Ottorakorrha, applied by Ptolemy to a town and a people and a range of mountains, it is traced without difficulty to the Sanskrit—Uttarakuru, *i.e.*, the Kuru of the north which figures in Indian mythology as an earthly paradise sheltered on every side by an encircling rampart of lofty mountains, and remarkable for the longevity of its inhabitants, who lived to be 1000 and 10,000 years old. Ptolemy was not aware that this was but an imaginary region, and so gave it a place within the domain of real geography. The land of the Hyperboreans is a western repetition of the Uttarakuru of Kaśmîr.

CAP. 17.

POSITION OF AREIA.

Areia is bounded on the north by Margianê and by a part of Baktrianê along its southern side, as already exhibited. On the west by Parthia and by the Karmanian desert along their eastern meridians that have been defined, on the south by Drangianê along the line which, beginning from the said extremity towards Karmania, and curving towards the north, turns through Mount Bagôos towards the east on to the extreme point which lies ....111° 34° the position where the mountain curves is ....105° 32°
The boundary on the east is formed by the Paropanisadai along the line adjoining the extremities already mentioned through the western parts of Paropanisos; the position may be indicated at three different points, the

southern	111°	36°
the northern	111° 30′	39°
and the most eastern	119° 30′	39°

2. A notable river flows through this country called the Areias, of which the sources that are in Paropanisos, lie ....111° 38° 15′
and those that are in the Sariphoi..118° 33° 20′
The part along the lake called Areia, which is below these mountains, lies in ...108° 40′ 36°

3. The northern parts of Areia are possessed by the Nisaioi and the Astauênoi or Astabênoi, but those along the frontier of Parthia and the Karmanian desert by the Masdôranoi or Mazôranoi, and those along the frontier of Drangianê by the Kaseirotai, and those along the Paropanisadai by the Parautoi, below whom are the Obareis and intermediately the Drakhamai, below whom the Aitymandroi, then the Borgoi, below whom is the country called Skorpiophoros.

4. The towns and villages in Areia are these:—

Dista	102° 30′	38° 15′
Nabaris	105° 40′	38° 20′
Taua	109°	38° 45′
Augara	102°	38°
Bitaxa	103° 40′	38°
Sarmagana	105° 20′	38° 10′
Sipharê	107° 15′	38° 15′
Rhaugara	109° 30′	38° 10′
5. Zamoukhana	102°	37°
Ambrôdax	103° 30′	37° 30′
Bogadia	104° 15′	37° 40′
Ouarpna (Varpna)	105° 30′	37°
Godana	110° 30′	37° 30′
Phoraua	110°	37°
Khatriskhê	103°	36° 20′
Khaurina	104°	36° 20′
6. Orthiana	105° 15′	36′ 20′
Taukiana	106° 10′	36°
Astauda	107° 40′	36°
Artikaudna	109° 20′	36° 10′
Alexandreia of the Areians...	110°	36°

Babarsana or Kabarsana	103° 20′	35° 20′
Kapoutana	104° 30′	35° 30′
7. Areia, a city	105°	35°
Kaskê	107° 20′	35° 20′
Sôteira	108° 40′	35° 30′
Ortikanê	109° 20′	35° 30′
Nisibis	111°	35° 20′
Parakanakê	105° 30′	34° 20′
Sariga	106° 40′	34° 40′
8. Darkama	111°	34° 20′
Kotakê	107° 30′	33° 40′
Tribazina	106°	33°
Astasana	105°	33°
Zimyra	102° 30′	33° 15′

Areia was a small province included in Ariana, a district of wide extent, which comprehended nearly the whole of ancient Persia. The smaller district has sometimes been confounded with the larger, of which it formed a part. The names of both are connected with the well-known Indian word *ârya*, 'noble' or 'excellent.' According to Strabo, Aria was 2,000 stadia in length and only 300 stadia in breadth. "If," says Wilson (*Ariana Antiq.*, p. 150) "these measurements be correct, we must contract the limits of Aria much more than has been usually done; and Aria will be restricted to the tract from about Meshd to the neighbourhood of Herat, a position well enough reconcilable with much that Strabo relates of Aria, its similarity to Margiana in character and productions, its mountains and well-watered valleys in which the vine flourished, its position as much to the north as to the south of the chain of Taurus or Alburz, and its being bounded by Hyrkania, Margiana, and Baktriana on the north, and Drangiana on the south."

Mount Bagôos, on its south-east border, has been identified with the Ghûr mountains. The Montes Sariphi are the Hazâras. The river Areias, by which Aria is traversed, is the Hari Rûd or river of Herat which, rising at Oba in the Paropanisan mountains, and having run westerly past Herat, is at no great distance lost in the sands. That it was so lost is stated both by Strabo and Arrian. Ptolemy makes it terminate in a lake; and hence, Rennell carried it south into the Lake of Seistân, called by Ptolemy the Areian lake. It receives the Ferrah-Rûd, a stream which passes Ferrah or Farah, a town which has been identified with much probability with the Phra mentioned by Isidôros in his *Mans. Parth.*, sec. 16. It receives also the Etymander (now the Helmand) which gave its name to one of the Areian tribes named by Ptolemy.

He has enumerated no fewer than 35 towns belonging to this small province, a long list which it is not possible to verify, but a number of small towns, as Wilson points out, occur on the road from Meshd to Herat and thence towards Qandahâr or Kâbul, and some of these may be represented in the Table under forms more or less altered. The capital of Areia, according to Strabo and Arrian, was Artakoana (v. ll. Artakakna, Artakana) and this is no doubt the Artikaudna of Ptolemy, which he places on the banks of the Areian lake about two-thirds of a degree north-west of his Alexandreia of the Areians. The identification of this Alexandreia is uncertain; most probably it was Herat, or some place in its neighbourhood. Herat is called by oriental writers Hera, a form under which the Areia of the ancients is readily to be recognized. Ptolemy has a city of this name, and Wilson (*Ariana Antiqua*, p. 152), is of opinion that "Artakoana, Alexandria and Aria are aggregated in Herat." With reference to Alexandria he quotes a memorial verse current among the inhabitants of Herat: "It is said that Hari was founded by Lohrasp, extended by Gushtasp, improved by Bahman and completed by Alexander." The name of Sôteira indicates that its founder was Antiokhos Sôtêr.

Cap. 18.

Position of the Paropanisadai.

1. The Paropanisadai are bounded on the west by Areia along the aforesaid side, on the north by the part of Baktrianê as described, on the east by a part of India along the meridian line prolonged from the sources of the river Ôxos, through the Kaukasian mountains as far as a terminating point which lies in .... 119° 30′ 39° and on the south by Arakhôsia along the line connecting the extreme points already determined.

2. The following rivers enter the country—the Dargamenês, which belongs to Baktrianê, the position of the sources of which has been already stated; and the river which falls into the Kôa, of which the sources lie .... 115° 34° 30′.

3. The northern parts are possessed by the Bôlitai, and the western by the Aristophylai, and below them the Parsioi, and the southern parts by the Parsyêtai, and the eastern by the Ambautai.

4. The towns and villages of the Paropanisadai are these:—

Parsiana	118° 30′	38° 45′
Barzaura	114°	37° 30′
Artoarta	116° 30′	37° 30′
Baborana	118°	37° 10′

Katisa	118° 40′	37° 30′
Niphanda	119°	37°
Drastoka	116°	36° 30′
Gazaka or Gaudzaka	118° 30′	36° 15′
5. Naulibis	117°	35° 30′
Parsia	113° 30′	35°
Lokharna	118°	34°
Daroakana	118° 30′	34° 20′
Karoura, called also Artospana	118°	35°
Tarbakana	114° 20′	33° 40′
Bagarda	116° 40′	33° 40′
Argouda	118° 45′	33° 30′

The tribes for which Paropanisadai was a collective name were located along the southern and eastern sides of the Hindu-Kush, which Ptolemy calls the Kaukasos, and of which his Paropanisos formed a part. In the tribe which he calls the Bôlitai we may perhaps have the Kabolitae, or people of Kabul, and in the Ambautai the Ambashṭha of Sanskrit. The Parsyêtai have also a Sanskrit name—'mountaineers,' from *parvata*, 'a mountain,' so also the Parautoi of Areia. The principal cities of the Paropanisadai were Naulibis and Karoura or Ortospana. Karoura is also written as Kaboura and in this form makes a near approach to Kabul, with which it has been identified. With regard to the other name of this place, Ortospana, Cunningham (*Anc. Geog. of Ind.*, p. 35) says: "I would identify it with Kâbul itself, with its Bala Hisâr, or 'high fort,' which I take to be a Persian translation of Ortospana or Urddhasthâna, that is, high place or lofty city." Ptolemy mentions two rivers that crossed the country of the Paropanisadai—the Dargamênes from Baktriana that flowed northward to join the Ôxos, which Wilson (*Ariana Antiqua*, p. 160) takes to be either the Dehas or the Gori river. If it was the Dehas, then the other river which Ptolemy does not name, but which he makes to be a tributary of the Kôa, may be the Sarkhâb or Gori river, which, however, does not join the Kôa but flows northward to join the Ôxos. Pâṇini mentions Parśusthâna, the country of the Parśus, a warlike tribe in this reign, which may correspond to Ptolemy's Parsioi or Parsyetai.[38] The following places have been identified:—

Parsiana with Pañjshir; Barzaura with Bazârak; Baborana with Parwân; Drastoka with Istargaṛh; Parsia (capital of the Parsii) with Farzah, and Lokharna with Lôgaṛh south of Kâbul.

CAP. 19.

POSITION OF DRANGIANE.

Drangianê is bounded on the west and north by Areia along the line already described as passing through Mount Bagôos, and on the east by Arakhôsia along the meridian line drawn from an extreme point lying in the country of the Areioi and that of the Paropanisadai to another extreme point, of which the position is in ... 111° 30′ 28′ and on the south by a part of Gedrôsia along the line joining the extreme points already determined, passing through the Baitian mountains.

2. There flows through the country a river which branches off from the Arabis of which the sources lie ... 109° 32° 30′

3. The parts towards Areia are possessed by the Darandai, and those towards Arakhôsia by the Baktrioi, the country intermediate is called Taṭakênê.

4. The towns and villages of Drangianê are said to be these:—

Prophthasia	110°	32° 20′
Rhouda	106° 30′	31° 30′
Inna	109°	31° 30′
Arikada	110° 20′	31° 20′
5. Asta	117° 30′	30° 40′
Xarxiarê	106° 20′	29° 15′
Nostana	108°	29° 40′
Pharazana	110°	30°
Bigis	111°	29° 40′
Ariaspê	108° 40′	28° 40′
Arana	111°	28° 15′

Drangianê corresponds in general position and extent with the province now called Seistân. The inhabitants were called Drangai, Zarangae, Zarangoi, Zarangaioi and Sarangai. The name, according to Burnouf, was derived from the Zend word, *zarayo*, 'a lake,' a word which is retained in the name by which Ptolemy's Areian lake is now known—Lake Zarah. The district was mountainous towards Arakhôsia, which formed its eastern frontier, but in the west, towards Karmania, it consisted chiefly of sandy wastes. On the south it was separated from Gedrôsia by the Baitian mountains, those now called the Washati. Ptolemy says it was watered by a river derived from the Arabis, but this is a gross error, for the Arabis, which is now called the Purali, flows from the Baitian mountains in an opposite direction from Drangiana. Ptolemy has probably confounded the Arabis with the Etymander or Helmand river which, as has already been noticed, falls into Lake Zarah.

Ptolemy has portioned out the province among three tribes, the Darandai (Drangai?) on the north, the Baktrioi to the south-east, and the people of Tatakênê between them.

[38] See Beal's *Bud. Rec. of Wn. Count.* vol. II, p. 285n.

The capital was Prophthasia which was distant, according to Eratosthenes, 1500 or 1600 stadia from Alexandria Areiôn (Herat). Wilson therefore fixes its site at a place called Peshawarun, which is distant from Herat 183 miles, and where there were relics found of a very large city. This place lies between Dushak and Phra, *i.e.* Farah, a little to the north of the lake. These ruins are not, however, of ancient date, and it is better therefore to identify Prophthasia with Farah which represents Phra or Phrada, and Phrada, according to Stephanos of Byzantium, was the name of the city which was called by Alexander Prophthasia (Bunbury, vol. I, p. 488). Dashak, the actual capital of Seistân, is probably the Zarang of the early Muhammadan writers, which was evidently by its name connected with Drangiana. In the Persian cuneiform inscription at Behistun the country is called Zasaka, as Rawlinson has pointed out (see Smith's *Dictionary*, s. v. Drangiana). The place of next importance to the capital was Ariaspê, which Arrian places on the Etymander (*Anab.*, lib. IV, c. vii). The people were called Ariaspai at first, or Agriaspai, but afterwards Euergetai,—a title which they had earned by assisting Cyrus at a time when he had been reduced to great straits.

CAP. 20.

POSITION OF ARAKHÔSIA.

Arakhôsia is bounded on the west by Drangianê, on the north by the Paropanisadai, along the sides already determined, on the east by the part of India lying along the meridian line extended from the boundary towards the Paropanisadai as far as an extreme point lying ....119° 28°
and on the south by the rest of Gedrôsia along the line joining the extreme points already determined through the Baitian range.

2. A river enters this country which branches off from the Indus of which the sources lie in ....114° 32° 30′
and the divarication (ἐκτροπή)
in ....121° 30′ 27° 30′
and the part at the lake formed by it which is called Arakhôtos Krênê (fountain)—
lies in..............................115° 28° 40′

3. The people possessing the north parts of the country are the Parsyêtai, and those below them the Sydroi, after whom are the Rhôploutai and the Eôritai.

4. The towns and villages of Arakhôsia are said to be these:—

Ozola (or Axola)	114° 15′	32° 15′
Phôklis	118° 15′	32° 10′
Arikaka	113°	31° 20′
Alexandreia	114°	31° 20′
Rhizana	115°	31° 30′
Arbaka	118°	31° 20′
Sigara	113° 15′	30°
Khoaspa	115° 15′	30° 10′
5. Arakhôtos	118°	30° 20′
Asiakê	112° 20′	29° 20′
Gammakê	116° 20′	29° 20′
Malianê	118°	29° 20′
Dammana	113°	28° 20′

Arakhôsia comprised a considerable portion of Eastern Afghanistan. It extended westward beyond the meridian of Qandahâr and its eastern frontier was skirted by the Indus. On the north it stretched to the mountains of Ghûr, the western section of the Hindu-Kush, and on the south to Gedrôsia from which it was separated by the Baitian mountains, a branch of the Brahui range. The name has been derived from Haraqaiti, the Persian form of the Sanskrit Sarasvatî, a name frequently given to rivers (being a compound of *saras*, 'flowing water,' and the affix *vatî*) and applied among others to the river of Arakhôsia. The province was rich and populous, and what added greatly to its importance, it was traversed by one of the main routes by which Persia communicated with India. The principal river was that now called the Helmand which, rising near the Koh-i-bâbâ range west of Kâbul, pursues a course with a general direction to the south-west, and which, after receiving from the neighbourhood of Qandahâr the Argand-âb with its affluents, the Tarnak and the Arghasan, flows into the lake of Zarah. Ptolemy mentions only one river of Arakhôsia and this, in his map, is represented as rising in the Paryêtai mountains (the Hazâras) and flowing into a lake from which it issues to fall into the Indus about 3½ degrees below its junction with the combined rivers of the Panjâb. This lake, which, he says, is called Arakhotos Krênê, he places at a distance of not less than 7 degrees from his Areian lake. In the text he says that the river is an arm of the Indus, a statement for which it is difficult to find a reason.

The capital of Arakhôsia was Arakhôtos, said by Stephanos of Byzantium to have been founded by Semiramis. Regarding its identification Mr. Vaux (Smith's *Dictionary*, s. v.) says: "Some difference of opinion has existed as to the exact position of this town, and what modern city or ruins can be identified with the ancient capital. M. Court has identified some ruins on the Arghasan river, 4 parasangs from Qandahâr on the road to Shikarpur, with those of Arakhôtos, but these Prof.

Wilson considers to be too much to the S.E. Rawlinson (*Jour. Geog. Soc.*, vol. XII, p. 113) thinks that he has found them at a place now called Ulân Robât. He states that the most ancient name of the city, Kophes, mentioned by Stephanos and Pliny, has given rise to the territorial designation of Kipin, applied by the Chinese to the surrounding country. The ruins are of a very remarkable character, and the measurements of Strabo, Pliny, and Ptolemy are, he considers, decisive as to the identity of the site. Stephanos has apparently contrasted two cities—Arakhôsia, which he says is not far from the Massagetae, and Arakhôtas, which he calls a town of India. Sir H. Rawlinson believes the contiguity of the Massagetae and Arakhôsia, may be explained by the supposition that by Massagetae, Stephanos meant the Sakai, who colonized the Hazâra mountains on their way from the Hindu-Kush to Sakastân or Seistân " Another account of the origin of the name Seistân is that it is a corruption of the word Saghistân, *i. e.*, the country of the *saghis*, a kind of wood which abounds in the province and is used as fuel. Arakhôsia, according to Isidoros of Kharax, was called by the Parthians "White India."

CAP. 21.

POSITION OF GEDRÔSIA.

Gedrôsia is bounded on the west by Karmania along the meridian line, already determined as far as the sea, and on the north by Drangianê and Arakhôsia along the separate meridian lines passing through these countries, and on the east by part of India along the river Indus following the line prolonged from the boundary towards Arakhôsia to its termination at the sea in ....109° 20°
and on the south by a part of the Indian Ocean. It is thus described through its circuits.

2. After the extremity towards Karmania

the mouth of the River Arabis	105°	20° 15′
the sources of the river	110°	27° 30′
the divarication of the river entering Drangianê	107° 30′	25°
Rhagiraua, a city	106°	20°
Women's Haven (Gynaikôn limên)	107°	20° 15′
Koiamba	108°	20°
Rhizana	108° 20′	20° 15′
After which the extreme point at the sea already mentioned........................	109°	20°

3. Through Gedrôsia run the mountains called the Arbita, whose extreme points

lie in	160° (107 ?)	22°
and	113°	26° 30′

from these mountains some rivers join the Indus and the source of one of these lies ....111° 25° 30′
and also there are some streams flowing through Gedrôsia, that descend from the Baitian range.

4. The maritime parts are possessed by the villages of the Arbitai, and the parts along Karamania by the Parsidai (or Parsirai), and the parts along Arakhôsia by the Mausarnaioi, all the interior of the country is called Paradênê, and below it Parisiênê, after which the parts towards the Indus river are possessed by the Rhamnaî.

5. The towns and villages of Gedrôsia are accounted to be these :—

Kouni	110°	27°
Badara	113°	27°
Mousarna	115°	27° 30′
Kottobara	118°	27° 30′
Soxestra or Sôkstra	118° 30′	25° 45′
Oskana	115°	26°
Parsis, the Metropolis	106° 30′	23° 30′
Omiza	110°	23° 30′
Arbis, a city	105°	22° 30′

6. The islands adjacent to Gedrôsia are—

Asthaia	105°	18°
Kodanê.................	(107 ?) 160° 30′	17°

Gedrôsia corresponds to the modern Baluchistân. Its coast line extended from the mouth of the Indus to Cape Jask near the Straits, which open into the Persian Gulf. Ptolemy however assigned the greater portion of this coast to Karmania which according to his view must have begun somewhere near Cape Passence. Arrian restricted the name of Gedrôsia to the interior of the country, and assigned the maritime districts beginning from the Indus to the Arabies, the Oreitai and the Ikhthyophagoi in succession. The ancient and the modern names of the province, Major Mockler tries to identify in his paper in the *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, N. S., vol. XI. pp. 129-154.

The people that possessed the maritime region immediately adjoining the Indus were called the Arbitai or Arabies. In one of their harbours the fleet of Nearkhos at the outset of his memorable voyage was detained for 24 days waiting till the monsoon should subside. This harbour was found to be both safe and commodious, and was called by Nearkhos the Port of Alexander. It is now Karâchi, the great emporium for the commerce of the Indus. The name of the people was applied

also to a chain of mountains and to a river, the Arabis, now called the Purali, which falls into the Bay of Sonmiyâni. Ptolemy's Arabis, however, lay nearer Karmania, and may be taken to be the Bhasul, which demarcated the western frontier of the Oreitai, and to the east of which the district is still known by the name of Arbu. Ptolemy does not mention the Oreitai, but seems to have included their territory in that of the Arbitai.

The Rhamnai are placed in Ptolemy's map in the northern part of the province and towards the river Indus. This race appears to have been one that was widely diffused, and one of its branches, as has been stated, was located among the Vindhyas.

The Parsidai, who bordered on Karmania, are mentioned in the *Periplûs* (c. xxxvii) and also in Arrian's *Indika* (c. xxvi) where they are called Pasireës. They gave their names to a range of mountains which Ptolemy makes the boundary between Gedrôsia and Karmania, and also to a town, Parsis, which formed the capital of the whole province.

Of the other towns enumerated only one is mentioned in Arrian's *Indika*, Gynaikôn Limên, or women's haven, the port of Morontobara, near Cape Monze, the last point of the Pab range of mountains. The haven was so named because the district around had, like Carthage, a woman for its first sovereign.

The names of the two towns Badara and Mousarna occur twice in Ptolemy, here as inland towns of Gedrôsia, and elsewhere as seaport towns of Karmania. Major Mockler, who personally examined the Makrân coast from Gwadar to Cape Jâsk, and has thereby been enabled to correct some of the current identifications, tries to show that Gwadar and Badara are identical. Badara appears in the *Indika* of Arrian as Barna.

SOME CONSIDERATIONS ON THE HISTORY OF NEPÂL.

BY PANDIT BHAGWÂNLÂL INDRÂJÎ, PH. D., HON. M.R.A.S., EDITED BY DR. G. BÜHLER, C.I.E.

THE history of Nepâl, such as it was known before the publication of my 'Inscriptions from Nepâl,' *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX, p. 163ff, was derived solely from the modern *Vaṁśâvalîs* or 'Lists of the Dynasties,' of which several exist in the libraries of the country. The list of kings given by Kirkpatrick in his *Nepâl*, and thence transferred to J. Prinsep's *Useful Tables*, is probably based on a short work in the Pârvatîya language, which was shown to me by the Kailâsaparvata-Svâmî. It gives little more than a bare enumeration of the names of the rulers of the valley. Dr. Wright's fuller account in his *History of Nepâl* is derived from a Pârvatîyâ *Vaṁśâvalî*, composed less than a hundred years ago by a Bauddha ascetic, who resided in the Mahâbuddha-Vihâra of Lalitapattana.[1] A copy of this work was given to me by a Vajrâchârya of Lalitapattana. Of other and more ancient *Vaṁśâvalis* in the Newârî language I have heard more than once. But I was unable to procure copies, though the statement of my informants that these works were written on long rolls of paper, seemed to indicate that they had actually seen them. Their recovery is highly desirable. For, as is customary in Indian historical books, each succeeding chronicle is fuller and more complete than the earlier ones. The later authors try to fill up the gaps which they find in the narrative. They neglect, however, to indicate the sources from which they draw, and these additions invariably make the already existing confusion worse, and the errors more difficult to detect.

A careful comparison of my MS. of the Pârvatîyâ *Vaṁśâvalî* with Dr. Wright's extracts has shown that his data are, on the whole, trustworthy. But a brief *résumé* of its contents will not be out of place here. For I have to suggest a certain number of corrections, some of which are of considerable importance.

LIST OF THE KINGS OF NEPÂL, ACCORDING TO THE BAUDDHA PÂRVATÎYÂ VAṀŚÂVALÎ.

I. GÔPÂLA DYNASTY of MÂTÂTÎRTHA, so called after the cowherd (*gôpâla*) whom Nêmuni installed as the first ruler of Nepâl, lasted 521 years.

1. Bhuktamânagata,[2] .... 88 years.
2. Jayagupta, son of 1, ... 72 „
3. Paramagupta, son of 2 .... 80 „
4. Harshagupta, son of 3 .... 93 „
5. Bhimagupta, son of 4 .... 38 „
6. Maṇigupta, son of 5 .... 37 „

[1] See also C. Bendall, *Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskṛit MSS. in the Cambridge University Library*.

[2] Bhuktamâna, according to Wright, *History*, p. 108, Bhuktamânagata, *ibid.* p. 312. This name is probably owing to a mistake in the work, which the author of the *Vaṁśâvalî* used. For it seems to be a corruption of *bhuktamânagatavarsha*, 'the year of the reign.' The real name of the first prince is lost.

7. Vishnugupta, son of 6 ....42 years
8. Yakshagupta, son of 7, died childless, 72 „ and brought in the—

II. AHIR DYNASTY, from India.

1. Varasiṁha.
2. Jayamatisiṁha.
3. Bhuvanasiṁha, conquered by the eastern—

III. KIRÂTA DYNASTY, which resided at Gôkarṇa, and lasted 1118 years.

1. Yalambara, came in Dvâparaśêsha 12 (*i. e.* when twelve years were left of the Dvâparayuga).
2. Pavi, son of 1.
3. Skandhara, son of 2.
4. Valamba, son of 3.
5. Hritî, son of 4.
6. Humati, son of 5, went into the forest with the Pâṇḍavas.
7. Jitedâsti, son of 6, assisted the Pâṇḍavas in the great war and was killed. In his time Śâkyasiṁha-Buddha came to Nepâl.
8. Gali, son of 7.
9. Pushka, son of 8.
10. Suyarma, son of 9.
11. Parba, son of 10.
12. Thunka,[3] son of 11.
13. Svananda, son of 12.
14. Sthunko, son of 13; in his time king Aśôka of Pâṭaliputra came to Nepâl. Aśôka's daughter Chârumatî was married to a Kshatriya, called Dêvapâla, settled in Nepâl and founded Dêvapâṭana (near Paśupati).
15. Gighri,[4] son of 14.
16. Nane, son of 15.
17. Luk, son of 16.
18. Thôr, son of 17.
19. Thôkô, son of 18.
20. Varma, son of 19.
21. Guja, son of 20.
22. Pushkara,[5] son of 21.
23. Kêsu, son of 22.
24. Sunsa,[6] son of 23.
25. Sammu,[7] son of 24.
26. Guṇana, son of 25.
27. Khimbu, son of 26.
28. Paṭuka, son of 27; was attacked by the Sômavaṁśî Râjputs, built a new fort at Śaṅkhamûlatîrtha.
29. Gasti, son of 28, fled before the Sômavaṁśîs, built a new fort at Phulôchchhâ near Gôdâvarî (visible from Lalitapaṭṭana), and finally lost his kingdom to the—

IV. SÔMAVAṀŚÎ DYNASTY.

1. Nimisha.
2. Manâksha,[8] son of 1.
3. Kâkavarman, son of 2.
4. Paśuprêkshadêva, son of 3, restored Paśupati's temple, brought settlers from Hindustân in Kaliyuga 1234 or 1867 B. C.
5. Bhâskaravarman, conquered the whole of India, enlarged Dêvapâṭana, caused the rules for the worship of Paśupati to be engraved on a copperplate, which he deposited in the Chârumativihâra. Being childless he adopted the first ruler of the—

V. SÛRYAVAṀŚÎ DYNASTY.

1. Bhûmivarman, crowned in Kaliyuga 1389, or 1712 B.C., transferred the capital to Bâṇêśvara.
2. Chandravarman, son of 1 .... 61 years.
3. Jayavarman,[9] son of 2 .... 82 „
4. Varshavarman, son of 3 .... 61 „
5. Sarvavarman, son of 4 .... 78 „
6. Pṛithvîvarman, son of 5 .... 76 „
7. Jyêshṭhavarman, son of 6 .... 75 „
8. Harivarman, son of 7 .... 76 „
9. Kubêravarman, son of 8 .... 88 „
10. Siddhivarman, son of 9 .... 61 „
11. Haridattavarman, son of 10, built temples for the four Nârâyaṇas—Châṅgu,[10] Chaiñju, Ichaṅgu and Śikhara, and a temple of Jalaśayana at Buḍḍâ-Nîlakaṇṭha[11] .... 81 years.
12. Vasudattavarman, son of 11 ...... 63 „
13. Pativarman, son of 12 .... 53 „
14. Śivavṛiddhivarman, son of 13 ... 54 „
15. Vasantavarman, son of 14 .... 61 „
16. Śivavarman, son of 15 .... 62 „
17. Rudradêvavarman, son of 16 ...... 66 „
18. Vṛishadêvavarman, son of 17, built *vihâras* and erected images of Lôkêśvara and other Bauddha divinities. His brother was Bâlârchana, who was also a Bauddha. Śaṅkarâchârya came from the south and destroyed the Bauddha faith .... 61 years.
19. Śaṅkaradêva, son of 18, erected a trident at Paśupati[12] .... 65 years.
20. Dharmadêva, son of 19 .... 59 „
21. Mânadêva, son of 20, built the Chakravihâra near Matirâjya and, according to some, the Khâsâ-chaitya .... 49 years.
22. Mahîdêva,[13] son of 21 .... 51 „
23. Vasantadêva, son of 22, crowned in Kali 2800 or 301 B. C. .... 36 years.

[3] Banka, according to Wright. See the lists of these dynasties, from Wright and Prinsep, with the *Vaṁśâvalî* dates, *Ind. Ant.* vol. VII, pp. 89-92.
[4] The name may also be read Gidhri.
[5] Possibly the name may be Pushka.
[6] Suga, according to Wright.
[7] Sansa, according to Wright; Jusha in Kirkpatrick.
[8] Matâksha, according to Wright.
[9] Chandravarman, according to Wright and Kirkpatrick.
[10] See inscr. No. 1 (*ante*, vol. IX, p. 165, note 7).
[11] See *ante*, vol. IX, p. 168, note 18.
[12] See inscr. No. 2, *ante*, vol. IX, p. 166.
[13] Mahâdêva, according to Wright and Kirkpatrick.

24. Udayadêvavarman,[14] son of 23 ... 35 years.
25. Mânadêvavarman, son of 24 ...... 35 „
26. Guṇakâmadêvavarman, son of 25, 30 „
27. Śivadêvavarman, son of 26, made Dêvapâṭana a large town, and transferred the seat of government thither. He restored the Śâkta rites and became a *bhikshu*. His son, Puṇyadêvavarman followed his example.............. 51 years.
28. Narêndradêvavarman, eldest son of 27,[15] 42 years.
29. Bhîmadêvavarman, son of 28...... 36 „
30. Vishṇudêvavarman, son of 29...... 47 „
31. Viśvadêvavarman, son of 30, gave his daughter to Aṁśuvarman of the Ṭhâkurî race. In his time Vikramâditya came to Nepâl and established his era there...... 51 years.

VI. Ṭhâkurî Dynasty.

1. Aṁśuvarman, son-in-law to the last Sûryavaṁśî king, crowned in Kaliyuga 3000 or 101 B. C., transferred the seat of government to Madhyalakhu.[16] Vibhuvarman built an aqueduct with seven spouts and placed on it an inscription (*Ind. Ant.* vol. IX, p. 171, No. 8.) ... 68 years.
2. Kṛitavarman, son of 1 .... 87 „
3. Bhîmârjuna, son of 2 .... 93 „
4. Nandadêva, son of 3, in his reign the era of Śâlivâhana was introduced in Nepâl...25 years.
5. Vîradêva, son of 4, was crowned in Kaliyuga 3400 or 299 A. D., founded Lalitapaṭṭana, naming it after a grass-seller Lalita; built a tank and watercourses, as well as temples, *Liṅgas*, etc., which were called Maṇitalâo, and so forth, after the king's *ishṭadêvatâ*, Maṇiyoginî ....95 years.
6. Chandrakêtudêva, son of 5,[17] sorely oppressed by his enemies and plundered.
7. Narêndradêva, son of 6, built the *Tîrthavihâra* near Lômṛî-dêvî and gave it to Bandhudatta Âchârya, his father's spiritual guide. The first two of his three sons, Padmadêva, Ratnadêva and Varadêva became ascetics, while the third succeeded his father, who before his death retired into the Alag or Ak-bahâl (*vihâra*).
8. Varadêva, son of 7, removed the seat of government to Lalitapaṭṭana. Śaṅkarâchârya came to Nepâl. In Kaliyuga 3623 Avalôkitêśvara came to Nepâl.[18]
9. Śaṅkaradêva, son of 8 .... 12 years.
10. Vardhamânadêva, son of 9, built the town of Śâṅkhu[19] and dedicated it to Ugratârâdêvî ....13 years.
11. Balidêva, son of 10 .... 13 „
12. Jayadêva, son of 11 .... 15 „
13. Bâlârjunadêva, son of 12............ 17 „
14. Vikramadêva, son of 13 .... 12 „
15. Guṇakâmadêva, son of 14, built Kântipura, the modern Kâṭmâṇḍu, at the junction of the rivers Vâgmatî and Vishṇumatî in Kaliyuga 3824 or 723 A. D., and the village of Thâmbhêl, where Vikrama's old *vihâra* stood, as well as many temples .... 51 years.
16. Bhôjadêva, son of 15 .... 8 „
17. Lakshmîkâmadêva, son of 16...... 22 „
18. Jayakâmadêva, son of 17 .... 20 „

As he was childless, he was succeeded by a member of the—

VII. Navâkoṭ Ṭhâkurî dynasty.

1. Bhâskaradêva.
2. Baladêva, son of 1.
3. Padmadêva, son of 2.
4. Nâgârjunadêva, son of 3.
5. Śaṅkaradêva, son of 4; in his reign a widowed Brâhmaṇî of Kâphî in Gauḍa, who lived in the village of Jhal in Nepâl, caused a MS. of the *Prajñâ-pâramitâ* to be written with golden letters in Saṁvat 245.[20]

After his death, Vâmadêva, a collateral descendant of Aṁśuvarman's family, assisted by the chiefs in Lalitapaṭṭana and Kântipura, expelled the Navâkoṭ Ṭhâkurîs and drove them back to their original seat. With him begins—

VIII. The second Ṭhâkuri dynasty of Aṁśuvarman.

1. Vâmadêva.
2. Harshadêva, son of 1.
3. Sadâśivadêva, son of 2; built Kîrtipura on a hill south-west of Kâṭmâṇḍu and a new golden roof for Paśupati's temple in Kaliyuga 3851 or 750 A. D. He introduced coins of copper alloyed with iron, marked with the figure of a lion.
4. Mânadêva, son of 3, became an ascetic in the Chakravihâra.................................. 10 years.
5. Narasiṁhadêva, son of 4 .... 22 „
6. Nandadêva, son of 5 .... 21 „
7. Rudradêva, son of 6, became a Buddhist monk .... 19 years[21]

[14] My MS. reads Udayakhadêva, but Dr. Wright's reading, which agrees with Kirkpatrick's, is preferable.
[15] Brother of 28, according to Wright and Kirkpatrick.
[16] But see the inscriptions which are dated from Kailâsakûṭa.
[17] My MS. of the *Vâṁśâvalî* gives no years for this king and the next. Dr. Wright gives 7 and 8 respectively. Chandrakêtudêva's name is not given in Kirkpatrick's lists. See *Ind. Ant.* vol. VII, p. 90.
[18] The passage of the *Vaṁśâvalî* runs as follows:—
atîtakalivarsheshu sûnyadvandvarasâgnishu
nêpâlê vijayati śrîmân âryâvalokitêśvarah
[19] Dr. Wright attributes this to Śaṅkaradêva.
[20] A Bauddha told me that such a MS., dated Saṁvat *â pta shka*, i. e. 244, exists at present in the Hiraṇyavarṇavihâra at Lalitapaṭṭana. The era is, probably, the Nepâlese era of 880.
[21] Seven years, according to Dr. Wright.

8. Mitradêva, son of 7 .... 21 years.

9. Aridêva, son of 8, as a son was born to him while he was engaged in wrestling, he gave to the child the *biruda* of Malla or the wrestler. 22 years.

10. Abhayamalla, son of 9.

11. Jayadêvamalla, son of 10, established, with the help of Śâkhwâl, the Nevârî era beginning 880 A. D. ....10 years.

He ruled over Kântipura and Lalitapaṭṭana, while his younger brother,—

12. Ânandamalla, founded Bhaktapura or Bhâtgâm and the seven towns, Vênipura, Panautî, Nâlâ, Dhomkhêl, Khadpu or Shadpu, Chaukaṭ, and Sâṅgâ, and resided in Bhâtgâm: 25 years.

During the reign of the two brothers came from the south the founder of the—

IX. Karṇâṭaka Dynasty.

1. Nânyadêva, conquered the whole country on *Śrâvaṇa śudi* 7 of Nepâlasaṁvat 9, or Śakasaṁvat 811, *i. e.* 890 A.D., and drove the two Mallas to Tirhut. He ruled at Bhâtgâm during 50 years.

2. Gaṅgadêva, son of 1 .... 41 years.

3. Narasiṁhadêva, son of 2 .... 31 „

[In his reign on *Phâlguna śudi* 6 of Nepâlasaṁvat 111, or 991 A. D., king Malladêva and Kathyamalla of Lalitapaṭṭana founded Châpâgâm or Champâpuri.][32]

4. Śaktidêva, son of 3 .... 39 years.

5. Râmasiṁhadêva son of 4 .... 58 „

6. Haridêva, son of 5, transferred the capital to Kâṭmâṇḍu. The army of Pâṭana (Lalitapaṭṭana) rose in rebellion and drove Haridêva to Thâmbhêl.

A Magar (low caste servant) was dismissed from king Haridêva's service, and in revenge drew king Mukundasêna into the country, which was conquered by him. His soldiers destroyed the sacred images and took the Bhairava from the temple of Matsyêndranâtha away to Pâlpâ. In consequence of Paśupati's anger Mukundasêna's whole army died of cholera. Mukundasêna alone escaped in the guise of an ascetic, and died on the Dêvîghâṭ.

As Nepâl had been completely devastated, an interregnum of seven or eight years followed. The Bais Ṭhâkurîs of Navâkôṭ came back to occupy the country. In Lalitapaṭṭana every *tôl* or ward had its own king, and in Kântipura twelve kings ruled at once. Bhâtgâm, too, was held by a Ṭhâkurî king. The Ṭhâkurîs ruled the country during 225 years and built many Bauddha temples and *vihârâs*. Then king Harisiṁhadêva of the solar dynasty was driven by the Musalmans from Ayôdhyâ, and established himself at Simrongaḍh in the Terâi. At the command of his guardian deity, Tuljâ Bhavânî, he entered Nepâl and founded—

X. The Sûryavaṁśî Dynasty of Bhâtgâm.

1. Harisiṁhadêva, 28 years, conquered the valley in Śakasaṁvat 1245, or Nepâlasaṁvat 444, *i. e.* in 1324 A.D.

2. Matisiṁhadêva, son of 1 .... 15 years.

3. Śaktisiṁhadêva, son of 2 .... 33 „ [33] received a letter from the emperor of China with a seal bearing the inscription Śaktisiṁharâma in the Chinese year (*chînâbda*) 535 and abdicated the throne.

4. Śyâmasiṁhadêva, son of 3 .... 15 years.

In his reign a fearful earthquake happened on *Bhâdrapada śudi* 12 of Nepâlasaṁvat 528, or 1408 A. D.

His daughter was married to a descendant of the Mallas who held Tirhut before Nânyadêva. Thus after the king's death arose—

XI. The third Ṭhâkurî dynasty.

1. Jayabhadramalla .... 15 years
2. Nâgamalla, son of 1 .... 15 „
3. Jayajagatmalla, son of 2 .... 11 „
4. Nâgêndramalla, son of 3 .... 10 „
5. Ugramalla, son of 4 .... 15 „
6. Aśôkamalla, son of 5 .... 19 „

drove the Bais Ṭhâkurîs out of Pâṭana, and founded near Svayambhûnâtha the town of Kâśipura, between the rivers Manmatî, Vâgmatî and Rudramatî.

7. Jayasthitimalla, son of 6, made laws for castes and families, dedicated many images and built temples. An inscription of his, dated Nepâlasaṁvat 512,[34] is found on a stone near Lalitapaṭṭana. He died on Kârtika badi 5 of Nepâlasaṁvat 549, or 1429 A.D. .... 43 years.

8. Yakshamalla, son of 7, built the walls of Bhâtgâm where to the right of the principal gate an inscription is put up, dated *Śrâvaṇa śudi* of Nepâla-saṁvat 573, or 1453 A.D. He and his successor built a temple of Dattâtrêya in the Tachapâ tôl of Bhâtgâm. He died in Nepâlasaṁvat 592, or 1472 A.D., and left three sons, the eldest and the youngest of whom founded two separate dynasties at Bhâtgâm and Kâṭmâṇḍu, while the second, Raṇamala, held the town of Banêpâ.

[32] This statement is not found in my copy of the *Vaṁśâvalî*. It has been taken from Dr. Wright's *History*. Prinsep also gives it; *ante*, vol. VII, p. 91.

[33] According to Dr. Wright, 32 years; Kirkpatrick's list has 22 years.

[34] N. S. 542, according to Dr. Wright, *History*, pp. 183, 187. Prinsep gives N. S. 731 for this ruler.—J. B.

(*a*). BHÂTGÂM LINE.

9. Jayarâyamalla, eldest son of 8, 15 years.[85]

10. Suvarṇamalla, son of 9, 15 years.[85]

11. Prâṇamalla, son of 10, 15 years.[85]

12. Viśvamalla, son of 11, 15 years (?).

13. Trailôkyamalla, son of 12, 15 years (?)

14. Jagajjyôtirmalla [or, according to my MS., Jayajyôtirmalla,] son of 13, 15 years (?).

b). KÂṬMAṆḌU LINE.

1. Ratnamalla, youngest son of 8, 71(?) years; slew twelve Ṭhâkurî râjâs of Kântipura, defeated in N. S. 611, or 1491 A.D., the Ṭhâkuris of Navâkoṭ and later the Bhoṭiyas (Tibetans) with the help of Sîna, king of Pâlpâ. In his reign the Musalmans first attacked the country; Sômaśêkharânanda, a southern Brâhmaṇa, became high priest of Paśupati; a temple of Tuljâdêvî was dedicated in N. S. 621, or 1501 A. D., and a new copper currency with a lion was introduced.

2. Amaramalla, son of 1, 47(?) years, ruled over 28 towns and villages; in his reign a great temple on the model of that at Gayâ was built at Lalitapaṭṭana.

3. Sûryamalla, son of 2, took Śaṅkhapura and Châṅgu-Nârâyaṇa from the Bhâtgâm line.

4. Narêndramalla, son of 3.

5. Mahîndramalla, son of 4, received from the emperor of Dehlî permission to issue silver coins, became a friend of Trailôkyamalla of Bhâtgâm, dedicated a temple to Tuljâdêvî in Kâṭmâṇḍu on Mâgha śudi 5 of N. S. 669. In his reign Purandara Râjvaṁśî built a temple of Nârâyaṇa, close to the palace in Lalitapaṭṭana, N. S. 686, or 1566 A. D.

6. Sadâśivamalla, son of 5, was compelled by his subjects to fly to Bhâtgâm where he was imprisoned.

7. Śivasiṁhamalla, younger brother of 6, according to an inscription repaired the temple of Svayambhû in N. S. 714, or 1594 A. D., while his queen Gaṅgâ restored the temple of Châṅgû-Nârâyaṇa in N. S. 705, or 1585 A.D. He had two sons, the elder of whom ruled over Kântipura, while the younger obtained Lalitapaṭṭana already during the lifetime of his father.

a. BHÂTGÂM LINE.

15. Narêndramalla, son of 14, 21 years (?).

16. Jagatprakâśamalla, son of 15, 21 years (?). In his time Harasiṁha Bhâro and Vâsiṁha Bhâro, built a temple of Bhîmasêna, inscribing the date, N. S. 775, or 1655 A. D., on a stone lion. On Mârgaśîrsha śudi 6 of N. S. 782, or 1662 A. D, the king incised five hymns in honour of Bhavânî

b. KÂṬMÂṆḌU LINE.

8. Lakshmînarasiṁhamalla, eldest son of 7. During his reign in N. S. 715, or 1595 A. D., the wooden temple of Gôrakhnâth, called Kâṭmâṇḍo, was built, after which the town of Kântipura was called Kâṭmaṇḍu. He became insane, was dethroned by his son and kept in confinement during 16 years.

9. Pratâpamalla, son of 8, ruled from N. S. 759, or 1639, A. D. He was a poet. The inscriptions of his reign are (*a*) the record of the restoration of the temple of Svayaṁbhû by a Lama, N. S. 760, or 1640 A. D.; (*b*) a Svayambhûstôtra at Sv., dated N. S. 770, or 1650 A. D.; (*c*) a Guhyêśvarastôtra, dated N. S. 774, or 1654 A. D.; (*d*) a Kâlikâstôtra in 15 alphabets (Wright's plate xiii.), dated N. S. 774, or 1654 A. D.; (*e*) the record of the dedication of an image of Viśvarûpa at Lâyakulbahâl, N. S.

c. LALITAPAṬṬANA LINE.

1. Hariharasiṁha, younger son of Śivasiṁha of Kântipur.

2. Siddhinṛisiṁha, son of 1, built a palace at Lalitapura in N. S. 740, or 1620 A. D., consecrated an image of Tuljâdêvî on Jyêshṭha śudi 10 of the same year, dedicated a temple to Râdhâkṛishṇa in N. S. 757, or 1637 A. D., made a water-course in N. S. 767, or 1647 A. D., and became an ascetic in N. S. 777, or 1657 A. D.

3. Śrinivâsamalla, son of 2, reigned from N. S. 777, or 1657 A. D., had a war with Pratâpamalla of Kâṭmâṇḍu N. S. 778-782, or 1658-1662.

[85] All these periods are doubtful, and as the synchronisms below show, *some* of them must be wrong.

a. BHÂTGÂM LINE.

on a stone in the Vimalasucha-maṇḍapa. On Jyêshṭha badi 3 of N. S. 785,[26] or 1665 A. D., he incised a hymn in honour of Garuḍa on a Garuḍa-pillar in Nârâyaṇa-chok. In N. S. 787, or 1667 A. D., he dedicated a temple of Bhavânîśaṅkara.

17. Jitâmitramalla, son of 16, 21 years; dedicated an image of Hariśaṅkara near the Darbâr in S. 802, or 1682 A.D., built various other temples and incised an inscription in a *dharmaśâlâ*, Jyêshṭha śudi 15 of N. S. 803, or 1683 A.D.

18. Bhûpatîndramalla, son of 17, 34 years. The dated inscriptions of his reign are, (*a*) N. S. 817, Kali 4799, Śaka-saṁvat 1620, Phâlguna śudi 9 in the Mâlatîchok; (*b*) N. S. 823, Jyêshṭha śudi 10, or 1703 A.D., in the temple of the Tântrika Guptadêvatâ; (*c*) N. S. 827, Vaiśâkha śudi 3, or 1707 A.D.; (*d*) N.S. 828, Bhâdrapada śudi 10, or 1707 A.D. in the Darbâr; (*e*) N.S. 838, or 1718 A.D. in the temple of Bhairava; (*f*) N. S. 841, Phâlguna badi 3, or 1721 A.D.

19. Raṇajitamalla, son of 18; dedicated a bull to Annapûrṇâ-dêvî in N.S. 857 Phâlguna badi 1, or 1737 A. D. In his reign the Goṛkhâ râjâ, Narabhûpâla-shâh, invaded Nepâl. With him the dynasty of Bhâtgâm became extinct.

b. KÂṬMÂṆḌU LINE.

777, or 1657 A. D. He had four sons, Pârthivêndra, Nṛipêndra, Mahîpatîndra and Chakrapatîndra, whom he allowed to rule by turns each for a year during his lifetime. Nṛipêndra made during his turn a coat for the Nandî at Paśupati and put up an inscription dated 153 Kârtika Śuklanavamyâm.[27] Chakrapatîndra reigned for one day and then died. His coins show a bow and arrow, a noose, an elephant hook, a yakh's tail and the date N. S. 789, or 1669 A. D. Pratâpamalla died in N. S. 809, or 1689 A. D.

10. Mahîndramalla, third son of 9, died in N. S. 814, 1694 A. D.

11. Bhâskaramalla, son of 10, ruled until N. S. 822, when he died childless of the plague, aged 22 years.

12. Jagajjayamalla, a distant relative, was placed on the throne by the wives of 11. He had five sons, Râjêndraprakâśa and Jayaprakâśa (born before his accession to the throne) and Râjyaprakâśa, Narêndraprakâśa and Chandraprakâśa (born afterwards.) He died in N. S. 852, or 1732 A. D.

13. Jayaprakâśa, second son of 12, expelled his brother Râjyaprakâśa, who went to Lalitapaṭṭana to Vishṇumalla. He was deposed in N. S 888, or 1768 A. D., by the Gorkhâ king Pṛithvînârâyaṇa.

c. LALITAPAṬṬANA LINE.

His latest inscription is dated N. S. 821, or 1701 A. D.

4. Yôganarêndramalla, son of 3, lost his son, and became an ascetic.

5. Mahîpatîndra, or Mahîndramalla of Kâṭmâṇḍu became king, died in N. S. 842, or 1722 A. D.[28]

6. Jayayôgaprakâśa; an inscription of his reign is dated N. S. 843, or 1723 A. D.

7. Vishṇumalla, son of Yôganarêndra's (4) daughter, dedicated a bell in Mûlachok in N. S 857, or 1737 A.D., and died shortly afterwards without issue.

8. Râjyaprakâśa, third son of 12 of Kântipura, appointed king by 7, made blind by the Pradhâns & expelled after one year.

10. Jayaprakâśa, king of Kântipur, ruled two years over Lalitapaṭṭana, when the Pradhâns expelled him.

11. Viśvajit-malla, son of Vishṇumalla's (7) daughter years, murdered by the Pradhâns.

12. Dalamardan-shâh of Navakoṭ made king by the Pradhâns, and expelled after 4 years.

13. Têjanarasiṁha, a descendant of Viśvajit-malla (11). 3 years. Then the country was conquered by Pṛithvînârâyaṇa.

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[26] N. S. 787 according to Dr. Wright. But the text has *gônâgâsvimite* (*varshe*).

[27] The author of the *Vaṁśâvalî* has mistaken Jayadêva's inscription (No. 15) of Śrîharsha-Saṁvat 153 for an inscription of Nṛipêndra. Dr. Wright has Chakravartêndra for Chakrapatîndra.

[28] It is evident that either this statement or the whole of the dates of the Kâṭmâṇḍu and Lalitapaṭṭana dynasties must be wrong. See *ante*, vol. VII. p. 92n. Kirkpatrick's dates differ considerably from Dr. Wright's.

It is evident that, though this *Vaṁśâvalî* contains many elements of historical truth, it possesses no value whatever as a whole. As is always the case with Indian chroniclers, who attempt to give a complete view of the history of their country, the author has tried to connect the beginning of his narrative with the legends regarding the four ages of the world, and with the epic traditions of the Great War between the Kurus and the Pâṇḍavas. Through their anxiety to prove that the early kings of each province of the Bharatakhaṇḍa took part in the contest described in the *Mahâbhârata*, the Hindus furnish a complete analogy to the ancient Greeks, who believed that a town or republic was dishonoured if its mythical heroes did not appear in Homer's catalogue of the Greek leaders engaged in the conquest of Troy, and whose earlier historians, like Herodotos; were inclined to seek the ultimate causes of the events of their days in the legendary occurrences narrated by Homer. But, while in the case of the Greeks this tendency has not produced any serious results, it has almost entirely destroyed the usefulness of the Indian historical works. The Hindu chroniclers known to us, all wrote after the astronomers had fixed the lengths of the four *Yugas*, and had assigned to the Great War its place at the beginning of the Kaliyuga. As the authentic lists of kings which the chroniclers possessed in no case sufficed to fill the enormously long periods supposed to have elapsed between their starting-point and their own times, they were induced not only to lengthen unduly the duration of the reigns of many historical kings,[29] but to place contemporary dynasties one after the other, and to press into service the mythical kings enumerated in the *Purâṇas* or *Mâhâtmyas*.

In addition to the distortion of the truth resulting from these causes, no less serious consequences have arisen from the errors which the chroniclers made regarding the various native eras used in their native country. Modern Hindu writers, who are accustomed to the exclusive use of the two eras—that of Vikramâditya, 57 B.C. and that of Śâlivâhana, or the Śaka era, 78 A.D.—invariably refer the Saṁvats occurring in their sources to one of these two. Mostly they ignore altogether the existence of the numerous other eras that were used in ancient India, and the fact that several homonymous kings, *e.g.* two or three Vikramâdityas are, as the Indian expression is, "founders of Saṁvats."

The existence of mistakes thus caused is only too clearly seen in the Nepâlese *Vaṁśâvalî*. The first dynasty named by the author is said to have descended from the pious cowherds whom Kṛishṇa brought into the country. The kings all follow one another in the direct line of descent, and their reigns are of truly patriarchal length.

It is most probable that not only the details narrated regarding them are totally erroneous, but that the dynasty had no real existence. The names seem to have been taken from some *Purâṇa* or *Mâhâtmya*, and to have been prefixed to the authentic list of the kings of Nepâl. The same remarks apply to the second short line, that of the Ahirs, who, being likewise cowherds, are also named in the *Purâṇas* as companions and worshippers of Kṛishṇa. The case is different with the following dynasty, the Kirâtas, whose native country is the Himâlayas and who, therefore, may have held Nepâl in ancient times. The number of 1118 years allotted to the twenty-nine kings of this race is, however, too great. For in India the duration of a generation amounts, as the statistical tables of the life-insurance companies show, at the outside, to only twenty-six years. If all the twenty-nine kings followed each other in the direct line of descent, they could not possibly have ruled longer than 600 or 700 years. Moreover, if the statements that Śâkyamuni was a contemporary of Jitêdâsti, the seventh king, and that Aśôka came to Nepâl, *i.e.*, extended his rule to Nepâl, in the reign of the fourteenth ruler, Sthunko, are worth anything, they furnish a clear proof of the arbitrary lengthening of the reigns. For the author of the *Vaṁśâvalî* is a Northern Buddhist, he probably knew one Aśôka only, and placed him one hundred years after Śâkyamuni's *Nirvâṇa*. If the distance between Jitedâsti the seventh king, and Sthunko, the fourteenth, amounted to one hundred years only, the absurdity of the assertion that the twenty-nine

[29] See the naive confessions of Kalhaṇa in the *Râjataraṅgiṇî*.

kings reigned 1118 years, becomes still more evident. Finally, if these two synchronisms are historical, it also follows that the beginning of the Kirâta dynasty has been antedated by several thousand years. For Śâkyamuni's *Nirvâṇa* really falls in the fifth century B C. The same remarks apply to the Sômavaṁśî and Sûryavaṁśî dynasties. In their case, too, it is evident that most reigns are much too long, and that they have been placed much too early. The latter point comes out most clearly through the inscriptions. According to the latter the twenty-first king of the Sûryavaṁśî dynasty, Mânadêva, reigned from between the years 386-413 of an unnamed era and the characters show that this period falls in the fourth or fifth century of our era. Yet the *Vaṁśâvalî* asserts that Mânadêva's grandson, Vasantadêvavarman was crowned in Kali 2800 or 301 B.C. The case of the next, the Ṭhâkurî dynasty, is, if possible, worse. Its founder, Aṁśuvarman, is placed in Kali 3000 or 101 B.C., though Vikramâditya of Ujjain, whose coronation the Hindus usually put in 57 B.C., is stated to have gone to Nepâl during the reign of his predecessor. Against this date we have the statement of Hiuen Thsang that a learned king, called Aṁśuvarman ruled either shortly before or during his visit to Northern India in 637 A.D. Further, the inscriptions of Aṁśuvarman, as well as that of Vibhuvarman, which the *Vaṁśâvalî*[30] particularly mentions, show letters which can only belong to the sixth or seventh centuries of our era. If more instances of the confusion prevailing in the account given by the *Vaṁśâvalî* regarding this dynasty, are wanted, it will suffice to point out that Aṁśuvarman's seventh successor, Varadêva, is said to have ruled in Kaliyuga 3623 or A.D. 522. Thus we get seven generations for six hundred years. Immediately after Varadêva's time the reigns suddenly become of reasonable length, and the fifteenth prince of the Ṭhâkurî race—Guṇakâmadêva, the founder of Kâṭmâṇḍu, is placed in Kaliyuga 3824 or 723 A.D., two hundred years being allowed for eight generations. This portion of the *Vaṁśâvalî* might, therefore, inspire some confidence, and it might be assumed that the author possessed some authentic materials for the history of Varadêva's successor. But, unfortunately, his names agree in no way with those contained in our inscriptions of the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. Besides the immediate successors of Guṇakâmadêva, Bhôjadêva and Lakshmîkâmadêva, who, according to the *Vaṁśâvalî*, ought to belong to the eighth century, ruled according to the colophons of the MSS. two hundred years later, between 1015-1039 A.D.[31] Nay, what is more, the dates of the MSS. prove that the princes of the VIIth and VIIIth Dynasties, that of the Vaiś Ṭhâkurîs and the restored line of Aṁśuvarman, reigned from the middle of the eleventh to the beginning of the fourteenth centuries, and that the interval between Ananta or Ânandamalla, the last ruler of the VIIth dynasty and Jayasthitimalla the seventh king of the Xth dynasty is only seventy years. Hence it follows that the list given by the *Vaṁśâvalî* for the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries is incomplete, and contains large gaps which have been concealed by antedating the reigns of the kings beginning with Bhôjadêva and Lakshmîkâmadêva by several centuries. With respect to the Karṇâṭaka dynasty of Nânyadêva which according to the *Vaṁśâvalî* conquered Nepâl in Śakasaṁvat 811, or 889 A.D., it is difficult to come to any definite conclusion. The genealogical list in the MS. No. 6 of the German Oriental Society[32] places Nânyadêva's accession to the throne in Śakasaṁvat 1019, or 1097 A.D. Our inscription No. 18 makes him the ancestor of Pratâpamalla, though the *Vaṁśâvalî* asserts that he drove the Mallas out of Nepâl. The names of his successors differ in all the documents which enumerate them. As regards the Xth or Âyôdhyâ dynasty the date of the first king Harisiṁhadêva is confirmed by the MS. of the German Oriental Society, where it is given as Śakasaṁvat 1245, or 1323-4 A.D., just as in the *Vaṁśâvalî*. But it is evident from the statements of the latter work itself, that some of its kings were contemporaneous with the Mallas of the tenth dynasty. Thus the last date of Śyâmasiṁha's reign—Nepâla

[30] Wright's *Nepâl*, p. 134.
[31] Bendall, *Catalogue of the Buddhist MSS. in the Cambridge Library*, p. xii.
[32] Pischel, *Catalog*, p. 8; Bendall, *loc. cit.*, p. xv.

Saṁvat 528, or 1408 A.D., falls in the times of Jayasthitimalla, whose earliest date in the MSS. is 1385, while the *Vaṁśávalí* mentions an inscription of his dated Nepâla Saṁvat 512 or 1392 A.D. Even in the portion referring to the successors of Jayasthitimalla, where the author of the *Vaṁśávalí* constantly quotes inscriptions, his work is not free from serious errors. More than once, *e.g.*, in the case of Jyôtimalla, the son of Jayasthitiṁalla (Inscr. No. 16), a reign has been omitted. In other cases, kings have been displaced, and sometimes there are palpable mistakes in the dates given.

These remarks will suffice to substantiate the correctness of the assertion made above, that the *Vaṁśávalí* is not fit to be used as a whole, and that no single one of its several portions is free from the most serious errors. It is, therefore, impossible to adopt for the reconstruction of the earlier history of Nepâl the favourite expedient of historians who have to deal with untrustworthy chronicles and, while cutting down the duration of the several reigns to apparently reasonable lengths, to count backwards from the beginning of the Nepâlese era in 880, which has usually been considered as most safely established. For, however safe that date itself may be, it has been shown above that the author of the *Vaṁśávalí* knew nothing regarding the events which occurred at the time when the era was established. A much firmer basis must be looked for, and this may be found in the reign of Aṁśuvarman, whose name occurs in the *Vaṁśávalí*, the inscriptions, and Hiuen Thsang's *Mémoires*, while his date is fixed, though in different ways, by the two latter sources. In his account of Nepâl, Hiuen Thsang states that the reigning king belongs to the Lichchhavi family, and adds according to M. Stanislas Julien's translation, the following description of Aṁśuvarman, "Dans ces derniers temps, il y avait un roi appelé *Yang-chou-fa-mo* qui se distinguait par la solidité de son savoir et la sagacité de son esprit. Il avait composé lui-même un traité sur la connaissance des sons (*Śabdavidyáśástra*); il estimait la science et respectait la vertu. Sa réputation s'était répandue en tous lieux."[33] Now it cannot be doubtful that the king referred to by Hiuen Thsang is the prince of this name whom the *Vaṁśávalí* places in Kaliyuga 3000, or 101 B.C., and whose inscriptions are dated Saṁvat 34, 39 and 45 (?). For the *Vaṁśávalí* and the inscriptions know of one Aṁśuvarman only. Moreover the account which he gives of himself in his inscription of Saṁvat 39 agrees fully with Hiuen Thsang's description. He asserts there[34] "that he destroyed his (*former*) false opinions by pondering day and night over the meaning of various *Śâstras*" and that "he considers the proper establishment of courts of justice his greatest pleasure." Again, while the *Vaṁśávalí*[35] describes Aṁśuvarman as "very clever, dreadful, passionate, and always untired in pursuing the objects of human life," the undated inscription of Śivadêva (No. 5) praises "the great feudal baron Aṁśuvarman, as having destroyed the power of all (*the king's*) enemies through his heroic majesty, obtained by victories in numerous hand-to-hand fights" and as "possessing brilliant fame gained by the trouble of properly protecting (*the king's*) subjects." Finally the *Vaṁśávalí* (Wright's *Nepal*, p. 134) correctly places the inscription of Vibhuvarman (No. 8) in the reign of Aṁśuvarman. As the date of Hiuen Thsang's travels in India is fixed beyond doubt, and as his visit to Northern India most probably falls in the year 637 A.D.,[36] it follows that Aṁśuvarman must have reigned in the first half of the seventh century of our era, and it must be noted that the characters of his inscriptions can belong to this period only. The author of the *Vaṁśávalí* has, therefore, antedated his reign by more than seven hundred years. The causes of this error probably lie partly in the fact that Aṁśuvarman's inscriptions are dated 'Saṁvat' which term the compiler of the *Vaṁśávalí* erroneously referred to the so-called Vikrama era of 57 B.C., and partly in the circumstance that the chronological system of the *Vaṁśávalí*, which makes the earliest kings of Nepâl contem-

[33] Mr. Beal, who has kindly furnished me with his version of the passage, renders it as follows: "Lately there was a king called An-shu-fa-mo who was distinguished for his learning and ingenuity. He himself had composed a work on 'sounds' (*Śabdavidyâ*); he esteemed learning and respected virtue, and his reputation was spread everywhere." [G. B.]—See Beal's *Bud. Rec. of W. Countries*, vol. II, p. 81; conf. Julien, *Mém.* tome I, p. 408.

[34] Inscr. No. 7, ll. 1-3, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. IX, p. 170.

[35] The Parvatîya text runs as follows: *rájá vado chañchal bhayankar támasamúrti thulo purushárthí bhayáko thio.* Compare also Wright, *Nepâl*, p. 133.

[36] Cunningham, *Geography*, p. 565.

poraneous with the heroes of the *Mahábhárata*, made a displacement of all dynasties, excepting the very latest, a matter of necessity.

But however this may be, the main point for us is to ascertain according to what era Aṁsuvarman really dated his edicts. Three different solutions of this question may be attempted. It may either be assumed that Aṁśuvarman established an era of his own, or that he used the era of Śrîharsha, which, according to Albîrûni, began in 606 or 607 A.D. and was used in Northern India as late as the eleventh century,[37] or that he employed the so-called *Lôkakála* in which the hundreds are left out. The last supposition may, however, be at once discarded, because we have in our series inscriptions of his successors, which, to judge from the characters, must be dated in the same era as his own, and go down as far the year 153. If Aṁśuvarman had used the *Lokakála*, none of his successors would have used a higher figure than 99. It is not equally easy to choose between the two remaining possibilities. In favour of the first it might be urged that according to the account, given by Hiuen Thsang and in the *Vaṁśávalí*, Aṁsuvarman was a powerful ruler who possessed extraordinary ability and achieved great fame by his conquests as well as by his literary attainments. It is well known that to establish a new era is a wish dear to the heart of ambitious Indian princes and that, to the great detriment of Indian chronology, only too many have succeeded in effecting it. On the other, there are important objections against this supposition. For it appears from the inscriptions that, however great and powerful a king Aṁśuvarman may have become eventually, he was originally nothing but a Sâmanta or feudatory of the king of Nepâl, who in all probability really governed the country, but in the name of his over-lord. This is the position which he held according to the undated inscription of Śivadêva (No. 5). In his own inscription of Saṁvat 34 (No. 6) he, too, assumes no higher title than *mahásámanta*, 'the great feudal baron.' Vibhuvarman (No. 8) calls him 'the illustrious' (*Śrí*) Aṁśuvarman, and the same ambiguous epithet is used in the inscription of 39 (No. 7). It is only in Jishṇugupta's inscription of Saṁvat 48 (No. 9) that he receives the title *mahárájádhirája*, 'great king of kings.' These facts alone are fatal to the supposition that the dates of the inscriptions Nos. 6-15 refer to an era established by Aṁśuvarman. For it is an indisputable axiom that nobody but an anointed king can initiate a Saṁvat of his own. As Aṁśuvarman was only a Sâmanta in the year 34 of the era in which he dates, the latter cannot begin with his *abhishêka* or accession to the throne. Of late some other facts have come to light which also clearly disprove the supposition that the dates of our last ten inscriptions belong to a special Nepâlese era, but show that it is one used generally in Northern India during the seventh and eighth centuries. In our inscription No. 15, Jayadêva, who dates in Saṁvat 153, states that his mother Vatsadêvî was the daughter of a Maukhari prince or chief, Bhôgavarman,[38] and the granddaughter of 'the great Âdityasêna, the illustrious lord of Magadha.' Âdityasêna of Magadha has been long known from the Aphsar inscription, which contains the names of the later Guptas. Quite recently General Cunningham has published two more documents mentioning him,— the Shâpur inscription, which records the dedication of a statue of Sûrya,[39] and the Deo-Bârnak inscription which contained a grant of land, made to the Vâruṇavâsi-bhaṭṭâraka.[40]

[37] Reinaud, *Fragments Arabes et Persans*, p. 139. Albîrûnî states that he found in a Kaśmîrian almanac the era of Śrîharsha placed 664 years after that of Vikramâditya. This expression may mean either that it began in 606 or in 607 A.D. If the almanac stated that the Saṁvat of Śrîsharsha began 664 years after the *abhishêka* of Vikrama, the beginning of the era would fall in 606, because the year 1 of the Śrîharsha era would have to be deducted from 664 as well as 56¾. If, on the other hand, the almanac stated that the *abhishêka* of Śrîharsha took place in Vikrama 664, the completion of the first year of the Vikrama era would fall in 608, and its beginning in 607. What Albîrûnî really means, can be settled only by astronomical calculations, in case a number of dates with the days of the week, or a statement regarding an eclipse are found. The circumstance that the Kaśmîrian almanac contained the initial point of the Śrîharsha era indicates that it was used in Kaśmîr. For even in our days the *Pañchâṅgas* usually contain something regarding the various eras used in the districts where they are written, as well as sometimes historical information regarding its ancient dynasties.

[38] See note by Dr. Burgess in Beal's *Bud. Rec. of W. Countries*, vol. II, p. 81, and *Ind. Ant.*, vol. X, p. 193, note.

[39] *Arch. Rep.*, vol. XV, Plate xi.

[40] *Arch. Rep.*, vol. XVI, pp. 73-76, and Plate xxiv.

The former is clearly dated during the reign of Âdityasênadêva, in Saṁvat 88.[41] The distance between this date and that of his great-grandson, Jayadêva, is 65 years, or not much less than the duration of three Indian generations, which, as already stated, amounts to 78 years. Under these circumstances it is not in the least doubtful that the great-grandfather and great-grandson used the same era,[42] and it follows further that this era was not confined to Nepâl, but generally current in North-Eastern India. If that is the case, neither is it doubtful that the era used by Aṁśuvarman and the other later Nepâl inscriptions, Nos. 9-15, is that of Śrîharsha which begins in 606-7 A.D. No other known Indian era can possibly meet the requirements of the case; and it is not difficult to show how this particular era found its way into Nepâl. Though Albîrûnî, when speaking of the Śrîharsha era, merely says that it is used in Northern India, and adds no information regarding its founder, it is certain that this personage can be nobody else but the hero of Bâṇabhaṭṭa's *Śrîharshacharita*, whom his protégé, Hiuen Thsang, calls Harshavardhana or Śîlâditya. From Bâṇa's and Hiuen Thsang's accounts, as well as from the admissions made in the inscriptions of his valiant and unconquered foe, the Chalukya Satyâśraya-Pulikêśi, it appears that this prince united the whole of Northern and Western and Eastern India under his sceptre during the greater part of the first half of the seventh century. In the North-East he was acknowledged as lord paramount as far as Kâmarûpa or Asâm, the king of which province conducted Hiuen Thsang to Śrîharsha's court, and attended his great religious gathering. As Śrîharsha's empire included all the districts south of Nepâl, he must merely for that reason have exercised a great influence on the political circumstances of the valley, and it would not be astonishing if its princes had adopted his era, merely because he was a powerful neighbour. But it would seem that they had still more pressing reasons for adopting this course, as Śrîharsha, in all probability, invaded and conquered their country. General Cunningham (*Arch. Reports*, vol. I, p. 280), states distinctly that this was the case. In the published historical documents a direct confirmation of this assertion is not traceable. But there are some indications contained in statements of the *Vaṁśâvalî* which make it very probable. First, the *Vaṁśâvalî* informs us that just before Aṁśuvarman's accession to the throne Vikramâditya came to Nepâl and established his era there.[43] The name of the king and the particular era intended by the author are certainly quite wrong; but it is very probable that real facts, the conquest of the country by an Indian king about Aṁśuvarman's time, and the adoption of his era by the humbled princes of Nepâl, form the historical substratum of the erroneous account in the *Vaṁśâvalî*, and that the latter has thus kept a reminiscence of Śrîharsha's invasion and of its result, the adoption of his era. A much stronger argument is furnished by another piece of information, preserved in the *Vaṁśâvalî*, the existence of Vaiś Râjputs in Nepâl. According to the *Vaṁśâvalî* the kings of the VIIth dynasty belonged to this class, which had long been settled on the hill of Navâkoṭ. Now Hiuen Thsang tells us that the race or caste to which Śrîharsha himself belonged was called Feï-she[44] and General Cunningham has shown[45] that this caste must have been that of the Vaiśa or Bais Râjputs who, even at the present day, are found in nearly the whole of Southern Oudh, and claim to have ruled over the districts between Dehli and Allahâbâd. As it is an almost universal rule with Indian princes that on the occasion of conquests they grant a portion of the land to their clansmen, it happens very frequently that centuries later, when the government has passed into other hands, descendants of the grant-holders still remain in possession, and that their

[41] General Cunningham, *Arch. Rep.*, vol. XV, p. 12, and vol. XVI, pp. 79-80, reads it Saṁvat 55. But according to all analogies in other ancient inscriptions the figure used can only be equivalent to 8. If the reading 55 were right, it would not affect the deductions as to the era.

[42] This conclusion would be further confirmed, if General Cunningham's statement that the Deo-Bârnak grant, which was issued by a great-grandson of Âdityasêna, is dated Saṁvat 152, could be substantiated.

[43] Wright, p. 131.

[44] St. Julien, *Mémoires*, tome I, p. 247; Beal, *Records*, vol. I, p. 209 and note.

[45] *Geography*, pp. 377-8. The arguments given there will fully convince anybody acquainted with India, that Śrîharsha cannot have been a merchant or Vaiśya. The marriage of his sister Râjyaśrî with Grahavarman, the Maukhari, which occurred before Śrîharsha became powerful, would have been impossible if he had been a low-born Vaiśya.

existence is the sole remaining vestige of the former conquest. Thus the fact that in later times Vaiśa Râjputs were found on the Navâkoṭ hill, in all probability indicates that Nepâl once was in the power of a Vaiśa king, who can have been nobody else but Śrîharsha. If thus the subjection of Nepâl to this prince may be considered certain, the use of his era by Aṁśuvarman and his successors, is almost a matter of course.

Strong as these arguments in favour of the Śrîharsha era are, there is yet a point in Hiuen Thsang's account of Nepâl which requires to be cleared up, before the above conclusion can be accepted without reserve. Hiuen Thsang tells us, as stated above, that the reigning king of Nepâl belongs to the Lichchhavi race, and that 'in these latter times there *was* a king called Aṁśuvarman,' &c. This can only mean that in Hiuen Thsang's times Aṁśuvarman was dead. As Hiuen Thsang's visit to North-Eastern India fell about the year 637 A.D., or Śrîharshasaṁvat 30-31, his assertion clashes with the date of our inscriptions which, if referred to the Śrîharsha era, show that Aṁśuvarman was certainly alive after Śrîharsha-Saṁvat 40, or 646-7 A.D.[46] This disagreement would be very serious, if Hiuen Thsang really did visit Nepâla, as M. Stanislas Julien's translation represents him to have done. The latter point is, however, doubtful, because the Chinese expressions, referring to the march, may be understood either as describing Hiuen Thsang's route or the way in general, and because the life of Hiuen Thsang says nothing about his having visited Vṛiji (Fo-li-shi) and Nepâl.[47] Hence M. Vivien de Saint-Martin, *Mémoires*, tome II, p. 365, thinks it 'plus que probable' that the pilgrim passed at once from Śvetapura in Vaiśâli across the Ganges into Magadha. Mr. Beal in his new translation[48] so far agrees with this view that he declares Hiuen Thsang's visit to Nepâl to be incredible. He says in the note cited, 'But the pilgrim does not appear to have gone into Nepâl. He went to the capital of the Vṛijis and there speaks from report.' If this supposition, as seems most probable, is correct, the contradiction between Hiuen Thsang's words and the dates of the inscriptions admits of an explanation. It becomes probable that either account, rendered to him, of the peculiar political condition of Nepâl, was inaccurate, or that he himself misunderstood it. During the times of Aṁśuvarman and of his successor Jishṇugupta (it may be even somewhat later) a double government existed in the valley. Lichchhavi kings reigned side by side with Aṁśuvarman himself and his successors. Such a complex government might well puzzle a stranger, and he might easily fall into the error of supposing that one of the kings named to him ruled before the other. This may be safely accepted as the true solution of the difficulty raised by the wording of Hiuen Thsang's note regarding Aṁśuvarman, and it may be considered certain that our inscriptions Nos. 6-15 range between 640-1 and 759-60 A.D.

Before we proceed to utilise further the result of the preceding discussion, it will be advisable to subject the parts which reveal the existence of a double government during a part of the seventh century to a little closer examination. In our inscription No. 5 the Lichchhavi king Śivadêva says of his 'great feudal baron' Aṁśuvarman that he has destroyed the power of all (*his master's*) enemies 'by the majesty of his valour' and 'that his brilliant fame, gained by the trouble of properly protecting the people, pervades the universe.' These hyperbolical expressions indicate not only that Aṁśuvarman held a high position as commander-in-chief and prime minister, but that his power and influence at last nearly equalled that of his master. In Saṁvat 34 (No. 6) Aṁśuvarman's title remains the same. But he dates from a residence of his own, Kailâsakûṭa[49] and couches his edict in a language which is usually employed by kings only. In fact, except by his title, he gives no sign that he lives under a lord paramount. The same state of things is indicated by

[46] As the second figure of the date of No. 8 is uncertain, it will be advisable to take the certain sign 40 alone into consideration. If the date of No. 8 is really Saṁvat 45, A.D. 687-2 A.D. Aṁśuvarman must have died between that year and the first date of Jishṇugupta, Saṁvat 48, or 654-5 A.D.

[47] See *Vie de Hiouen Thsang*, p. 136.

[48] *Beal, Bud. Rec.*, vol. I, p. 81, note 103. I owe the communication of the page before the issue of the work to the kindness of Mr. Beal.—G. B.

[49] A reminiscence of the fact that Aṁśuvarman built for himself a residence of his own, is contained in the remark of the *Vaṁśâvalî*, which asserts that he transferred the seat of government to Madhyalakhu.

his inscription of Saṁvat 39 (No. 7), by which he assigns land without reference to a superior power. The ambiguous epithet *Śrî* 'the illustrious' leaves it doubtful, if he had then assumed the title *mahârâja*. But it is plain that he did so at some period or other of his career from the inscription No. 9, where he is described by Jishṇugupta, as *mahârâjâdhirâja*, as well as from the statements of Hiuen Thsang and of the *Vaṁśâvali*. Jishṇugupta certainly was Aṁśuvarman's immediate successor, and belonged to his family, being either his son or some other near relative. This follows from the closeness of his first date, Saṁvat 48 (No. 9) to that of Vibhuvarman's inscription (No. 8) which, if it is not Saṁvat 45, at least is more than 40. There is no room for another reign between them and, if the *yuvarâja* or heir-apparent—Udayadêva,[60] who is mentioned as *Dûtaka* or deputy in No. 7, did not belong to the Lichchhavi dynasty, it is probable that he never came to the throne. That Jishṇugupta really belonged to Aṁśuvarman's line is shown by the fact that he dates his edicts from the Kailâsakûṭa, the residence of Aṁśuvarman, and by his mentioning in two inscriptions a Lichchhavi king Dhruvadêva as his suzerain, who resided at Mânagṛiha, the ancient palace or fort[61] of the Lichchhavis. These points, as well as the circumstance that Inscr. No. 11 is dated in the victorious and prosperous reign of Jishṇugupta, show further that during his time Nepâl possessed a double government. The same fact is further attested by Jayadêva's inscription No. 15, which enumerates an uninterrupted line of thirty-five generations of Lichchhavi kings But the first inscription of Jayadêva's father Śivadêva II, dated Saṁvat 119, contains a significant fact which bears on the question, how long Aṁśuvarman's descendants continued to hold their position, for he dates his grant from the palace Kailâsakûṭa where Aṁśuvarman and Jishṇugupta held their court. The explanation of these points appears to be as follows :—Aṁśuvarman at first was a servant of Śivadêva I, and gradually managed to get into his hands the whole of the royal power. He also assumed or received from the king the title *mahârâja*. But, like Jang Bahâdur in modern times, he allowed his old master, and perhaps the successor of the latter, to retain nominally the position of an independent ruler. After his death which, as already stated, must have occurred some time after Śrîharsha, Saṁvat 40 and before 48, or about the end of the fifth decade of the seventh century, Jishṇugupta, possibly his son or, at all events, a near relative, inherited his position. The country continued to possess a double government. But perhaps the Lichchhavis possessed a little more power than during Aṁśuvarman's life-time. Such an inference is warranted by the double heading of Jishṇugupta's two inscriptions. Afterwards, some time between Śrîharsha-Saṁvat 48 and 119, or 654 and 725 A.D., the old royal race regained possession of the whole country, and even made the former palace of Aṁśuvarman's family their residence. How this change came about is not clear from the inscriptions. But there is no doubt that Aṁśuvarman was not, as the *Vâṁśavalî* asserts, the father of a long line of kings, but merely the founder of an ephemeral dynasty of co-regents. It is even doubtful if among the kings of the Ṭhâkurî line, given in the *Vaṁśâvalî*, any real descendants of Aṁśuvarman occur. The two names Narêndradêva (No. 7) and Jayadêva (No. 12) which do occur in the inscriptions, belong, according to the evidence of the latter, to the Lichchhavi or Sûryavaṁśî family, not to the Ṭhâkurî or Râjput family of Aṁśuvarman. It would be useless to enter on any speculations regarding the number and names of the latter. But through our inscription No. 15 we are placed in a somewhat better position with respect to the Lichchhavi family. It enables us to give with a careful utilisation of all the hints furnished by the other inscriptions, and in the *Vaṁśâvalî*, a general outline of this dynasty, to determine the era in which the first five inscriptions are dated, and to assign approximate dates to all the undoubtedly historical kings.

The first part of the genealogical portion of the inscription No. 15 is clearly mythical, as most of the names mentioned have been taken from the Purâṇic *Vaṁśas* ; but it nevertheless renders

[60] It seems more likely that Udayadêva was a Lichchhavi, a descendant of Śivadêva, because the name occurs more than once among the Lichchhavis.

[61] See Inscr., 1-5, which are dated from Mânagṛiha.

a valuable service by the statement that Lichchhavi was a descendant of Sûrya. Hence it is perfectly certain that the Lichchhavi dynasty of the inscriptions is identical with the Sûryavaṁśî dynasty of the *Vaṁśâvali*. Lichchhavi, however, the founder of the family, his descendants down to Supushpa of Pushpapura (*i.e.* Pâṭaliputra) and his twenty-three unnamed successors have most likely no claim to be regarded as historical personages, or, even if some of them were real kings, they at least do not belong to the Lichchhavis of Nepâl. The prominent manner in which the next king 'conquering Jayadêva' is mentioned, makes it probable that he is the conqueror of Nepâl, and the head of this branch of the race. To this conclusion points also the fact that the *Vaṁśâvalî* names as the third prince of the Sûryavamśa—Jayavarman, who, since the epithets *dêva* and *varman* are often used synonymously, may be identified with Jayadêva. It seems not unlikely that the author of the *Vaṁśâvali*, in order to lengthen the line of kings, may have placed two names before the real founder of the dynasty. After Jayadêva the inscription skips eleven kings and then comes to Vṛishadêva. The *Vaṁśâvali*, on the other hand, gives fourteen names between Jayavarman and Vṛishadêvavarman and shows by this close agreement that, if the length of the reigns is left out of account, it must be based on documents very similar to inscription No. 15. The names of the next six kings—Śaṅkaradêva, Dharmadêva, Mânadêva, Mahîdêva, Vasantadêva and Udayadêva are identical in the inscription and in the *Vaṁśâvali*. Moreover, our inscription No. 1 (vs. 1-7) confirms the sequence of the group, beginning with Vṛishadêva and ending with Mânadêva, and adds the name of Mânadêva's mother, Râjyavatî. The same document and inscription No. 2 gives us the dates 386 and 413 of an unnamed era for Mânadêva. Finally, inscription No. 4, which is dated in Saṁvat 435, belongs to a king called Vasantasêna. The close resemblance of this name to that of Vasantadêva, the grandson of Mânadêva, and the small interval of twenty-two years between the last date of Mânadêva and that of Vasantasêna which is just sufficient for one short reign (Mahîdêva's), permit us to assume with some confidence that Vasantasêna and Vasantadêva are the same person. If we proceed further, the genealogical portion of inscription No. 15 omits the names of 13 kings and winds up with Narêndradêva, Śivadêva and Jayadêva. Inscriptions No. 5, and Nos. 9-10 furnish us, however, with two names, those of a Śivadêva, the contemporary of Aṁśuvarman, and of a Dhruvadêva, the contemporary of Jishṇugupta, while the *Vaṁśâvali* gives seven more names and then passes to the Ṭhâkurî line of Aṁśuvarman, in which the names of Narêndradêva and Jayadêva have been erroneously incorporated as those of the seventh and twelfth princes.

In order to settle the chronology of the Lichchhavi dynasty more accurately, and especially in order to determine the era in which Mânadêva and Vasantadêva-Vasantasêna date, the first step to be taken is to fix the position of Śivadêva I, and Dhruvadêva in the group of the thirteen kings, left unnamed in the inscription No. 15. This may be done in the following manner:—Our inscription No. 12, the first which belongs to Śivadêva II, the father of Jayadêva II, is dated Śrîharsha-Saṁvat 119 or 725-6 A.D. The second, No. 13, in which his name occurs, was incised in Śrîharsha-Saṁvat 143 or 749-50, and No. 14, which has lost the king's name, but most probably belongs to Śivadêva II. as the heir apparent is Vijayadêva, a vicarious name for Jayadêva, bears the date Śrîharsha-Saṁvat 145 or 751-2 A.D. As the interval between the first and the third inscription amounts to twenty-six years, it is only reasonable to assume that the date 725-6 A.D. falls in the beginning of his reign. His accession to the throne may therefore be placed about 720 A.D. or Śrîharsha-Saṁvat 114. If we allow for the reign of his father Narêndradêva the average duration of a generation, the beginning of the latter falls in 695-6 or Śrîharsha-Saṁvat 89. Our inscriptions Nos. 9, 10 name the Lichchhavi Dhruvadêva as king of Nepâl, and the former is dated in Śrîharsha-Saṁvat 48 or 654-5 A.D. Hence it follows that Dhruvadêva is one of the

thirteen unnamed princes of No. 15 and, as the interval between the inscription and the probable date of the accession of Narêndradêva is about 44 years, it is evident that at the utmost two of the unnamed princes can be allocated to this period. Dhruvadêva thus obtains the eleventh place among the thirteen. Going further back, we have the inscription No. 5, in which Śivadêva I declares that Aṁśuvarman is the administrator of his kingdom, and has rendered important services in war. Though it is not dated, it is yet indisputable, that Śivadêva I. preceded Dhruvadêva, because Aṁśuvarman's inscriptions range from Śrîharsha-Saṁvat 34-45 (?) or from 640-1 A.D. to at least 650. It remains, however, somewhat doubtful if the two kings followed each other immediately, or if one reign lies between them. Though the possibility of the former supposition cannot be denied, the latter is yet more probable. As Hiuen Thsang's remarks, which are based on information collected in 637-646 A.D., undoubtely indicate, Aṁśuvarman's career must have been a long one, and his great deeds, through which he rose to a royal or quasi-royal position, must have been performed a considerable time before the time when Hiuen Thsang first visited Northern India, and before the time when he issued his edicts. Moreover, Śivadêva's inscription (No. 5) evidently falls in the period before Aṁśuvarman's power was fully developed. It will, therefore, be advisable not only to place this document before Śrîharsha-Saṁvat 34, but to assume that it was incised a good many, say ten to fifteen, years earlier. Under these circumstances there is room for one short reign between Śivadêva I. and Dhruvadêva, and we may allot to the former the ninth place among the thirteen unnamed princes of the genealogical list in inscription No. 15. If we now turn to the question, to which era the dates of Mânadêva and Vasantasêna-Vasantadêva belong, it might be contended that this must be the Śakasaṁvat of 78-9 A.D., because the use of this era is known to have prevailed very generally, particularly in the south and west of India, already during the earlier centuries of our era. On this supposition Mânadêva's two dates, Saṁvat 386 and 413, would be equivalent to 464-5 and 491-2 A.D. and Vasantasêna-Vasantadêva's date Saṁvat 435 to 513-4. We have seen above that the reign of Śivadêva II probably began about 720 A.D. The interval between him and Vasantasêna would therefore be 207 years, or if we put (what perhaps is preferable), instead of 720, the date of his first inscription, 725 A.D., 212 years. According to our inscription No. 15, fifteen kings ruled between Vasantadêva and Śivadêva, the father of Jayadêva, and we have seen above that the date Saṁvat 435 falls into the beginning of Vasantasêna's reign. Thus we obtain the result that 16 kings reigned together only 207-213 years, or that a reign lasted on an average 13 years and a quarter. This proportion is not much altered if we take instead of the interval between Vasantasêna and Śivadêva the most distant dates known, that of Mânadêva's first inscription and that of Jayadêva's. In that case we have to deduct from Śrîharsha-Saṁvat 153 or 759-60 A.D. the value of Samvat 386 according to the Śaka era or 464-5 *plus* the number of the five or six years of Jayadêva's reign which may be supposed to have elapsed in 759-60. As Mânadêva's first date no doubt fell in the beginning of his reign, the remainder, 290, has to be distributed among 19 kings (Mânadêva, Mahîdêva, Vasantadêva, Udayadadêva, 13 unnamed princes, Narêndradêva and Śivadêva). The result is a little more than fifteen years and a quarter for each reign. Neither the former figure nor the second are sufficiently large. For the lists both of the *Vaṁśâvalî* and of inscription No. 15 refer to *generations* of kings, not to the reigns of *collaterals*. The *Vaṁśâvalî* states throughout that each of the enumerated Sûryavaṁśî kings was the son of his predecessor. In the inscription No. 15, the same statement is appended to the kings of the group beginning with Vṛishadêva, except in the case of the last, Udayadêva, whose relationship to Vasantadêva is left doubtful. The thirteen unnamed princes are again stated to be his lineal descendants.[58] With respect to the last

[58] Vs. 11. "After him (Vasantadêva) followed thirteen sprung from the lord of the earth, called Udayadêva,"—*asyântarepy udayadêva iti kshitîśâj jâtâs trayodaśa.*

group, Narêndradêva's descent is not clearly described, but the last two kings are said to be his lineal descendants. Thus it appears that, even if we allow two breaks in the lineal descent to have occurred, by far the greater number of reigns represent generations. Assuming now that the account of the inscription No. 15 is more trustworthy than that of the *Vaṁśâvalî*, we have yet to cram seventeen generations and the reigns of two kings who may have been collaterals into 290 years. It will be evident to everybody who has paid attention to the calculation of the average lengths of generations in the Indian dynasties that this is impossible. The lowest figures required for seventeen generations is 350 years, as the average in no known case sinks below 21 years; mostly it varies between 24 and 27 for a generation. Under these circumstances, it is not doubtful that the attempt to refer Mânadêva's and Vasantasêna's dates to the Śaka era must be abandoned, and that we have to look for them to an era which begins earlier. If that is the case, there is only one known era, the so-called Vikramasaṁvat of 57 B.C. which will suit. Referred to the Vikrama era, Mânadêva's dates are equivalent to 329 and 356 A.D. and the interval between his first inscription and Jayadêva's No. 15 amounts to 430 years, which sum being distributed among nineteen kings gives twenty-two years and about three-quarters for each. Similarly the interval between Vasantasêna's date, which now represents 378 A.D., and the first inscription of Śivadêva II, 725 A.D., amounts to 347, and the average for each of the sixteen intervening reigns is a little more than 21 years. These figures are perfectly acceptable, especially if it is borne in mind that Udayadêva and Narêndradêva probably were not lineal descendants of their predecessors. The palæographical evidence likewise confirms this arrangement. The characters of Mânadêva's inscriptions fully resemble those of the Gupta inscriptions, especially of Skandagupta's pillar-edicts. As it is now pretty certain that the Gupta era begins about the end of the second century A.D., probably as Sir E. Bayley maintained, in 190 A.D., this prince lived in the fourth century[53]; exactly during the time when Mânadêva ruled. This result will perhaps appear suspicious to those who consider the Vikrama era with distrust, and take it to be an invention of the sixth century A.D. But, though it is perfectly true that hitherto no early inscriptions, which are clearly dated in the Vikrama era, have been found, the proof that it is not a genuine era, has, by no means, been furnished. It seems, therefore, safer to assume that we have in the Nepâlese inscriptions to deal with a known era, than to take our refuge in the only other possible supposition that the Lichchhavi kings reckoned according to a peculiar hitherto unknown era. If that were the case, it would, of course, be impossible to fix Mânadêva's and Vasantasêna's dates with any accuracy.

The only reign which now remains to be determined is that of Jayadêva I, whom we identified above with Jayavarman, the third Sûryavaṁśî king of the *Vaṁśâvalî*. According to inscription No. 15, eleven unnamed kings reigned between him and Vṛishadêva. If we add the reigns of the latter and of his son and grandson, Śaṅkaradêva and Dharmadêva, his accesion to the throne is separated from Mânadêva, 329 A.D. by fifteen reigns. Supposing that these kings, as the *Vaṁśâvalî* (which, however, has three more) asserts of all the Lichchhavis, followed each other in the direct line of descent, we might allot to them about 330 years (15 × 22). The beginning of Jayadêva's reign, and with it probably the conquest of Nepâl by the Lichchhavis, would thus fall about the commencement of the Christian era.

The results of this discussion are shown in the accompanying table, which exhibits also once more the lists of the Sûryavaṁśîs according to the *Vaṁśâvalî*. A comparison of its contents with the results gained from the inscriptions will show how very closely the two resemble each other, especially in the earlier portion. It is, therefore, evident that the author of the *Vaṁśâvalî* must have had historical documents to go on. Hence it becomes not improbable that the greater part of the names which he gives may be correct. This is all the information deducible from our inscriptions for the earlier history of Nepâl. The results which Nos. 17-23 furnish

[53] His dates fall between Guptasaṁvat 137—149.

have been worked out so carefully by Mr. C. Bendall, in the Historical Introduction to his *Catalogue of the Buddhist MSS. from Nepal, preserved at Cambridge* (p. viii—xvii) that it is unnecessary to go once more over the same ground.

TABLE OF THE LICHCHHAVI KINGS OF NEPÂL.

Inscriptions.

1. Jayadêva [I, about the year 1 A.D.] Insc. No. 15.

2.–12. Names omitted in Inscription No. 15.

13. Vṛishadêva [cir. 260 A.D.] (Ins. 1 & 15).
14. Śaṅkaradêva, son of 13 [cir. 285 A.D.] (Ins. 1 & 15).
15. Dharmadêva, son of 14, married to Râjyavatî, [cir. 305 A.D]. (Ins. 1 & 15).
16. Mânadêva, son of 15, Saṁvat 386-413, or 329-356 A.D. (Ins. 1-3; 15).
17. Mahîdêva, son of 16 [cir. 360 A.D.]
18. Vasantadêva or Vasantasêna, son of 17, Saṁvat 435, or 378 A.D. (Ins. 4 & 15).
19. Udayadêva [cir. 400 A.D.] (Ins. 15).

20.–27. Lineal descendants of 19; names omitted in Insc. 15.

28. Śivadêva [I, cir. 610 A.D.] (In. 5, omitted in In. 15.

Co-regent, Aṁśuvarman, first Sâmanta, then Mahârâjâ, (Śrîharsha) Saṁvat 34, 39, 45 (?), or 640-1—651-2 A.D. [Ins. 6-8]

29. Name omitted in In. 15.
30. Dhruvadêva (Śrîharsha)-saṁvat) 48 or 654-55 A.D. (In. 9; omitted in Ins. 15).

Co-regent, Jishṇugupta (Śrîharsha)-saṁvat 46, or 654-5 A.D. [Ins. 9-10].

31.–32. Names omitted in In. 15, Co-regents, Jishṇugupta and perhaps Vishṇugupta, mentioned as heir-apparent in Ins. 9.

Vaṁśâvalî.

1.	Bhûmivarman.	
2.	Chandravarman,	81 years.
3.	Jayavarman,	82 years.
4.	Harshavarman,	61 years.
5.	Sarvavarman,	78 years.
6.	Pṛithvîvarman,	76 years.
7.	Jyêshṭhavarman,	75 years.
8.	Harivarman,	76 years.
9.	Kubêravarman,	88 years.
10.	Siddhivarman,	61 years.
11.	Haridattavarman,	81 years.
12.	Vasudattavarman,	63 years.
13.	Pativarman,[54]	53 years.
14.	Śivavṛiddhivarman,	54 years.
15.	Vasantavarman,	61 years.
16.	Śivavarman,[54]	62 years.
17.	Rudradêvavarman,[54]	66 years.
18.	Vṛishadêvavarman,	61 years.
19.	Śaṅkaradêva,	65 years.
20.	Dharmadêva,	59 years.
21.	Mânadêva,	49 years.
22.	Mahîdêva,	51 years.
23.	Vasantadêva, crowned in Kali 2800, or 301 B.C.	36 years.
24.	Udayadêvavarman,	35 years.
25.	Mânadêvavarman,	35 years.
26.	Guṇakâmadêvavarman,	30 years.
27.	Śivadêvavarman,	51 years.
28.	Narêndradêvavarman,	42 years.
29.	Bhîmadêvavarman,	36 years.
30.	Vishṇudêvavarman,	47 years.
31.	Viśvadêvavarman,	51 years.

Aṁśuvarman (founder of the Ṭhâkurî dynasty, Kali 3,000 or 101 B.C.)

[54] As the *Vaṁśâvalî* has three princes more between Jayadêva-Jayavarman and Vṛishadêva than In. 15, three names have probably to be eliminated. One of these is probably Pativarman, whose name is suspicious, another either Śivavarman or Rudradêva, whose names are synonymous; the third is doubtful.

33. Narêndradêva [cir. 690 A.D.] (In. 15).	Mentioned as the 7th Ṭhâkurî prince.
34. Śivadêva II. son of 33, married to Vatsadêvî, daughter of the Maukhari[55] Bhogavarman, and daughter's daughter of Âdityasêna of Magadhà;[56] (Śrîharsha)-saṁvat 119-145 or 725-6—751-2 A.D. (Ins. 12-14; 15).	
35. Jayadêva II, Parachakrakâma son of No. 34, married to Râjyamatî, daughter of Śrîharshadêva, king of Gauḍa, Oḍra, Kaliṅga and Kosala, descendant of Bhagadatta[57]; (Śrîharsha)-saṁvat 153, or 759-60 A.D. (In. 15).	Mentioned as the 12th prince of the Ṭhâkurî line.

CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

THE ALEXANDRIA LIBRARY.

With reference to the papers by the Rev. J. D. Bate (*ante*, pp. 103ff.), and Mr. E. Rehatsek (pp. 208ff.), on the destruction of the Alexandrian Library, attention may be called to a paper on the subject by Mr. L. A. Wheatley in *The Bibliographer*, vol. V, pp. 3-5 (Dec. 1883), in which he points out that Gibbon had good authority for his statement that the library was destroyed in A.D 391. Orosius, who lived soon after (early in the 5th century), mentions it. The Patriarch Theophilos, "annoyed at the Pagan element then dominant at the Serapeum, determined to destroy it, and being unable of himself to do so, he complained to the Emperor Theodosios the Great, who ordered it to be destroyed. If any books were still left, it is probable that they were removed to Byzantium by Theodosios II, who is related to have enlarged his libraries by bringing books from all quarters, Egypt being specially mentioned." Mr. Wheatley adds that Fournier in his *Esprit dans l'Histoire*, Delepierre in his *Historical Fallacies*, Renan in his lecture *L' Islamisme et la Science*, and Hill Burton in his *Bookhunter*, have all come to the same conclusion as Gibbon and Krehl on this question. The subject has also been discussed by Petit-Radel, *Recherches sur les Bibliothèques anciennes et modernes* (Paris, 1819); Ritschl, *die Alexandrin-*

[55] The earliest kings of this little known dynasty are,—Yajñavarman, Śârdûlavarman, and Ânantavarman. Three of their inscriptions, written in characters a little later than those of the Guptas, and hence probably belonging to the 5th century, are found near Gayâ. The most important of these documents, two of which have been badly edited by Prinsep, *Jour. As. Soc., Bengal*, vol. VI, pp. 647 and 677, runs according to my version, which has been made from the original, as follows:—

भूपानां मौखरीणां कुलमतनुगुणोऽलंचकारात्मजात्या
श्रीशार्दूलस्य योऽभूज्जनहृदयहरोनन्तवर्म्मा सुपुत्रः[।]
कृष्णस्याकृष्णकीर्त्तिः प्रवरगिरिगुहासंश्रितं बिम्बमेतत्
मूर्त्ते लोके यशः स्वं रचितमिव मुदाचीकरत्कान्तिमत्सः[॥]
कालः शत्रुमहीभुजां प्रणयिणामिच्छाफलः पादपो
दीपः क्षात्रकुलस्य नैकसमरव्यापारशोभावतः[।]
कान्ताचित्तहरः स्मरप्रतिसमः पाता बभूव क्षितेः
श्रीशार्दूल इति प्रतिष्ठितयशाः सामन्तचूडामणिः[॥]
उत्पक्षान्तविलोहितोरुतरलस्पष्टेष्टतारां रुषा
श्रीशार्दूलनृपः करोति विषमां यत्र स्वदृष्टिं रिपौ [।]
तत्राकर्णविकृष्टशार्ङ्गशरधिव्यस्तश्शरोन्तावहः
तत्पुत्रस्य पतत्यनन्तसुखदस्यानन्तवर्मश्रुतेः [॥]

Another group of later Maukhari kings is known from the Asîrgarh seal (*Jour. Roy. As. Soc.*, vol. III, p. 337. where, however, amongst other mistakes, the word Maukhari is misread Honvari). They are:—

1. Harivarman, married to Jayasvâminî; their son
2. Âdityavarman, married to Harshaguptâ; their son
3. Îśvaravarman, married to Upaguptâ; their son
4. Îśânavarman, married to Lakshmîvatî (?); their son
5. Śarvarman, Maukhari.

Among these kings, Îśânavarman (misread Śântivarman) is mentioned as the foe of Dâmodaragupta in the Aphsar inscription, where also one Susthitavarman occurs as the enemy of Mahâsenagupta. Śarvavarman's name is found in the Deo-Bârnak inscription (Cunningham, *Reports*, vol. XVI, p. 73). The same inscription names after Śarvavarman, the illustrious Avantivarman, who may be identified with Avantivarman, the Maukhari, whose son Grahavarman, according to the *Śrîharshacharita*, married Râjyaśrî, the sister of Śrîharsha-Harshavardhana. Possibly our Bhôgavarman was a relative of the last prince. A king of this race, who is probably much older than all those enumerated above, Kshêtravarman, the Maukhari, is also mentioned in the *Śrîharshacharita* (*Jour. Bo. Br. As. Soc.*, vol. X, p. 48). Compare also General Cunningham's *Remarks on the Maukhari Dynasty*, *Arch. Reports*, vol. XV, p. 166, and vol. XVI, pp. 78-81.

[56] See above, p. 420

[57] Bhagadatta and Śrîharshadêva probably belong to the dynasty of Prâgjyôtisha, to which Harshavardhana's contemporary Kumârarâja also belonged.

ische Bibliotheken (Breslau, 1839); and by J. Matter, *Essai Historique sur l'Ecole d'Alexandrie*, 2 vols. (Paris), 1820, the latter especially may be consulted with profit. J. B.

TWO BRONZE MASKS FROM MAISUR.

The accompanying woodcuts represent two bronze masks that were dug up, at no great depth below the surface, early last year, close to an old village temple at Kanajor, in the Mudigiri tâluq in Maisur (lat. 13° 6′ N., long. 75° 40′ E.), 3 miles SW. from the town of Mudigiri, and 17 or 18 miles above Saklaspur on the Hemâvatî.



They are cast in a lightish brass-coloured bronze, and are here represented on a scale of half the original dimensions. The backs are open, so as allow them to be attached to wooden, metal, or stone figures representing the bodies of the personages intended. Both faces are characterized by the tusks usually assigned to images of Bhairava and Kâlî, protruding from the wicks of the mouths, and both have on the foreheads the third eye, placed vertically, which gives to Śiva the name of Trilôchana, and which is generally



borne by all the forms of that Dêva, and by his *gaṇa* or demon troop of followers. The seven Nâga or cobra hoods on the garland over the brow of each—their intertwined bodies forming the band which unites them into a sort of fillet, and their tails coiled up in little flat curls—are also characteristic marks of the Śaiva class of images. In the first these cobrahoods have a resemblance to leaves, but this is not unfrequently the case, even in separate images of snakes. The first mask has also a hole in the left cartilage of the nose as if for a ring. The other has been supposed to represent a male head, but the distinction is not marked.

Such masks for images of gods, made of bronze, silver or gold, are quite common in the south

of India, and are also in use in the Marâṭhâ country and in the north; but these are usually lighter and more imposing than the present pair.

They have probably been buried for a century, and may be considerably older,—the large ear-rings and the forms of the necklets, however, are such as are still to be met with among certain castes in Southern India to the present time. It has been suggested by Sir Walter Elliot that they may be connected with or allied to images employed in the ancestor-worship which he believes has not quite disappeared from among the Dravidian races. The worship of the *durdêvatâs* Kâli and Bhairava is closely connected with that of *bhûts* or the ghosts of dead persons of notoriety.

In the present case the masks appear to represent Kâlî or Piḍârî, as she is called in Tamiḷ, who, being a *durdêvatâ* or evil goddess, is represented with tusks. The large rings in the ears and the necklaces mark the figures as those of females. And Mr. S. M. Nâtêśa Śâstrî informs me that masks of this goddess are made of clay and burnt red to sell to people of the lower castes who worship her at certain seasons; but these are, of course, of a much coarser type than the bronze ones here represented.

Information respecting the use of such masks as those here figured, as well as notes on traces of ancestor-worship would be of interest.

J. BURGESS.

BOOK NOTICES.

THE LIGHT OF ASIA, being the Life and Teaching of Gautama, Prince of India and founder of Buddhism. By EDWIN ARNOLD, M.A., F.R.G.S., C.S.I., &c., (large 8vo., illustrated) London: Trübner & Co., 1885.

A notice of this poem was given in our pages (*ante*, vol. VIII, p. 299) when the first edition appeared in 1879. Its extraordinary popularity, especially in America, where a cheap reprint appeared at fifteen cents, has very largely helped to increase the interest among ordinary readers, which was otherwise growing, in the history and teachings of Buddhism. Everywhere we meet with people who think they now know something about Buddha and his religion from what Mr. Arnold has given them in so attractive a form. The rapid sale of edition after edition has now led the Publishers to present the poem in a new setting, in beautiful type, paper and binding, and profusely illustrated with numerous very fine woodcuts "taken from purely Buddhist sources" without modern addition or variation. These alone render the volume most attractive, and are deeply interesting to the artist and antiquary.

Of the scientific value of Mr. Arnold's book there can hardly be two opinions among those who have any correct knowledge of the subject. It glorifies Buddha's teaching far above its true place. We have already (vol. XII, p. 314) expressed dissatisfaction with the way he exalts his subject, and introduces purely Christian ideas and even the words of the *New Testament*, in order to paint his ideal in the most attractive colours. To those already noted (vol. VIII, pp. 209, 300) we may add a few further illustrations of this:—When Asita blesses the infant Gautama, he says to the father, in words nearly the same as in *Luke* ii, 35—

" . . . *a sword must pierce*
Thy bowels for this boy—"

When Gautama declares his resolution to become a Buddha, we read—

"'I will *depart*,' he spake; '*the hour is come!*
. . . . *Unto this*
Came I, and unto this all nights and days
Have led me;"—Compare this with *John* xii, 23, 27.—So again—

" . . . . *These* that *are mine*, and *those*
Which shall be mine, a thousand million more
Saved by this sacrifice I offer now."

is taken from *John* xvii, 20, and the idea of a sacrifice for others is entirely unknown to Buddhist modes of thought.

And again the words—

" . . . . Alas! for all my *sheep which have*
No shepherd; wandering in the night"

give the same idea expressed in the same words as in *John* x, 14-16, and *Matt.*, ix, 36. The expression of the tempter Mâra—"If thou beest Buddha" is just that in *Luke*, iv, 3, 9; *Matt.*, iv, 3 and 6. And in the retrospect of his life, Buddha is represented as seeing where his path had often led—

" . . . . On dizzy ridges where *his feet*
Had *well-nigh slipped*;"

just as in *Psalm* lxxviii, 2.

If the author could establish any number of his many verbal agreements with the *Bible* from Buddhist works, he ought, in honesty, to have embodied the references to his authorities in this or some earlier edition of his poem. But his suggestions of verbal coincidences and even of identical ideas are wholly unjustifiable, and lead to a false and too favourable representation of Buddhism, which must seriously mislead those who have not derived their ideas from more authoritative works, such as Oldenberg's most instructive *Life of Buddha*, Spence Hardy's *Manual*, Köppen's *Die Religion des Buddhas*, &c., in any of which the reader will find a very different presentation of the teaching of the founder of Buddhism.

INDEX.

* Abbreviations, as in former volumes.

ERRATA IN VOL. XIII.

p. 59*b*, ll. 28, 29, *for* पुरायक्षोणीश्वर° *read* पुण्यक्षोणीश्वर°
„ l. 30, *for* Kulôltuṅga- *read* Kulôttuṅga
p. 65*a*, l. 22, *for* horizontal *read* vertical
p. 66*b*, [1] *for* धम- *read* धाम
„ [6] *for* °तान्स *read* °तान्स-
p. 67*b*, [13] *for* माहानुभाव *read* महानुभाव
„ [16] *for* दूरमुत्ताम्भितं *read* दूरमुत्तम्भितं
p. 68*a*, [16] *after* कार्यो: *insert* तथा
p. 69*a*, l. 11, *read* °ष्ठसु दशोत्तरेषु
p. 69*b*, note 32, for *paṭṭaṇaṁ* read *paṭṭanaṁ*
p. 126*a*, l. 7 from bottom, *for* Atreya° *read* Âtrêya°
p. 127*a*, l. 11, *after* arms, *insert a* —.
p. 129, plate II *A*, [15] *for* आसन् *read* आसंन्.
p. 130, plate III *A*, [18] *for* °नामका *read* °नामकौ.
p. 132, plate V, [9] *for* भगिनि *read* भगिनी [sic].
p. 153*a*, note 3, l. 1, *read* Tiruvadi *and* Kûḍalûru.
„ „ l. 3, *read* Tiruvaḍi.
„ „ l. 4, *read* Tiruvâdi.
p. 155, l. 2 from bottom, *read* vol. XIII, p. 125.
p. 156, plate I, [6] *read* जुषसुतस्त-.
p. 156*a*, last line of note, *read* श्रीपिश्रमो-.
p. 158, plate III *B*, [8] *read* प्रियासहचर-.
p. 210*b*, ll. 4 & 5 from bottom, *for* Ḥâji, Khulfa *read* Ḥâjji Khalîfa.
p. 211*b*, ll. 19, 23, and 33, *for* Evergetes, *read* Euergetes
„ l. 2 from bot., *for* Diocletian, *read* Domitian
p. 233*a*, l. 26, *for* India, lib. *read* India (lib.
p. 280*a*, l. 11, *for* Jñâna, *read* Dhyâni
„ l. 13, *for* Viarôchana, *read* Vairôchana
p. 306*a*, l. [7] *for* उकसाचा *read* उकसा चा, *and for* °ति *read* °ती.
p. 306*b*, l. [2] *read* °येनअ—नउ°.
p. 311*a*, l. 20, from bottom and throughout the notice, *for* Hôrinzi, *read* Hôriuzi, *or* Hôriuzhi
p. 311*b*, l. 2, *for* Kâvêridam, *read* Kâvêri dam
„ l. 22, from bottom, *insert* and by *before* facsimiles
„ last line, *for* verticles *read* verticals
p. 312*a*, l. 19, *for* Prâśâtaraga *read* Praśântarâga
p. 312*a*, ll. 40, 43, *for* Sâ, *and* Sâ *read* Sâ.
„ ll. 50, 52 & 54, *for* -Sâ, *read* Sâ.
p. 312*b*, l. 29, before *Ind. insert* (
p. 313*a*, l. 8, *insert a comma after* fragment
p. 313*b*, l. 29, *insert* " *after* existence.
p. 316*a*, note l. 1, *for* Noble, *read* Nobbe.
p. 317*b*, l. 17, *for* Agisymba. § 5. Where *read* Agisymba, § 5. where

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p. 318*a*, note [13], *read* [13] In Lat. 40° 1′; Lat. of Tash-Kurghan is 37° 46′ (long. 75° 4′).

p. 319*a*, note, l. 8 from bottom, *for* towards India *read* from India.

p. 319*b*, notes, l. 5, from bottom, *for* [IXXXIXI] *read* [XXXIX]

„ note, l. 12, after Zarah *insert*).

p. 321*b*, l. 21, *for* censure *read* employ

p. 324*b*, l. 21, *for* Sindhi Khrysoun. This *read* Sindhi. Khrysoun:—this

p. 329*a*, l. 11, *for* towns Kandionoi, *read* towns of the Pandionoi.

p. 332*b*, l. 10, *for* outlet *read* outset

p. 334*b*, l. 29, *for* Jagannatha Katikardama. *read* Jagannâtha. Katikardama:—

„ ll. 53, 54, *delete the commas after* Dôsaron *and* Adamas

p. 336*a*, l. 41, *for* (—) *read only* —, *bis*.

p. 337*a*, l. 36, *for* Wain—Gangâ, *read* Wain-Gangâ.

p. 338*a*, l. 5, *for* Rouadis, *read* Rhouadis.

„ l. 6, *for* Bidasis, *read* Bibasis.

p. 340*a*, l. 12, *for* Rhonadis, *read* Rhouadis,

p. 342*b*, l. 30, *add a comma after* Kondokhates

p. 345*a*, l. 22, *delete the comma after* Alexandria

p. 349*b*, l. 43, *for* Hidaspês *read* Bidaspês.

p. 350*b*, §§ 47 to 50 should have been inserted in p. 351*a*, *before* the paragraph beginning—"List of cities."

p. 351*a*, l. 6, for *Alexandre*, read *Alexandri*

p. 356*a*, l. 8 from bottom, *for* river' conf. *read* river.' Conf.

p. 360*a*, l. 23, *for* Kashtrapa, *read* Kshatrapa

p. 363*b*, l. 27, *for* Batai *read* Batoi

p. 364*a*, l. 44, *for* Prasii *read* Prasioi.

p. 365*b*, l. 49, *for* Dhâkkâ *read* Ḍhakka

p. 377*b*, l. 18, *for* Marunda *read* Muraṇḍa

p. 379*b*, l. 47, *for* B ê p y r r h u s *read* B ê p y r-r h o s

p. 381, head line, *add* 2, *after* CH.

p. 384*a*, l. 45, *for* Agathu *read* Agathou

p. 385*a*, l. 43, for *Iaba* read *Yava*

p. 387*a*, l. 20, *for* Batrakheian *read* Batrakhian

p. 388*a*, l. 52, *for* J a x a r t e s *read* I a x a r t e s

p. 389*a*, l. 1, *add* " *before* The

„ l. 20, *add* " *before* Immediately

„ l. 38, *for* A r a c h o s i a *read* A r a c h ô-s i a

„ l. 44, *for* A r a c h o t o s c r e n e *read* A r a c h ô t o s c r ê n ê

p. 393*a*, l. 27, *for* M a a g r a m m u m *read* M a a g r a m m o n

„ l. 36, *for* M o d u t t i *read* M o u d o u t-t o i

„ l. 40, *for* g o n a n d a n o i *read* g a n d a-n o i

„ „ *for* N a g a d i b i i *read* N a g a d i-b o i

p. 394*a*, l. 4, *for* Ôxus *read* Ôxos

„ ll. 27 and 38, *for* Oxus *read* Ôxos

„ l. 43, *for* D ā a i *read* D â a i

p. 397*a*, ll. 15, 19, 23, *for* Dargamenês *read* Dargamanês

„ l. 3, note, *for* Jaxartes *read* Iaxartes

„ l. 4, note, *for* Tochâri *read* Tokhâri

„ l. 5, note, *for* Sacarauli *read* Sakarauli

p. 397*b*, last line of note, *for* Tocharoi *read* Tokharoi

p. 399*b*, l. 33, *for* c h a t a *read* k h a t a

p. 405*b*, l. 4 from bottom, *for* A s p a k a r a i *read* A s p a k â r a i

p. 406*a*, l. 19, *for* Rhabannae *read* Rhabannai

„ „ *for* Damnai *read* Dâmnai

p. 407*b*, l. 39, *for* D a r g a m e n ê s *read* D a r-g a m a n ê s

„ l. 46, *for* p h y l a i *read* p h y l o i

p. 408*a*, l. 34, *for* D a r g a m ê n e s *read* D a r-g a m a n ê s

